The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl



The Complete Diaries of
THEODOR HERZL

Edited by

Raphael Patai

Translated by

HARRY ZOHN

VOLUME I

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Preface

A hundred years after his birth, fifty-six years after his death, and twelve years after the realization of his dream in the State of Israel, Theodor Herzl is universally recognized in Jewish history, and, in fact, in world history, as the founder of political Zionism and the father of the Jewish state. His *Diaries*, published here in full for the first time, contain the fascinating record of the eight last years of his life during which, practically single-handed and at the sacrifice of his fortune, his career, his family and his very life, he created a world movement among the Jews and made the rulers and governments of his day accept the idea that the Jewish people must have a homeland of its own.

When Herzl began keeping his *Diaries* in 1895, he was a leading Viennese feuilletonist and playwright. He was celebrated in his home town, and had achieved some fame abroad as well. He was a recognized master of the pen who clad his philosophical ideas, social criticism, and subtle satire in a sensitive, refined, and polished style. In the *Diaries*, however, he consciously forewent any stylistic sparkle. In them his language is generally simple, direct and straightforward, but sometimes obscure. The entries were often written hastily, and occasionally even carelessly. They were intended to be not literature but a frank account of his day-to-day struggle for the movement, of his meetings, plans, and actions, and of the ideas and ideals that motivated him. Herzl put his ideas down as they came to him, often using expressions in French, English, Yiddish, Hebrew, Italian, Hungarian, Latin, Greek, and Turkish, or falling back on the Viennese idiom.

To translate such a document into English was certainly not an easy undertaking. In Professor Harry Zohn we found a translator fully equal to the task. Professor Zohn achieved that happy medium between too close an adherence to the original and too free a rendering which makes his translation read as if Herzl had written in English instead of German.

The *Diaries* represent merely a part of Herzl's literary output. He wrote many feuilletons, short stories, sketches (some of them collected and edited in separate volumes), some thirty plays, a book on the Jewish State, a novel (*Altneuland*), Zionist addresses and other writings, and a great number of letters addressed to hundreds of writers—artists, statesmen, scholars, Zionist leaders, etc.—scattered in more than a dozen countries. While creating the Zionist movement, this writing activity went on unceasingly, as did his work as literary editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

There can be no doubt as to Herzl's exceptional talents in many fields and his complete dedication to the Jewish cause. Yet his success among both the simple people and in the courts of the high and mighty sprang from yet a third source. This was his tremendous personal magnetism which made its impact on everyone and which added weight to his arguments and power to his convictions. The *Diaries* contain only occasional reflections of this unique personality, filled as they are with details of his unceasing efforts to convince and convert, to motivate and activate people as dissimilar as the mighty German Kaiser, the timid Chief Rabbi

of Vienna, the shrewd Oriental expert Arminius Vámbéry, and the hardheaded scions of the Rothschild dynasty. Therefore it is recommended that these *Diaries* be read together with at least one biography of Herzl, several of which are now available in English.

Prior to the present edition, less than one third of the text of the *Diaries* was published in English. Even the German edition, printed in the early 1920's in Berlin, did not contain the entire text. Hundreds of passages, a number covering several pages, were omitted because of political or personal considerations. Today, more than half a century after the last entry was made, it is felt that everything contained in the original manuscript of Herzl's *Diaries* belongs to history and not only *can*, but *should*, be made public. Thus the present edition—published at the initiative of Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the Theodor Herzl Foundation Inc.—contains for the first time every word Herzl entered in the eighteen copybooks he filled.

The editor has attempted to annotate this edition as fully as possible. The first four volumes contain the text of the *Diaries*, the fifth the notes and the Index. The notes are arranged alphabetically and cover practically all the names of persons, places, institutions, organizations mentioned by Herzl as well as supplying additional details on many subjects. A special prefatory note to the fifth volume will contain information on the nature of the annotations and their use, as well as the acknowledgments to the dozens of individuals and institutions who helped the editor in assembling them. Mention however must be made here of the Zionist Central Archives of Jerusalem in whose safekeeping the original manuscript of Herzl's *Diaries* is deposited and whose director Dr. Alex Bein and staff filled untiringly the innumerable requests called forth by this work.

New York RAPHAEL PATAI
March 16, 1960

Translator's Foreword

It is a rare privilege to be associated with the first complete and unabridged publication in any language of the Herzl Diaries, surely one of the most significant works of its kind in world literature.

It has been my aim to produce a very faithful translation and to beware of the "translator's itch" to dress up the material and endow it with a stylistic gloss which the original, so striking in its immediacy and directness, does not possess.

It would never have been possible to finish this lengthy and arduous task in a comparatively short period of time without the encouragement and cooperation of a number of people. In particular I wish to express my gratitude to the associates of the Theodor Herzl Institute, especially to Drs. Emanuel Neumann and Emil Lehman, for their confidence in me. My warmest thanks also go to the Institute's Director of Research, Dr. Raphael Patai, who has proved the ideal editor, and to his secretary, Pearl Silver. My Brandeis colleague Dr. John B. Wight has given me invaluable stylistic advice, and Barbara Wight has assisted me with the translations from the French.

I should like to dedicate this translation to the memory of Ludwig Lewisohn—dynamic Jewish leader, brilliant man of letters, master translator from the German, and fatherly friend.

Brandeis University HARRY ZOHN
Waltham, Massachusetts
March, 1960

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Volume I

Book One

Of the Jewish Cause
Begun in Paris
Around Pentecost, 1895

For some time past I have been occupied with a work of infinite grandeur. At the moment I do not know whether I shall carry it through. It looks like a mighty dream. But for days and weeks it has possessed me beyond the limits of consciousness; it accompanies me wherever I go, hovers behind my ordinary talk, looks over my shoulder at my comically trivial journalistic work, disturbs me and intoxicates me.

It is still too early to surmise what will come of it. But my experience tells me that even as a dream it is something remarkable, and that I ought to write it down—if not as a reminder to mankind, then at least for my own delight or reflection in later years. And perhaps as something between these two possibilities—that is, as literature. If my conception is not translated into reality, at least out of my activity can come a novel.

Title: The Promised Land!

To tell the truth, I am no longer sure that it was not actually the novel that I first had in mind—although not as something "literary" for its own sake, but only as something that would serve a purpose.

And the fact that after such a short time I am no longer sure of it is the best proof of how necessary this written record is. How much I have regretted that on the day of my arrival in Paris I didn't start a diary to preserve the experiences, the impressions and visions which cannot get into the newspaper because they have an odd way of disappearing too fast. In this way a lot has escaped me.

But what are the experiences of a newspaper correspondent compared with what I am now working on! What dreams, thoughts, letters, meetings, actions I shall have to live through—

disappointments if nothing comes of it, terrible struggles if things work out. All that must be recorded.

Stanley interested the world with his little travel book *How I Found Livingstone.* And when he made his way across the Dark Continent, the world was enthralled—the entire civilized world. Yet how petty are such exploits when compared to mine. Today I must still say: compared to my dream.

When did I actually begin to concern myself with the Jewish Question? Probably ever since it arose; certainly from the time that I read Dühring's book. In one of my old notebooks, now packed away somewhere in Vienna, are my first observations on Dühring's book and on the Question. At that time I still had no newspaper as an outlet for my writings—it was, I believe, in 1881 or 1882; but I know that even today I repeatedly say some of the things that I wrote down then. As the years went on, the Jewish Question bored into me and gnawed at me, tormented me and made me very miserable. In fact, I kept coming back to it whenever my own personal experiences—joys and sorrows—permitted me to rise to broader considerations.

Naturally, each passing year brought a change in my thinking, something I was consciously aware of. In the same way, a different man now looks out at me from a mirror than formerly. But despite the altered features, the person is the same. By these signs of age I recognize my maturity.

At first, the Jewish Question grieved me bitterly. There might have been a time when I would have liked to get away from it—into the Christian fold, anywhere. But in any case, these were only vague desires born of youthful weakness. For I can say to myself with the honesty inherent in this diary—which would be completely worthless if I played the hypocrite with myself—that I never seriously thought of becoming baptized or changing my name. This latter point is even attested to by an incident. When as a green young writer I took a manuscript to the Vienna *Deutsche Wochenschrift,* Dr. Friedjung advised me to adopt a pen-name less Jewish than my own. I flatly refused, saying that I wanted to continue to bear the name of my father,

and I offered to withdraw the manuscript. Friedjung accepted it anyway.

I then became a writer of sorts, with little ambition and petty vanities.

The Jewish Question naturally lurked for me around every turn and corner. I sighed over it and made fun of it; I felt unhappy, but still it never really took hold of me, although even before I came here I wanted to write a Jewish novel. I was going to write it during my travels in Spain on which I set out in the summer of 1891. At that time it was my next literary project. The hero was to have been my dear friend Heinrich Kana, who had shot himself that February in Berlin. I believe that through the novel I wanted to write myself free of his ghost. In its first draft the novel was entitled *Samuel Kohn*, and among my loose notes there must be many which have reference to it. I wanted in particular to contrast the suffering, despised, and decent mass of poor Jews with the rich ones. The latter experience nothing of anti-Semitism which they are actually and mainly responsible for. The milieu in which Kana lived was to be set off against that of his rich relatives.

The *Neue Freie Presse* sent me to Paris as its correspondent. I took the job because I sensed at once how much I would see and learn of the world in that post; but I still regretted the abandoned plan of the novel.

In Paris I was in the midst of politics—at least as an observer. I saw how the world is run. I also stood amazed at the phenomenon of the crowd—for a long time without comprehending it. Here too I reached a higher, more disinterested view of anti-Semitism, from which at least I did not have to suffer directly. In Austria or in Germany I must constantly fear that someone will shout "Hep, hep!" after me. But here I pass through the crowd unrecognized.

In this word "unrecognized" lies a terrible reproach against the anti-Semites.

Up to now I have heard that cry of "Hep, hep!" with my own ears only twice. The first time was when I passed through

Mainz in 1888. One evening I entered a cheap nightclub and had a beer. When I got up to leave and made my way to the door through the noise and the smoke, a fellow called "Hep, hep!" after me. A chorus of horse-laughs arose around him.

The second time was at Baden near Vienna. Someone shouted "Dirty Jew" at me as I was riding by in a carriage, coming from Speidel's home at Hinterbrühl. This shout went deeper, because it came as a memorable epilogue to the conversation I had had in Hinterbrühl and because it resounded on my "home" soil.

In Paris, then, I gained a freer attitude toward anti-Semitism which I now began to understand historically and make allowances for.

Above all, I recognized the emptiness and futility of efforts to "combat anti-Semitism." Declamations made in writing or in closed circles do no good whatever; they even have a comical effect. It is true that in addition to careerists and simpletons there may be very stalwart people serving on such "relief committees." These resemble the "relief committees" formed after—and before!—floods, and they accomplish about as much. The noble Bertha von Suttner is in error—an error, to be sure, which does her great honor—when she believes that such a committee can be of help. Exactly the case of the peace societies. A man who invents a terrible explosive does more for peace than a thousand gentle apostles.

This is roughly what I answered Baron Leitenberger when he asked me three years ago what I thought of the *Freies Blatt* as an organ to "combat etc." I said I thought nothing of it. However, something *could* be done through the medium of the press, I said, and then I unfolded to him a plan for a popular paper for combatting Jew-hatred—a paper to be directed by a simon-pure Gentile. However, the Baron thought my plan too complicated, or too costly. He wanted to fight only on a small scale—against anti-Semitism!

Today, of course, I am of the opinion that what seemed adequate to me at that time would be a feeble, foolish gesture.

Anti-Semitism has grown and continues to grow—and so do I.

I can still recall two different conceptions of the Question and its solution which I had in the course of those years. About two years ago I wanted to solve the Jewish Question, at least in Austria, with the help of the Catholic Church. I wished to gain access to the Pope (not without first assuring myself of the support of the Austrian church dignitaries) and say to him: Help us against the anti-Semites and I will start a great movement for the free and honorable conversion of Jews to Christianity.

Free and honorable by virtue of the fact that the leaders of this movement—myself in particular—would remain Jews and as such would propagate conversion to the faith of the majority. The conversion was to take place in broad daylight, Sundays at noon, in Saint Stephen's Cathedral, with festive processions and amidst the pealing of bells. Not in shame, as individuals have converted up to now, but with proud gestures. And because the Jewish leaders would remain Jews, escorting the people only to the threshold of the church and themselves staying outside, the whole performance was to be elevated by a touch of great candor.

We, the steadfast men, would have constituted the last generation. We would still have adhered to the faith of our fathers. But we would have made Christians of our young sons before they reached the age of independent decision, after which conversion looks like an act of cowardice or careerism. As is my custom, I had thought out the entire plan down to all its minute details. I could see myself dealing with the Archbishop of Vienna; in imagination I stood before the Pope—both of them were very sorry that I wished to do no more than remain part of the last generation of Jews—and sent this slogan of mingling of the races flying across the world.

As soon as I had an opportunity to discuss the matter with them, I intended to win over to this plan the publishers of the *Neue Freie Presse*. From Paris I had previously given them some advice which, to the detriment of the Liberal Party in Austria,

they did not follow. About a year before the Socialists' drive for electoral reform became acute, I recommended that the Christmas editorial should suddenly demand universal suffrage. In this way the Liberals could regain the solid ground they had lost among the people and the intelligent elements in the working-class. Subsequently, the agitation for electoral reform reached my publishers from the outside, and their stand on it was not a felicitous one.

It is true that I had no real authority with the editorial writers; they regarded me only as a talker and a writer of *feuilletons*.

Thus Benedikt, too, rejected my idea about the Pope when I spoke with him about it here in Paris, as Bacher had earlier rejected my idea concerning universal suffrage.

But one thing in Benedikt's response struck me as being true. He said: For a hundred generations your line has preserved itself within the fold of Judaism. Now you are proposing to set yourself up as the terminal point in this process. This you cannot do and have no right to do. Besides, the Pope would never receive you.

This, however, did not prevent the *Neue Freie Presse* and the Austrian liberals from seeking the Pope's intervention against the anti-Semites later. This happened last winter, a year and a half after my conversation with Benedikt, though under circumstances that were unfavorable and even ran counter to the principles involved—that is to say, when Cardinal Schönborn went to Rome in order to ask the Pope to come out against that element among the anti-Semites which the clergy and the government were beginning to find troublesome. By such irrevocable actions the Liberals recognized what they had always denied previously: the right of the Pope to meddle in the internal affairs of Austria. The result of this abdication equalled zero.

I had meant something entirely different: a diplomatic peace treaty concluded behind closed doors.

Naturally I could not do anything without my newspaper. Where would I have got any authority from? What would I have been able to offer in exchange? The services of the leading liberal paper might have induced the clever Pope to do something, issue a declaration or drop a hint. On a later occasion, incidentally, I heard a remark which Leo XIII made about the paper: Too bad that the *Neue Freie Presse* is so well done.

After this plan had been abandoned, there ripened in my unconscious, in that obscure way, another idea, one not so political but more contemplative. I first formulated it clearly in a conversation with Speidel last summer when I came from Baden to visit him at Hinterbrühl. We were walking over the green meadows, philosophizing, and got on the Jewish Question.

I said: "I understand what anti-Semitism is about. We Jews have maintained ourselves, even if through no fault of our own, as a foreign body among the various nations. In the ghetto we have taken on a number of anti-social qualities. Our character has been corrupted by oppression, and it must be restored through some other kind of pressure. Actually, anti-Semitism is a consequence of the emancipation of the Jews. However, the peoples who lack historical understanding—that is, all of them—do not see us as an historical product, as the victims of earlier, crueler, and still more narrow-minded times. They do not realize that we are what we are because they have made us that way amidst tortures, because the Church made usury dishonorable for Christians, and because the rulers forced us to deal in money. We cling to money because they flung us onto money. Moreover, we always had to be prepared to flee or to conceal our possessions from plunderers. This is how our relationship to money arose. Then, too, as *Kammerknechte* of the Emperor we constituted a kind of indirect taxation. We extracted money from the people which later was stolen or confiscated from us. All these sufferings rendered us ugly and transformed our character which had in earlier times been proud and magnificent. After all, we once were men who knew

how to defend the state in time of war, and we must have been a highly gifted people to have endured two thousand years of carnage without being destroyed.

"Now, it was erroneous on the part of the doctrinaire libertarians to believe that men can be made equal by publishing an edict in the Imperial Gazette. When we emerged from the ghetto, we were, and for the time being remained, Ghetto Jews. We should have been given time to get accustomed to freedom. But the peoples around us have neither the magnanimity nor the patience. They see only the bad and conspicuous characteristics of a liberated people and have no idea that these released men have been unjustly punished. Added to this is the prevalent Socialist opposition to mobile private capital, the kind with which Jews have been forced to occupy themselves exclusively for centuries past.

"But if the Jews turn from money to professions that were previously barred to them, they cause a terrible pressure on the area in which the middle classes earn their living, a pressure under which the Jews actually suffer most of all.

"However, anti-Semitism, which is a strong and unconscious force among the masses, will not harm the Jews. I consider it to be a movement useful to the Jewish character. It represents the education of a group by the masses, and will perhaps lead to its being absorbed. Education is accomplished only through hard knocks. A Darwinian mimicry will set in. The Jews will adapt themselves. They are like the seals, which an act of nature cast into the water. These animals assume the appearance and habits of fish, which they certainly are not. Once they return to dry land again and are allowed to remain there for a few generations, they will turn their fins into feet again.

"The traces of one kind of pressure can be effaced only by another kind."

Speidel said: "This is a universal historical conception."

Then I drove out into the falling darkness, in the direction of Baden.

As my fiacre sped through the tunnel behind the Cholera

Chapel, two young fellows, one of them in cadet uniform, were passing by. I believe I was sitting huddled in thought. At that point I distinctly heard a cry from behind the carriage: "Dirty Jew!"

I started up in anger and, incensed, turned around in the direction of the two youths, but they were already far behind. A moment later my brief impulse to scuffle with street urchins had vanished. Besides, the insult had not been directed at me personally, for I was unknown to them, but at my Jewish nose and Jewish beard, which they had glimpsed in the semi-darkness behind the carriage lanterns.

But what a curious echo to my "universal historical" conception! World history is of no use in such a situation.

A few months later I was sitting for the sculptor Beer who was doing my bust. Our conversation resulted in the insight that it does a Jew no good to become an artist and free himself from the taint of money. The curse still clings. We cannot get out of the Ghetto. I became quite heated as I talked, and when I left, my excitement still glowed in me. With the swiftness of that dream involving a pitcher of water in the Arabian fairy-tale, the outline of the play came into being. I believe I hadn't gone from the Rue Descombes to the Place Péreire when the whole thing was already finished in my mind.

The next day I set to work. Three blessed weeks of ardor and labor.

I had thought that through this eruption of playwriting I had written myself free of the matter. On the contrary; I got more and more deeply involved with it. The thought grew stronger in me that I must do something for the Jews.

For the first time I went to the synagogue in the Rue de la Victoire and once again found the services festive and moving. Many things reminded me of my youth and the Tabak Street temple at Pest. I took a look at the Paris Jews and saw a family likeness in their faces: bold, misshapen noses; furtive and cunning eyes.

Was it then that I conceived the plan of writing on "The Situation of the Jews," or had I conceived it earlier?

Now I remember that it was earlier. I had already talked about it in Vienna the previous fall. I wanted to visit the localities where the vagaries of history had strewn Jewish communities: particularly Russia, Galicia, Hungary, Bohemia; later, the Orient, the new Zion colonies; finally, Western Europe again. All my faithful reports were to bring out the undeserved misfortune of the Jews and to show that they are human beings whom people revile without knowing them. For here in Paris I have acquired a reporter's eyes which are needed for such perceptions.

Some time before Easter I came into contact with Daudet. During one conversation we got on the subject of the Jews. He confessed himself an anti-Semite. I explained to him my own standpoint and once again warmed to my subject (which might be proof that, basically, I think best while talking). When I told him that I wanted to write a book for and about the Jews, he asked: A novel?—No, I said, preferably a man's book!—Whereupon he said: A novel reaches farther. Think of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

I then orated some more and moved even him to such an extent that he finally said: "*Comme c'est beau, comme c'est beau* [How beautiful this is]!"

That again put doubts in my mind about "The Situation of the Jews," and I thought of the novel once more. However, Samuel Kohn—Heinrich Kana was no longer the central figure. In the first draft, the final chapter dealt with the moods that preceded Samuel's suicide. One evening he strolled along Unter den Linden, feeling superior to everybody because of his imminent death. Mockingly he looked at the officers of the guard, anyone of whom he could take with him into death. When the thought of doing something useful with his suicide occurred to him, he became a commander. He walked in such a proud and lordly manner that instinctively everyone got out of his way. This placated him; he went home quietly and shot himself.

In the present form of the novel, Samuel still was the weaker but dearly beloved friend of the hero whom the fortunes of his life bring to the point where he discovers, or, rather, founds, the Promised Land.

Shortly before the sailing of the boat which is to take him to new shores, together with a staff of officers expert in exploration, he receives Samuel's farewell letter. Samuel writes: "My dear, dear boy, when you read this letter, I shall be dead."

At this point the hero moves his fist, in which he is crumbling the paper, to his heart. But the next instant there is only rage in him.

He gives the command for departure. Then he stands at the bow of the boat and stares fixedly into the distance where the Promised Land lies.

And he takes the letter, in which there is so much touching love and loyalty, and cries into the wind: "You fool, you scoundrel, you wretch! Oh, for the life that belonged to us and is lost!

• • •

How I proceeded from the idea of writing a novel to a practical program is already a mystery to me, although it happened within the last few weeks. It is in the realm of the Unconscious.

Perhaps these ideas are not practical ones at all and I am only making myself the laughing-stock of the people to whom I talk about it seriously. Could I be only a figure in my novel?

But even then it would be worth writing down what I have thought about during this period and am continuing to think about.

One day I suddenly wrote a letter to Baron Hirsch who has taken such a striking millionaire's interest in the Jews. After I had finished this letter, I left it lying there and slept on it for fourteen days and nights. When even after this interval the letter did not seem devoid of sense to me, I mailed it. This letter reads as follows:

Dear Sir:

When may I have the honor of calling on you? I should like to discuss the Jewish Question. I do not want to interview you nor to talk about a disguised or undisguised financial matter. It seems that the claims on you are so manifold that one cannot guard against the suspicion of unsavory designs soon enough. I simply wish to have a discussion with you about Jewish political matters, a discussion that may have an effect on times that neither you nor I will live to see.

For this reason I should like you to arrange our meeting on a day when you can devote an uninterrupted hour or two to the matter. Because of my regular occupation, a Sunday would be best for me. It does not have to be this coming Sunday, but any date you please.

What I have in mind will interest you. But even though I am not telling you much by saying this, I should not want you to show this letter to the people around you—secretaries and others. Kindly treat it confidentially.

Perhaps my name is not unknown to you. In any case, you are acquainted with the newspaper which I represent here.

Respectfully yours,
Dr. Herzl,
Correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*

* * *

This is a rough draft of the letter, still in my possession. I may have made some changes in the clean copy; at that time I did not yet think of saving all these things as documents.

My main concern was that this letter might be regarded as the beginning of a journalist's feat of extortion. After all, I did not want to meet the man on account of his money, but because he is a very useful force for the cause.

Several days passed. Then I received a reply from London W., 82 Piccadilly.

London, May 20, 1895

Dr. Théodore Herzl, Paris.*

I received your letter here where I am going to be for two months. I am sorry to be unable, with the best will in the world, to arrange the meeting you asked me for. Perhaps you could tell me in a letter what you were going to say to me in person, putting "Personal" on the envelope.

I beg your pardon for replying to you in the handwriting of my secretary, and in French, but as the result of an old hunting injury to my right hand I am unable to hold a pen for any length of time.

Very truly yours,
M. de Hirsch

• • •

To this letter I replied:

37 rue Cambon, May 24, 1895

Dear Sir:

I am deeply sorry that we were not able to meet here.

It is not easy to write down what I wanted to tell you. I shall not dwell on the mishaps that a letter may be subject to. My intentions, which are at the service of an important cause, could be desecrated by idle curiosity, or spoiled by the lack of understanding of a chance reader. Furthermore, my letter could come into your hands at a moment when you are distracted by other things and cannot give it your undivided attention. If then you had your secretary answer me with some polite formula about the matter being "under consideration," I would be through with you forever. And in the general interest that might be regrettable.

Nevertheless I am going to write to you. Only, at the moment I am too busy to be brief, as the old saying goes. But in point of fact, I do not want to bore you with a grandiloquent presentation. As soon as I find the time, I shall submit to you a plan for a new Jewish policy.

* The letter is in French in the original.

What you have undertaken till now has been as magnanimous as it has been misapplied, as costly as it has been pointless. You have hitherto been only a philanthropist, a Peabody; I want to show you the way to become something more.

Do not get the idea, however, that I am a maker of projects or some new species of fool, even though the way in which I am writing to you deviates somewhat from the ordinary. Right from the start I admit the possibility that I am mistaken and I shall accept objections.

I certainly do not expect to convince you right away, for you will have to re-think a number of your present attitudes. Although I am presumably only an unknown to you, all I desire is your fullest attention. In conversation I would probably have gained it for myself, but it is harder to do this by correspondence. My letter lies on your desk among many others, and I can imagine that you get plenty of letters every day from beggars, parasites, fakers, and the professionals of charity. That is why my letter will come in a second envelope marked: Letter from Dr. Herzl. I ask you to lay this second envelope aside and not to open it until you have a completely rested and unoccupied mind. That is what I desired for our conversation which did not take place.

Respectfully yours,
Dr. Herzl.

• • •

In this case, too, my rough draft is not reliable. It now seems to me that in copying the letter I changed a few phrases. But in substance, those were its contents, and again the only fear I had was that Hirsch or some third party looking over his shoulder might take me for a money-seeker.

During the following days I prepared a memorandum. I filled a great number of slips of paper with my notes. I wrote while walking, in the Chamber of Deputies, in the restaurant, in the theater.

A wealth of details was quickly added.

In the midst of these preparations Hirsch surprised me with another letter:

London, May 26

Monsieur Herzl, 37 rue Cambon, Paris.*

I received your letter of the day before yesterday. If you have not already prepared a long report, you can save yourself the trouble. In a few days I shall be in Paris for forty-eight hours, and on next Sunday, June 2, at 10:30 a.m., you will find me at your disposal at 2 rue de l'Elysée.

Yours very truly,
M. de Hirsch.

This letter gave me satisfaction, because I saw that I had judged the man correctly and had hit him at the *locus minoris resistentiae* [place of least resistance]. Apparently my statement that he could become more than a Peabody had had an effect on him.

Now I began to make notes in earnest, and by the Saturday before Pentecost they had grown into a thick bundle. Then I divided them into three groups according to their contents: Introduction, Elevation of the Jewish Race, Emigration.

I made a clean copy of them thus arranged. They added up to 22 closely written pages, although I had only used catchwords, aids to my memory during the interview. I always was, and still am, compelled to make allowance for my initial shyness.

When dealing with famous or well-known people here in Paris, I have often made myself ridiculous by my self-consciousness.

Spuller, who is certainly no great light (although he did originate the *esprit nouveau*), once overawed me to the point of denseness when I called on him during his term as a Minister.

On Whitsunday morning I dressed myself with discreet care. The day before I had purposely broken in a new pair of gloves

* In French in the original.

so that they might still look new but not fresh from the shop. One must not show rich people too much deference.

I drove up to the Rue de L'Elysée. A palace. The grand courtyard, the noble side-stairway—to say nothing of the main staircase—made a strong impression on me. Wealth affects me only in the guise of beauty. And there everything was of genuine beauty. Old pictures, marble, muted gobelins. *Donnerwetter!* One of our sort never thinks of these corollaries of wealth when he disparages it. Everything had truly great style, and, a bit dazed, I let myself be handed from one attendant to another.

I was scarcely in the billiard-room when Hirsch stepped out of his study, shook hands with me quickly and absently, as though I were an acquaintance, asked me to wait a little while, and disappeared again.

I sat down and examined the exquisite Tanagra figurines in a glass case. The Baron, I thought to myself, must have hired someone to be in charge of good taste.

Then I heard voices from the adjoining room and recognized that of one of his philanthropic functionaries with whom I had exchanged a few words in Vienna once, and on two occasions here.

I did not like the idea of his seeing me here on his way out. Perhaps Hirsch had arranged it that way on purpose. This thought made me smile again, for I was not minded to become at all dependent on him. Either I would bend him to my will or I would leave with my mission unaccomplished. I was even ready with an answer if, during our conversation, he should offer me a position with the *Jewish Association:** "Enter your service? No. That of the Jews? Yes!"

Then the two officials came out. I shook hands with the one I knew. To the Baron I said: "Can you spare me an hour? If it is not at least an hour, I'd rather not start at all. I need that amount of time merely to indicate how much I have to say."

He smiled: "Just go ahead."

* In English in the original.

I pulled out my notes. "In order to present the matter lucidly I have prepared a few things in advance."

I had hardly spoken five minutes when the telephone rang. I think it was prearranged. I had even meant to tell him in advance that he need not have himself called away on imaginary business, that he had only to say right out whether he was unoccupied. However, he said over the telephone that he was not at home to anybody. By this I knew that I had made an impression on him; he had let his guard down.

I developed my plan as follows:

"In what I have to say you will find some things too simple and others too fantastic. But men are ruled by the simple and the fantastic. It is astonishing—and common knowledge—with what little intelligence the world is governed.

"I by no means set out deliberately to occupy myself with the Jewish question. You too originally did not plan to become a patron of the Jews. You were a banker and made big business deals; you ended up devoting your time and your fortune to the cause of the Jews. Similarly, at the beginning I was a writer and a journalist, with no thought of the Jews. But my experiences and observations, the growing pressure of anti-Semitism compelled me to interest myself in the problem.

"All right. So much for my credentials.

"I won't go into the history of the Jews, although I intended to start with it. It is well known. There is only one point I must emphasize. Throughout our two thousand years of dispersion, we have been without unified political leadership. I regard this as our chief misfortune. It has done us more harm than all the persecutions. This is why we have inwardly gone to rack and ruin. For there has been no one to train us to become real men, even if only out of imperial selfishness. On the contrary, we were pushed into all the inferior occupations, we were locked up in ghettos where we caused one another's degeneration. And when they let us out, they suddenly expected us to have all the attributes of a people used to freedom.

"Now, if we had a united political leadership, the necessity for which I need not demonstrate further and which should by no means constitute a secret society—if we had such leadership, we could tackle the solution of the Jewish question—from above, from below, from all sides.

"The aim that we will pursue once we have a center, a head, will determine the means.

"There are two possible aims: either we stay where we are or we emigrate somewhere else.

"For either course we need certain identical measures for the education of our people. For even if we emigrate, it will be a long time before we arrive in the Promised Land. It took Moses forty years. We may require twenty or thirty. At any rate, in the meantime new generations will arise whom we must educate for our purposes.

"Now, with regard to education, I propose to employ, from the outset, methods quite different from those which you are using.

"First of all, there is the principle of philanthropy, which I consider completely erroneous. You are breeding *shnorrers* [beggars]. It is symptomatic that no other people shows such a great incidence of philanthropy and beggary as the Jews. It strikes one that there must be a correlation between these two phenomena, meaning that philanthropy debases our national character."

He interrupted me: "You are quite right."

I continued:

"Years ago I heard that your attempts to settle Jews in Argentina had had poor results, or none."

"Would you like me to reply to you as you go along whenever I have an objection?"

"No, I would prefer that you permit me to give you the whole substance of my presentation. I know that some of the things I say will not be in accordance with the facts, because I have never collected facts and figures. Just let me formulate my principles."

From that point on Hirsch jotted down his objections on a writing pad.

I said: "Your Argentinian Jews behave in a disorderly fashion, I am told. One item rather shocked me; the house built first was one of—ill repute."

Hirsch interjected: "Not true. That house was not built by my colonists."

"Very well. But in any case, the whole thing should not have been started the way you did it. You drag these would-be Jewish farmers overseas. They are bound to believe that they have a right to be supported in the future, too, and the last thing in the world that will be promoted by this is their eagerness to work. Whatever such an exported Jew may cost you, he isn't worth it. And how many specimens can you transport over there anyway? Fifteen to twenty thousand! More Jews than that live on one street in the Leopoldstadt. No, direct means are altogether unsuitable for moving masses of people. You can be effective only through indirect means.

"To attract Jews to rural areas you would have to tell them some fairy-tale about how they may strike gold there. In imaginative terms it might be put like this: Whoever plows, sows, and reaps will find gold in every sheaf. After all, it's almost true. The only thing is, the Jews know that it will be a tiny little lump. That is why you would be able to tell them, more rationally: the man who manages best will receive a bonus, one that might be very substantial.

"However, I do not believe that it is possible to settle the Jews in the rural areas of the countries which they now inhabit. The peasants would kill them with their flails. One of the strongholds of German anti-Semitism is Hesse, where Jews engage in small-scale farming.

"With twenty thousand of your Argentinian Jews you will prove nothing, even if those people do well. But if the experiment fails, you will have furnished a dreadful bit of evidence against the Jews.

"Enough of criticism. What is to be done?

"Whether the Jews stay put or whether they emigrate, the race must first be improved right on the spot. It must be made

strong as for war, eager to work, and virtuous. Afterwards, let them emigrate—if necessary.

"To effect this improvement, you can employ your resources better than you have done up to now.

"Instead of buying up the Jews one by one, you could offer huge prizes in the chief anti-Semitic countries for *actions d'éclat* [striking deeds], for deeds of great moral beauty, for courage, self-sacrifice, ethical conduct, great achievements in art and science, for physicians during epidemics, for military men, for discoverers of remedies and inventors of other products contributing to the public welfare, no matter what—in short, for anything great.

"Such prizes will accomplish two things: the improvement of everyone, and publicity. You see, because the prize-winning feat will be unusual and glorious, it will be talked about everywhere. Thus people will learn that there are good Jews too, and many of them.

"But the first result is more important: a general improvement. The individual annual prize-winners do not really matter; I am more interested in all the others who try to outdo themselves in order to win a prize. In this way the moral level will be raised—"

At this point he interrupted me impatiently:

"No, no, no! I don't want to raise the general level at all. All our misfortune comes from the fact that the Jews want to climb too high. We have too many intellectuals. My intention is to keep the Jews from pushing ahead. They should not make such great strides. All Jew-hatred comes from this. As for my plans in Argentina, you are misinformed on that, too. It is true that in the beginning some dissolute fellows were sent over, and I would just as soon have thrown them into the water. But now I have many decent people there. And it is my intention, if the colony prospers, to charter a fine English vessel, invite a hundred newspaper correspondents—consider yourself already invited—and take them across to Argentina. Of course, it all depends upon the harvests. After a few good years I could show the world that

the Jews make good farmers after all. As a result of this, maybe they will be allowed to till the soil in Russia as well."

Now I said: "I didn't interrupt you although I hadn't finished. I was interested to hear just what you have in mind. But I realize that it would be pointless to go on presenting my ideas to you."

He then remarked in a benevolent tone, much as if I had asked him for a position in his banking house: "I do see that you are an intelligent man."

I merely smiled to myself. Such things as my undertaking are above personal vanity. I am going to see and hear many more things of this sort.

Hirsch now qualified his praise: "But you have such fantastic ideas."

I got up. "Well, didn't I tell you that it would seem either too simple or too fantastic to you? You don't know what the fantastic really is and that the great motives of men can be surveyed only from the heights."

"Emigration would be the only solution," he said. "There are lands enough for sale."

I almost shouted: "Well, who told you that I don't want to emigrate? It is all there in these notes. I shall go to the German Kaiser; he will understand me, for he has been brought up to be a judge of great things . . ."

At these words Hirsch blinked perceptibly. Was he impressed by my rudeness, or by my intention to speak with the Kaiser? Perhaps both. I put my notes in my pocket and concluded.

"To the Kaiser I shall say: Let our people go! We are strangers here; we are not permitted to assimilate with the people, nor are we able to do so. Let us go! I will tell you the ways and the means which I want to use for our exodus, so that no economic crisis or vacuum may follow our departure."

Hirsch said: "Where will you get the money? Rothschild will subscribe five hundred francs."

"The money?" I said with a defiant laugh. "I shall raise a Jewish National Loan Fund of ten million marks."

"A fantasy!" smiled the Baron. "The rich Jews will give noth-

ing. Wealthy people are mean and care nothing about the sufferings of the poor."

"You talk like a Socialist, Baron Hirsch!"

"I *am* one. I am quite ready to hand over everything, provided the others have to do likewise."

I did not take his charming notion any more seriously than it was meant and took my leave. His final words were:

"This has not been our last conversation. As soon as I come over from London again I shall let you hear from me."

"Whenever you wish."

Again I passed over the beautiful staircase and the noble courtyard. I was not disappointed, but stimulated. All in all, a pleasant, intelligent, natural sort of man—vain *par exemple!*—but I could have worked with him. He gives the impression of being reliable, despite all his wilfulness.

Once home I immediately rushed to my writing desk.

• • •

Vienna, April 16, 1896

This is where I interrupted the connected presentation at that time, for there followed several weeks of unexampled productivity, during which I no longer had the peace to make a clean copy of my ideas. I wrote walking, standing, lying down, in the street, at table, at night when I started up from sleep.

The slips with my notes are dated. I no longer find the time to transcribe them. I began a second book in order to enter the noteworthy events each day. Thus the slips remained untouched. Now I am asking my good Dad to enter them for me in the present book, in the order in which they were written. I know now, and knew throughout that whole tempestuous period of production, that much of what I wrote down was wild and fantastic. But I made no self-criticism of any sort, so as not to cripple the sweep of these inspirations. There would be time later, I thought, for clarifying criticism.

In these notes the Jewish State is imagined now as something

real, now as material for a novel, because at the time I had not made up my mind whether I should dare to publish it as a serious proposal.

This is the rational explanation for the abrupt transitions in these notes; what mattered most to me in this respect was to let no idea escape. Even in the second notebook the novelistic form is reverted to in a few instances.

Even what is fantastic in these disconnected ideas will one day be of interest—certainly to myself and possibly to others as well. Today I am giving them to my dear father to be entered, though with such necessary reservations as are dictated by reason. For today my project has come a step closer to realization, one that may be historically memorable. Reverend Hechler, who has gone to Karlsruhe to win the Grand Duke and through him the Kaiser for the idea, has wired me to be ready to come to Karlsruhe.

• • •

3rd letter to Baron Hirsch, Paris.

Whit-Monday, June 3, 1895

Dear Sir:

In order to forestall the *esprit de l'escalier,** I had made notes before I went to see you.

On returning home I found that I had stopped on page 6, and yet I had 22 pages. Due to your impatience you heard only the beginning; where and how my idea begins to blossom you did not get to hear.

No matter. In the first place, I didn't expect an immediate conversion. Furthermore, my plan certainly does not depend on you alone.

True, for the sake of speed I would have liked to use you as an available force and a known quantity. But you would have been only the power I would have started with. There are others.

* Translator's Note: Literally, "the spirit of the staircase," that is, the bright ideas that come too late, while descending the stairs, after a meeting.

There are, ultimately and above all, the Jewish masses, and I shall know how to get across to them.

This pen is a power. You will be convinced of it if I stay alive and healthy—a reservation which you too must make with regard to your own activities.

You are the big Jew of money, I am the Jew of the spirit. Hence the divergence between our means and methods. Note that you could not have heard of my attempts as yet, because the first one just took place in your house, on you. I am on my way.

Naturally, your attitude toward me was one of gentle irony. That's what I expected. I told you so in my opening remarks. That is the reception new ideas get. Moreover, you didn't even have the patience to hear me out. Nevertheless, I shall say what is on my mind. I hope you will live to see the magnificent growth of my ideas. You will then recall that Whit-Sunday morning, for despite all your irony I believe you to be open-minded and a man receptive to great plans. And you have tried to do a great deal for the Jews—in your own fashion. But will you understand me if I tell you that the entire process of mankind's development gives the lie to your methods? What! you want to hold a large group of people on a certain level, in fact, press them down? *Allons donc!* [Come, come!] We know, don't we, what phases the human race has passed through, from its primitive to its civilized state. The progression is ever upwards, despite everything and anything, higher and higher, always and ever higher! There are setbacks, it is true. This is not a mere phrase. Our grandfathers would be dumbfounded if they came back to life; but who would want to produce a setback by artificial means—quite apart from the fact that it cannot be done. If it were possible, don't you think that the Monarchy, the Church, would bring it about? And what influence these forces have over the bodies and souls of men! What are your resources by comparison? No, at the very most you can impede progress for a little while, and then you will be swept away by the great whirlwind.

Do you realize that you are pursuing a terribly reactionary

policy—worse than that of the most absolute autocracy? Fortunately your resources are insufficient for it. Your intentions are good, *parbleu, je le sais bien* [Heavens, I know it well]. That is why I should like to give them direction. Do not let the fact that I am a rather young man prejudice you against me. In France, at my thirty-five years of age, men are Ministers of State, and Napoleon was Emperor.

You cut me short with your polite derision. It is still possible to disconcert me in a conversation. I still lack the aplomb which will increase in me with time, because it is necessary to someone who wants to break down opposition, stir the indifferent, comfort the distressed, inspire a craven, demoralized people, and associate with the lords of the world.

I spoke of an army, and you already interrupted me when I began to speak of the (moral) training necessary for its march. I let myself be interrupted. And yet I have already drawn up the further details, the entire plan. I know all the things it involves: Money, money, and more money; means of transportation; the provisioning of great multitudes (which does not mean just food and drink, as in the simple days of Moses); the maintenance of manly discipline; the organization of departments; emigration treaties with the heads of some states, transit treaties with others, formal guarantees from all of them; the construction of new, splendid dwelling places. Beforehand, tremendous propaganda, the popularization of the idea through newspapers, books, pamphlets, talks by travelling lecturers, pictures, songs. Everything directed from one center with sureness of purpose and with vision. But I would have had to tell you eventually what flag I will unfurl and how. And then you would have asked mockingly: A flag, what is that? A stick with a rag on it?—No, sir, a flag is more than that. With a flag one can lead men wherever one wants to, even into the Promised Land.

For a flag men will live and die; it is indeed the only thing for which they are ready to die in masses, if one trains them for it; believe me, the policy of an entire people—particularly when it is scattered all over the earth—can be carried out only

with imponderables that float in thin air. Do you know what went into the making of the German Empire? Dreams, songs, fantasies, and black-red-and-gold ribbons—and in short order. Bismarck merely shook the tree which the visionaries had planted.

What! You do not understand the imponderable? And what is religion? Consider, if you will, what the Jews have endured for the sake of this vision over a period of two thousand years. Yes, visions alone grip the souls of men. And anyone who has no use for them may be an excellent, worthy, sober-minded person, even a philanthropist on a large scale; but he will not be a leader of men, and no trace of him will remain.

Nevertheless, a people's visions must have firm ground underneath. How do you know that I do not have eminently practical ideas for individual details? Details which, to be sure, are themselves of gigantic dimensions.

The exodus to the Promised Land constitutes in practical terms an enormous job of transportation, unprecedented in the modern world. Did I say "transportation"? It is a complex of all kinds of human enterprise which will be geared one into the other like cog-wheels. And this undertaking will even in its first stages provide employment for an aspiring multitude of our young people: all the engineers, architects, technologists, chemists, physicians, lawyers, who have emerged from the ghetto during the last thirty years and who thought that they would gain their livelihood and their bit of honor outside the higgling and haggling Jewish trades. They must now be getting desperate and are beginning to constitute a frightful proletariat of intellectuals. But all my love belongs to them, and I want to increase their numbers even as you wish to decrease them. In them I see the future, as yet dormant strength of the Jews. In a word, my kind of people.

Out of this proletariat of intellectuals I shall form the general staff and the cadres of the army which is to seek, discover, and take over the land.

Their very departure will create some breathing space for

the middle classes in anti-Semitic countries and ease the pressure.

Don't you see that at one stroke I shall get both Jewish capital and Jewish labor for our purposes, and their enthusiasm as well, once they understand what it is all about?

These, of course, are only rough outlines. But how do you know that I have not already worked out the details involved? Did you let me finish?

It is true the hour was late; perhaps you were being expected somewhere else, or had work to do, or whatever. But the progress of such a weighty matter must not be made to depend on such petty contingencies. Have no fear, it really does not.

You will wish to continue our conversation, and—without waiting for you—I shall always be ready to furnish you with the further details.

If the stimuli I have given you are still active within you and you wish to talk with me, then write me: "*Venez me voir* [Come to see me]." That will suffice, and I shall come to London for a day. And if on that day I don't convince you any more than I did yesterday, I shall go away just as undismayed and cheerful as I went away the first time. Would you like to make a bet with me? I am going to raise a national Jewish Loan Fund. Will you pledge yourself to contribute fifty million marks when I have raised the first hundred million?

In return, I shall make you the head man.

What are ten billion marks to the Jews? They are certainly richer than the French were in 1871, and how many Jews were among them! As a matter of fact, if need be, we could get under way even with one billion. For this will be working capital, the foundation for our future railroads, emigration fleet, and navy. With it we shall build houses, palaces, workers' dwellings, schools, theaters, museums, government buildings, prisons, hospitals, insane asylums—in short, cities—and make the new land so fruitful as to turn it into the Promised Land.

The loan will itself become the main channel for the emigration of capital. This is the heart of the matter as far as state finances are concerned. It may not be superfluous to remark

at this point that I am presenting all this as a man of politics. *I am no businessman and never want to be one.*

Jewish money is available in huge quantities for a Chinese loan, for Negro railroads in Africa, for the most exotic undertakings—and would none be found for the deepest, the most immediate, the direst need of the Jews themselves?

I shall stay in Paris until the middle of July. Then I shall go away for some length of time. It concerns the cause. I beg you, however, to maintain complete silence on this point as well as all the others I have touched upon. At present, my actions may not seem important to you as yet; this is precisely why I am drawing your attention to the value that I attach to absolute secrecy.

For the rest, I assure you in all sincerity that our discussion, even in its fragmentary state, has proved interesting to me and that you have been no disappointment.

With a respectful greeting, I am

Yours sincerely,
Dr. Herzl

Here follow fragmentary thoughts, all of which relate to the Jewish State and are utilized in my political treatise, *The Jewish State*.

June 5, 1895

Central Employment Office

There records will be kept on the fluctuations of the labor market, the way that a bank keeps track of bills of exchange.

A large-scale farmer telegraphs: Request 1000 hands tomorrow. (Sent by train, military style.) A tailor needs assistants. An apprentice shoemaker seeks training. Every enterprise, the largest and the smallest, converges in this department. A reservoir of labor. Unions, employment agencies to be nationalized —like railroads, insurance, etc.

Secretary Goldschmidt.

Similarly, an advisory center for capital. Money is needed in such-and-such a place. In one place there is no sugar factory; in another, there is petroleum. And this office will be a clearing house for the applications of prospective borrowers and investors. This might take the form of an official publication. Forestall profiteering everywhere.

* * *

Principle: well-tried enterprises, such as banking, railroads, insurance, shipping, etc. will be taken charge of by the state where there is no doubt that they will prosper. (In return, remission of taxes!)

Risk will be left to private capital, with the inducement of large profits. Successful enterprises later will pay taxes graded in direct proportion to the growth of their returns. Clearly draw the line where private enterprise is not strangled.

When eveything is underway over there, the task of the Director-General will begin in earnest. The emigration must take place *respectably*. The Jewish Company will make good on any fraudulent dealings before emigration and then indemnify itself from the swindler over there.

In this way we shall avoid major crises and prosecutions in later phases of the emigration and lay the foundation for respect in the eyes of the world.

We shall also show our gratitude to benevolent governments by setting ourselves up as large taxpayers in places where we could evade taxes (that is, everywhere, due to the legal sovereignty of foreign countries) and by offering a broad base.

What we lose in this way and through the devaluation of the immovables that are taken over from us we shall amply make up for by our enormous earnings through our planned improvement of the cheap land over there.

* * *

Tentative principle for construction: At first decorative, with light materials (designed for 10-20 years, with the exception of

monuments), *cela attire l'oeil* [that attracts the eye], exposition style. This will provide for subsequent new construction, thus opportunities for employment indefinitely. Then, durable and handsome.

* * *

The *Society of Jews** will proceed in a substantial, financially sound, reliable manner. It is, among other things, also a big shipping agency (take Leinkauf) and will arrange for special passenger and freight rates from the railroads.

This will also be a sort of appeasement for our exodus. For, subsequently people will be sorry and want to follow us, as did Pharaoh. But we shall leave no dirty dealings behind. Jewish honor begins.

* * *

Woe to the swindlers who may try to enrich themselves through the Jewish cause. We shall set up the most severe punishments for them, involving the loss of civil rights and of the right to acquire real estate.

* * *

For the *Society* must not become a Panama.

* * *

We shall unite all Zionists.

* * *

Health measures prior to departure. Infectious diseases to be cured on this side. We shall have embarcation hospitals (quarantines), baths, clothing centers before departure.

* * *

To breed a peasantry like that of bygone times would be like equipping a modern army with bows and arrows.

* * *

* In English in the original.

The idea now absorbs me to such an extent that I relate everything to it, as a lover to his beloved.

Today I went to see Floquet's secretary about Nemec, a member of the Foreign Legion, who was recruited under false pretenses. While the secretary read me the War Minister's Official Report—obviously an irregular procedure as far as the hierarchy is concerned—all I could think about was our own troops; how I could create discipline and yet prevent such inhuman acts.

In the evening, *Tannhäuser* at the Opera. We too will have such splendid auditoriums—the gentlemen in full dress, the ladies dressed as lavishly as possible. Yes, I want to make use of the Jewish love of luxury, in addition to all other resources.

This again made me think of the phenomenon of the crowd.

There they sat for hours, tightly packed, motionless, in physical discomfort—and for what? For something imponderable, the kind that Hirsch does not understand: for sounds! for music and pictures!

I shall also cultivate majestic processional marches for great festive occasions.

June 6, 1895

We shall have to go through bitter struggles: with a reluctant Pharaoh, with enemies, and especially with ourselves. The Golden Calf!

* * *

But we shall carry it through, earnest and far-sighted, as long as the people always sense and know the loftiness of our aims.

* * *

Keep the army well in hand!

* * *

All officials in uniform, trim, with military bearing, but not ludicrously so.

* * *

Gigantic *assistance par le travail* [public works].

* * *

On the transport we work out the passage of the destitute. But they do not get it free. Over there they will pay by working, which is part of their training.

* * *

Prizes of all kinds for virtues.

* * *

Tobacco plantations, silk factories.

* * *

The Wonder Rabbi of Sadagora to be brought over and installed as something like the bishop of a province. In fact, win over the entire clergy.

You must convert the algebraic to the numerical. There are people who do not understand that $(a + b)^2 = a^2 + 2ab + b^2$. For them you must calculate it in familiar terms.

* * *

I fully realize that the most immediate in my outline is as sound as the most remote. But precisely in the most immediate (which everyone can see) there must be no errors, otherwise people will take the whole thing for a fantasy.

* * *

Order of procedure:

1. Money-raising (syndicate).
2. Start of publicity (which will cost nothing, for the anti-Semites will rejoice, and I shall break down the liberal opposition by threats of competition).
3. Enrollment of land-seekers.

4. More publicity, on the largest scale. Make Europe laugh at it, swear at it—in short, talk about it.

5. Negotiations with Zion.

6. Agreements on the purchase of land.

7. Issuing of land priorities (one billion).

8. Purchase and building of ships.

9. Continuous enlistment of *all* who come forward; recruitment, assignment, training.

10. Begin to publicize the big subscription.

11. Sailing of the expedition to take possession of the land, with news service for the entire press.

12. Selection and demarcation of the land and the sites for the main cities.

13. Workers from Russia, etc. will have been building embarcation barracks (on Italian or Dutch coast, first for themselves, then for subsequent contingents).

14. Fare and freight contracts with railroads. We must make a big profit on transportation.

15. Exchange of old items for new ones begins.

16. The wheels already in motion will, of course, be kept turning; gradually all the other elements in my program will be added until the entire machine is running!

17. To the German Kaiser (request privileges! from him).

• • •

On our part, we guarantee good order and provide a base for taxation (possibly in return for permission for a public subscription to a lottery loan).

June 7, 1895

Hirsch—a week ago he still was the cornerstone of my plans; today he has declined to a *quantité absolument négligeable* [completely negligible quantity], toward which I even feel magnanimous—in thoughts.

• • •

Read *Daniel Deronda*. Teweles talks about it. I don't know it yet.

* * *

To the Family Council. I start with you, because at the beginning, until my cadres are set up, I cannot use a *grand fracas* [big row], and can more safely lead out the life and property of the masses. On the other hand, if I stir up the masses first, I endanger the rich.

* * *

Thus I can proceed more cautiously.

* * *

I am the man who makes aniline dyes out of refuse. I must use analogies of different kinds, for this thing is something unparalleled.

* * *

One can put it simply and say that I am having a pair of boots made.

* * *

I have been to Hirsch, I am going to Rothschild, as Moltke went from Denmark to Prussia.

* * *

Let the cowardly, assimilated, baptized Jews remain. We shall benefit even them—they will boast of their kinship with us of which they are now ashamed. We faithful Jews, however, will once again become great.

At the same time, if I win over the R's, I do not want to cast off poor Baron Hirsch.

I shall give him some vice-presidency (in recognition of his past services, and because he is acquainted with my plan).

For the rest, I am not afraid of his divulging my three letters.

But if he does, I shall smash him, incite popular fanaticism against him, and demolish him in print (as I shall inform him in due course).

But I would much prefer to unite him and all the other big Jews under one banner.

First, the administrative council of the Society shall comprise *les plus "upper"* [the uppermost] (for authority's sake). Then I shall install the Camondos and Mendelssohns as heads of the daughter institutions.

I bring to the R's and the big Jews their historical mission.

J'accueillerai toutes les bonnes volontés [I shall gather all men of good will]—we *must* be united—*et écraserai les mauvaises* [and shall crush all those of ill will] (this I shall say threateningly to the Family Council).

A letter to Teweles (courage is not enough). I must write Beer that I can use his Beerite.

* * *

My moving from Vienna to Paris and back was historically necessary, so that I might learn what emigration is.

Güdemann: I will make you the first bishop of the capital. I called you to Glion to offer you visible proof of what we are already capable of in Nature.

If the R's are not willing, I shall take the matter before the entire community of Jews. Apart from the delay, this would have the additional disadvantage of forcing me to divulge my most carefully guarded plans and deliver them to public discussion, including that of the anti-Semites.

The disadvantage to the R's is the fact that the cause would become public knowledge and produce storms of rage (the Jews want to move away!); this could lead to serious unrest in the streets and to repressive legislation.

I either safeguard or endanger their property. And I accomplish this because my pen has remained clean and will continue to be not for sale.

Second Sheet from the *Bois*

I present the solution of the Jewish Question through safeguarding the R. property, and vice versa.

But I am not dependent on the R's—I should merely prefer to use them as a focal point, because I could raise the whole money in one afternoon, by a *simple passage d'écriture* [stroke of the pen].

They should induce Albert R. to present the matter to the Family Council and invite me to address the Council (but not in Paris, because the setting might overawe me).

June 7. In the Palais Royal gardens

Build something on the order of the Palais Royal or the Square of St. Mark.

* * *

No Jew to be sent away. Everyone to be used according to his ability or lack of it, e.g., to be taught the breeding of horses.

Introduction at Glion before the clergyman and the layman.

History. Things cannot improve, but are bound to get worse —to the point of massacres.

Governments can't prevent it any longer, even if they want to. Also, there is Socialism behind it.

In the twenty years "before it becomes known," I must train the boys to be soldiers. But only a professional army. Strength: one-tenth of the male population; less would not suffice internally.

In fact, I shall educate one and all to be free, strong men, ready to serve as volunteers in case of need. Education by means of patriotic songs, the Maccabees, religion, heroic stage-plays, honor, etc.

June 7

The Exodus under Moses bears the same relation to this project as a Shrovetide Play by Hans Sachs does to a Wagner opera.

* * *

June 7

I am prepared for anything: lamenting for the flesh-pots of Egypt, the dance around the Golden Calf—also the ingratitude of those who are most indebted to us.

Popular hymns (a *Marseillaise* of the Jews) to be commissioned from Goldmark, Brüll, and other Jewish composers (including Mandl). A prize contest unnecessary and ludicrous. The best one will become universal.

We shall probably model the Constitution after that of Venice, but profit by her bad experiences by preventing them. If the Rothschilds join with us, the first *Doge* is to be a Rothschild. I will not and never shall be a *Doge*, for I wish to secure the state beyond the term of my own life.

For Glion.—I have asked you to meet here in order to demonstrate to you how independent of Nature men have already become.

1st main point: I solve the question by either safeguarding the R. fortune or the reverse.

2nd main point: If I cannot do it together with the R's, I shall do it in opposition to them.

Young people (as well as the poor) will get English games: cricket, tennis, etc.; schools in the mountains.

By offering prizes I shall raise the moral level of *our* group, not of those who stay behind! (viz., prizes that are valuable but do not cost us anything, such as landed property, decorations, etc.)

Principle: Every one of my former acquaintances who comes will get a job, near or far.

At first I shall speak with them cordially and examine them; but the moment their employment starts, this geniality will stop as a matter of principle; I shall tell them this right at the outset, for reasons of discipline.

• • •

In the Tuileries, before Gambetta's statue. I hope the Jews will put up a more artistic one of me.

* * *

After a hundred years, universal military service should be introduced; but who knows how far civilization will have progressed by then.

We shall give up the Jewish jargons, Judeo-German, which had sense and justification only as the stealthy tongue of prisoners.

I think of the seven-hour working day as an international publicity scheme, to begin with; perhaps it can even be made a permanent feature. If not, the *jeu naturel* [natural course of things] will straighten things out again.

To everyone, high and low, I say: No narrow-mindedness! In a new world there is room for all . . .

With important people one must be gruff if one wants something from them; they see too many smiles.

It took at least thirteen years for me to conceive this simple idea. Only now do I realize how often I went right past it.

The "public works" system has been very important to me.

* * *

Circenses [entertainments] as soon as possible:

German theatre, international theatre, operas, operettas, circuses, café-concerts, Café *Champs Elysées.*

* * *

Send wonderful display material for the Exposition of 1900.

* * *

The High Priests will wear impressive robes; our cuirassiers, yellow trousers and white tunics; the officers, silver breast-plates.

* * *

As soon as we have decided on the land and concluded a preliminary treaty with its present sovereign, we shall start

diplomatic negotiations with all the great powers for guarantees.

Then, issuance of the Jewish loan.

* * *

Rousseau believed that there was such a thing as a *contrat social.* There is not. In the state there is only a *negotiorum gestio.*

Thus I conduct the affairs of the Jews without their mandate, but I become responsible to them for what I do.

To the Family Council: For you that is *un simple passage d'écriture* [a stroke of the pen].

And yet this safeguarding of your property will yield you the biggest profit you have ever made.

That is why I want the great masses of the Jews to get some of it, whether through a second issue for which only the original subscribers are eligible or through shares for the first takers of land (the latter procedure would be better and more social-minded). We shall easily find the proper form.

That is in your interest as well; otherwise the Jews will bear you a great deal of ill-will later.

June 8, 1895

Dig out the centers and take them across. Transplant whole environments in which the Jews feel *comfortable.*

* * *

Seek out and hire anyone who at any time may have done me an injury and therefore hesitates to approach me. Because I must be the first to set an example of supreme magnanimity.

The solution of the Jewish Question must be a mighty final chord of reconciliation. We part as friends from our foes—this should be the beginning of Jewish honor.

To the men at Glion and, later, to the Family Council:

Note that I am not letting my imagination run riot, but working with nothing but facts which you can examine for yourselves; the imagination is inherent only in their combination.

* * *

I firmly believe that I shall win the people over. Only petty people take revenge.

* * *

The Company will make restitution for dishonest dealings that our emigrants leave behind—of course, only what can be proven beyond doubt. We shall make up for it over there. That is manly discipline.

* * *

Let the German Kaiser say to me: I shall be grateful to you if you lead these unassimilable people out. (This will lend me authority and make a big impression on the Jews.)

Keep a file of my personal correspondence. Start a file for each person with whom I have any dealings.

To bring the Jews all under one hat will be a miserable job, although, or, rather, because, they each have a head.

The first Senator will be my father.

The Senate will include all the prominent Jews who go with us.

Among scraps of paper I today found a slip I wrote in San Sebastian on the eve of my departure for Paris. It says: "I shall have galoshes like a businessman's."

At that time, as usual, I foresaw the whole development—except its duration and its end.

Today I say: I shall associate with the mighty of this earth as their equal.

* * *

To the men at Glion.

I am now elaborating for you only on the moral-political and the financial aspects, i.e., the goal which I see just as clearly as the point of departure.

The project has many other aspects: technical, military, diplomatic, administrative, economic, artistic, etc.

For the moment you must believe me that I know how to

proceed in these directions as well and have made plans for them.

A department of inventions, with correspondents in Paris, London, Berlin, etc., who immediately report on all novelties which are then tested for their usability.

The department head must be replaced frequently, lest he turn into a routine official.

• • •

Popular festivals of an artistic nature, scattered throughout the country, in such a manner that masses do not always converge on one point. For that way crowds only feel unhappy at festivals.

Of course, there will also be national festivals with gigantic spectacles, colorful processions, etc.—e.g., on the foundation day of the State. Perhaps also on the anniversary of Glion.

Baron Hirsch (who will appear as the great rebel immediately after I have made an agreement with the Rothschilds) I must handle with sovereign amiability. Flatter him (all right for me to do, because I no longer need him): "You are a clever and good person; I liked you extremely well from the start; we must reach an understanding. I shall make it up between you and Rothschild. We have to stick together now."

Then, the *sursum corda* [lift up your hearts]: Responsibility before people and history.

Finally, threaten him with fanatics to whom I shall denounce him.

This exodus is to the earlier one as the present-day scientific exploration of the Witwatersrand gold fields is to the adventurous exploration of Bret Harte's Californians.

Guard against an overestimation of myself, arrogance, and folly, if the project succeeds. If it does not, writing will help me get it off my chest.

There are details which I cannot tell you yet, because at this moment I do not know if you are going to be my friends. You

see, you can only be my friends or my foes. There can no longer be anything in between.

* * *

1st stage: The Rothschilds.
2nd stage: The midget millionaires.
3rd stage: The little people (i.e., wide publicity!) If it comes to this stage, the first two will rue the day.

* * *

I shall take along all beggars, all peddlers. The devil can have those who want to stay behind, i.e., refuse to work.

Once I have pulled out the poor, there will be a sigh of relief.

Jewish splendor will not be a bother in Europe any more either. Because all those who are well advised will build their palaces over there.

Not until later will the relief give way to a sense of loss; but by that time we shall be established over there and have our army and our diplomatic corps.

Diplomats will be the hardest to recruit, because in the captivity we have lost our style.

To the men of Glion:

The Rothschilds have no idea of how endangered their property already is. They live in a phony circle of courtiers, servants, employees, paupers, and aristocratic spongers.

It is a solution because I satisfy all:

Poor men, rich men, workers, intellectuals, governments, and anti-Semitic peoples.

* * *

To the Family Council:

You give a poor man 100 francs. I give him work, even if I have none; at worst I lose 100 francs on it. But I shall have created a useful existence, and you—a pauper. *Avec ça* [thereby], I create a *market* along with the job! And therefore must make

what entrepreneurs make—*je gagne tout ce que je vieux* [I earn whatever I want].

* * *

Your property is an increasing calamity. We shall let ourselves be cheated in the exchange of old immovables for new ones, but shall create a privileged, legal mortgage for dirty dealings left behind.

Study shipping rates with Leinkauf. We must be able to transport persons at the parcel rate. We shall have our own trains, like Cook and Schrökl. I shall study Cook's system as well, in order to figure out what concessions he gets.

* * *

Jewish capital must make no new undertakings.

Jewish labor must not compete any more.

Equal rights are still on the law books, but have actually been rescinded.

We produce too much intellect and no longer have a market for it.

To the Family Council: My view is that socialism is a purely technological problem. The distribution of Nature's forces through electricity will eliminate it. Meanwhile our model state will have come into being.

* * *

City construction: First canals, water, gas, etc., then wood blocks on top.

June 8

We must not only copy Paris, Florence, etc., but seek a Jewish style expressive of a sense of relief and liberty.

Bright, airy halls, supported by pillars.

Create breathing spaces between towns. Every town like a big house located in the middle of a garden.

In the free areas between the towns there must be only cultivated fields, forests, etc. By this I shall prevent hypertrophic cities, and the towns will look inhabited sooner.

In the evening I dined with the Schiffs. Their in-laws from Vienna were visiting them. Well-to-do, educated, depressed people. They moaned softly about anti-Semitism, to which I continually steered the conversation.

The husband expects a new St. Bartholomew's Night. The wife believes that conditions could hardly get any worse. They argued about whether it was good or bad that Lueger's election as mayor of Vienna had not been ratified.

Their faintheartedness completely dismayed me. They do not suspect it, but they are Ghetto types, quiet, decent, timorous.

Most of our people are like that. Will they understand the call to be free and become human beings?

When I left I was in a very bad humor. My plan again seemed crazy to me.

But in the middle of my *défaillance* [feeling of depression] I said to myself: I've started it and now I'll go through with it.

The main thing is for me to show determination—at Glion and on future occasions.

A thing like that is only a matter of suggestion. The moment I doubt, I am grotesque.

June 9, 1895

Salo and Güdemann shall each bring along a memorandum. Güdemann's should deal with the number and distribution of persecutions that come to his attention, signs as to whether anti-Semitism is increasing (and if so, at what rate) or decreasing, with official and officious anti-Semitism, anti-Semitism in schools and offices, to the extent of his knowledge, etc.—in short, everything that he knows about the moral and political situation.

Salo should cover the conditions under which Jews earn a living, the interest rate, the distribution of property (the number of large properties, an estimate of the small ones), the state of

the Jewish entrepreneurial spirit (whether it is growing, and if so, at what rate, or declining), the temper in business circles.

In the morning: Today I am again as hard as iron. The faintheartedness of the people yesterday is one more reason for taking action. Gentiles in their circumstances would be cheerful and enjoy life. Jews are sad.

The provisioning of the population will probably not be handled by the State.

To avoid being called a "*manager*" in England, which sounds too commercial, I shall perhaps have the title of "Chancellor" or something like that.

The subordinate titles would for the time being remain those of regular joint-stock companies. Their conversion into state titles will later be regarded as a reward.

The principle on salaries: grant everyone a noticeable increment of from one fourth to one half of his present income. But retain a margin for advancement, in titles as well as salaries.

In the beginning, the founding officials would not have a proper appreciation of titles; they would even seem ridiculous to them. So let them just regard themselves as employees of a wealthy joint-stock company.

Let a newspaper reader (Schiff) every day keep an eye open for new charitable institutions, hospitals, etc., and submit extracts to me.

In fact, all department heads have instructions to advise me of every important manifestation of progress that the spirit of the times produces in their fields and to give me special reports on major developments.

I myself shall not read any newspapers (following Freycinet's principle—words that he told me about Casimir Périer), and shall give orders not to tell me about anything that concerns me, be it praise or censure.

Henceforth I have the right and the duty to disregard personal attacks of any kind.

Only if a *courant d'opinion* [current of opinion] against the

undertaking is about to be created, I must be informed of it immediately, so that I may break down the opposition.

I shall completely ignore the attacks of anti-Semites, as long as they do not want to impede us (which will happen yet).

My personal security will be the concern of a well-run Secret Police.

* * *

June 9

It is a military campaign.—

Adopt immediately the principle of the Caravan of Arcueil (*La XIX. Caravane d'Arcueil par Lhermite,* obtainable from the Dominicans in Paris, Ecole Lacordaire).

The Leader (perhaps Bachrach) shall profitably read the book by the Dominican Priest Lhermite and give me a report on it. The very first year we shall send over a caravan (Raoul will go along), and then there will be similar contingents at regular intervals.

To establish stock exchanges, brokerages will be auctioned off, for one year to begin with.

But anyone who, while he is still a free agent, commits actions which will be proscribed later will be disqualified (and he will be warned about this in advance).

On the other hand, anyone who behaves properly will receive priority for the following year without having to bid for it. He can retain his position at the highest price offered for an additional year. This is how it will go until the fifth or the tenth year (we shall determine this according to the circumstances), and then the auctioning will cease and the brokers will become a closed corporation.

Through the grand institution of this stock-exchange monopoly I shall also get an astonished Europe to imitate us. This will crowd the Jews out of the European stock exchanges, because the existing governments certainly will not give these sinecures to Jews. That will yield me fresh emigrants.

I shall insure the alertness and justice of the traveling com-

plaint commissars by holding them responsible. They will be subject to disciplinary measures like salary deductions, transfers, etc. if they disregard just complaints or give a bad or biased judgment.

There will be secret chief inspectors, i.e., legates who will be traveling about in the area anyway and will have to record their observations.

Local self-assessments could lead to swindling. Therefore the emigrants will remain collectively liable until what has been left behind has been realized, and the liability will reside in a privileged mortgage on their new properties.

A stock-exchange monopoly of the state seems a brilliant solution to me now.

Brokerage does not require any previous knowledge; it is *unskilled labor*!*

I shall have the licensed brokers in my hand completely and use them for state purposes; I shall direct them according to the requirements of my policy and be able to prevent abuses. I shall tolerate no stock-exchange bucket shops. I want a sound money market. Any broker who promotes speculating will be removed. Removal involves not only the loss of a fat sinecure, but also of civil rights for a graduated period of time.

A broker will become a person of trust like a notary public. I shall combine the brokers in chambers with a tribunal of honor.

A hierarchy of offenses is to be devised and a special code to be established.

It is a broker's duty to take a close look at his clients. He can do what I cannot do: tell a speculator from a would-be investor.

Brokers who have caused someone's economic ruin with demonstrable *culpa* [blame] (even *levis* [slight]) will be removed. But I can also grade the punishments: e.g., temporary suspension

* In English in the original.

(which does not involve loss of political rights and can be graduated, from a week to two years; after all, sometimes it is hard to establish a broker's guilt).

I may relieve the tribunal of honor of making decisions about suspension and removal and charge my State Stock-Exchange Commission with it.

Perhaps I shall make this commission only an appellate court, because I want to forestall the machinations of professional jealousy.

June 9

The same organization as for the Stock Exchange also for grain, cattle, and merchandise exchanges as well as everything that is subject to speculation.

* * *

The income from this monopoly will give me a substantial contribution to the needs of the state.

* * *

Brokerages will at first be granted provisionally on the basis of *redevance* [dues] and will gradually be used for pensions for deserving officials. Later they can also be divided into quarters and eighths (like the *agents* system in Paris).

* * *

The brokerships are not inheritable or saleable.—

Thus I can safely make the capital city the headquarters of the world money-market.

Certain posts (military, diplomatic, juridical, administrative, etc.) will never be compensated out of income from the brokerages, but pensioned directly by the State. That will be only a matter of bookkeeping for us, but it will contribute to the elevation and honoring of these professions.

To the Family Council (June 6):

If I can work with you, I shall have all the advantages of initial secrecy.

As soon as the first cadres are set up, the land is fixed, etc., I can go to governments and tell them: R's are making this sacrifice (a kind of indirect self-taxation) to remove your surplus Jews.

We must use the word "surplus," otherwise they will not let us make propaganda and move away.

In the beginning it must appear that we want to perform the governments a service. We are sacrificing a billion for the "solution of the Jewish Question."

In return for this we receive the favors that we need: release from military service, and the like.

Above all, toleration of our propaganda and occasionally (upon our request) an ungracious word, but with the maintenance of order.

After ten years the movement will be irresistible, and the Jews will come running to us barefoot through fog and darkness. Nothing will be able to stop them, at least not in the countries in which they are free to move.

If there should then be attempts to impede the free passage of the Jews, we shall know how to mobilize the public opinion of the world (liberals, socialists, anti-Semites) against the imprisonment of the Jews.

Then, too, our diplomats will be at work (we shall make financial concessions in the form of loans and special gifts).

Once we are outside, we shall put our trust in our army, our purchased friendships, and a Europe weakened and divided by militarism and socialism.

This is Jewish emancipation.

To the Family Council:

You are accustomed to transacting worldwide deals. Perhaps you will understand me.

I may issue the Jewish National Loan from our capital city.

First I shall negotiate with the Czar (to whom our patron, the Prince of Wales, will introduce me) regarding permission for the Russian Jews to leave the country.

He is to give me his imperial word and have it published in the official gazette (he will believe that I am able to lead away only a few hundred thousand).

Then I shall negotiate with the German Kaiser. Then with Austria. Then with France, regarding the Algerian Jews. Then, as need dictates.

In order to be in high esteem at the European courts, I must secure the highest decorations. The English first.

* * *

June 9

I shall frequently make surprise spot inspections. (Highly important, so as to prevent *gaspillage* [waste] and officials lying down on the job).

Also get reports on malpractices from a secret Administrative Police.

June 9

At the head of the Jewish paper:

Complaints about malpractices and arbitrary acts of officials are to bear the notation "Complaint to the Director-General" on the envelope.

* * *

For such complaints I shall establish traveling commissions of investigation (which will also appear unannounced).

Punishment for officials: dismissal only in extreme cases. For minor offenses, transfer to more remote areas, more arduous duties.

But by consistently good conduct such official blemishes will be wiped out and will no longer prevent advancement.

Of course, every official will have his record of conduct in the

department and a file in the London headquarters (*en attendant que cela soit dans notre capitale* [until we have one in our capital]).

* * *

The acceptance of gifts will be followed by dismissal in all cases, but the dismissed official will be allowed to settle in the country and live as a free man. Also, his blameless family will be guarded against privation.

One form of buying our release from the states is a double fee for the transfer of immovable properties which are sold by their present owners to the Society, and by the Society to others.

To be sure, we shall not admit this in advance, but shall at first have the Society only act as an agent.

Only when public opinion begins to calm down regarding the removal of property, we shall "after careful deliberation and to show our good will" find the expedient of this double transfer, pledging ourselves to deprive the tax swindlers over there of certain benefits enjoyed by the honest emigrants, e.g., to give reduced rates of transportation and shipping only to those who can produce an official statement from their former place of residence certifying that they have "moved away in good order."

We shall of course recognize the validity of any legal claims made by the previous places of residence (even when our own laws are already in force). Such suits shall be decided with all possible speed and all conceivable expedition and according to the law of the original place of residence.

In return for that, they will have to let us take the Jewish deserters (something that I shall settle in a form not offensive to us). Because of the fact that we shall have a homeland of our own, we shall no longer be obligated to serve in the armed forces of our erstwhile host nations (here I accept the viewpoint of the anti-Semites).

Make the leader of the Youth Caravans (after the pattern

of the Dominicans of Arcueil) responsible for moral discipline, seriousness, and studies of the young men. These are not pleasure tours, but study and work trips, an ambulatory school with daily lessons and lectures, a botanical field trip through the world. I shall get special reports on this each time. Very important.

Once we are over there, the dancers around the Golden Calf will be furious at my barring them from the Stock Exchange.

I shall have them dispersed in the street and tell the Parliament:

"That was all right in the time of our captivity. Now we have the duties of freedom. We must be a people of inventors, warriors, artists, scholars, honest merchants, up-and-coming workmen, etc."

In the old days there was an excuse for stock-market gambling. Our intellects were shackled, and we had to traffic in money. Now we are free. Now any Jew can get any office in the state, in our State. Anyone can become a general, a minister, a chief justice, a scholar—in short, anything.

Now only the idlers want freedom to gamble on the stock-market, and this is something that we must overcome, otherwise we shall again be ruined and pitifully dispersed throughout the world.

Far be it from me to say a word against the old-time stock traders. My dear father, after his lumber business had gone to ruin, was obliged to earn his bread as a stock agent, in order not to starve and to give me a decent education. But that was in the days gone by. In those days a Jew had no other way out. Now this is no longer necessary and therefore will no longer be tolerated.

I too could have made a fortune while directing this vast enterprise, just as I made millionaires of men around me. It was I who determined the location of our cities—what real estate deals I could have made in the process!

No! I have only my salary, which I need to keep up a decent front, and the house which I built out of my savings. I know that the nation will never let my posterity suffer want.

June 9

When this book is published, the prescriptions for the organization of the government will be omitted. The people must be guided to the good according to principles unknown to them.

Therefore the editors of the book—if I am no longer alive—shall extract the administrative maxims and keep them in the secret State Archives.

Only the Doge and the Chancellor may read them. To be omitted are also those remarks which could annoy foreign governments.

But the course the negotiations took shall be retained, so that our people may see how I led the Jews home.

June 9

When someone comes to ask for a job:

Am I going to take you? I take everyone who has some ability and wants to work—your brother, your friends, your relatives and acquaintances, all of them, all, all! Got that? And now, go.

June 9

A crop of professional politicans must be prevented in any way possible.

I must study this problem with the utmost care when the time comes.

* * *

The Senators will in any case get a salary which will at the same time constitute an honorary pension for our great minds.

* * *

June 9

As stipends for my brave warriors, ambitious artists, and loyal, gifted officials I shall use the dowries of our wealthy girls.

I must carry on marriage politics.

* * *

To the big bankers, who will look up to me, I shall say: I should like to see you give your daughters to up-and-coming, vigorous young men.

I need this for the State.

It is the self-fertilization of the nation.

June 9

In Palestine's disfavor is its proximity to Russia and Europe, its lack of room for expansion as well as its climate, which we are no longer accustomed to.

In its favor is the mighty legend.

In the beginning we shall be supported by anti-Semites through a *recrudescence** of persecution (for I am convinced that they do not expect success and will want to exploit their "conquest.")

* * *

June 9

A possible further concession for the removal of property.

The states concerned shall acquire the immovable property of the Jews.

The price, regardless of what has been paid by us, will be set by a regulatory commission on which we shall also be represented.

* * *

June 9

Language will present no obstacle. Switzerland too is a federal state of various nationalities.

We recognize ourselves as a nation by our faith.

Actually, German is, *par la force des choses* [of necessity], likely to become the official language. *Judendeutsch* [the German spoken by Jews]! As the yellow badge is to become our blue ribbon!

I have nothing against French or English, either! I shall steer

* In French in the original.

the *jeunesse dorée* [gilded youth] toward English sports and in this way prepare them for the army.

* * *

June 9

On the trip to the Grand Prix—outside and on the way back, the main features of the Doge's coronation and of duelling occurred to me.

When I thought that someday I might crown Hans as Doge and address him in the Temple in front of the country's great men as "Your Highness! My beloved son!" I had tears in my eyes.

The procession, which starts from the Doge's palace, will be opened by Herzl Cuirassiers. Then come the artillery and the infantry.

The officials of all ministries, deputations from the cities, the clergy, finally the High Priest of the capital city. The flag with a guard of honor composed of generals. The Doge! And here the procession attains its symbolic splendor.

For, while all are marching in gold-studded gala dress, the high priests under canopies, the Doge will wear the garb of shame of a medieval Jew, the pointed Jew's hat and the yellow badge! (The procession might move through the Ghetto which will in any case be constructed as a reminder and a memorial.)

Behind the Doge there will be the Chancellor, the potentates representing foreign countries, the ministers, generals, etc., the diplomatic corps (provided one already exists), the Council of Ancients (Senate), the Parliament, freely-chosen deputations from the professions, the chambers of commerce, the attorneys, the physicians, etc. The artillery and infantry will bring up the rear.

June 9

My punishments for suicide: for an unsuccessful attempt, permanent confinement in an insane asylum; for accomplished suicide, refusal of an honorable burial.

June 9

I need duelling in order to have real officers and to impart a tone of French refinement to good society.

Duelling with sabres is permitted and will not be punished, no matter what the outcome, provided that the seconds have done their share toward an honorable settlement.

Every sabre duel will be investigated by the duelling tribunal only afterwards.

A *matamore,* a braggart who seeks an easy mark and picks out weaker opponents, may be declared as ineligible for further duelling by the tribunal if it can be proved that he was the offender; if he has inflicted serious injury, he may be referred to the regular criminal courts and sentenced according to the common criminal code.

• • •

Pistol duelling (or the American type, if it really exists) must be taken to the tribunal before the duel by the witnesses on both sides; otherwise those concerned will be punished and forfeit the right ever again to appear before the duelling tribunal.

The duelling tribunal may decide on a sabre duel; or, if one party is physically inferior, on no duel at all; or, finally, it may give a secret verdict. Such a verdict is heard only by the two duellers; the seconds have to withdraw. The secret verdict (for which I shall compose secret instructions) decrees a duel in a form no less dangerous, but useful to the state. Since only men of honor can fight a duel, the loser in any case would be the state, and for a long time to come it will need every able-bodied man.

Therefore these duellers will be sent out on dangerous missions which the state happens to require. It may be cholera vaccination, or at other times the fighting of a national enemy. In this way the risk of death of the duel will be retained, and we shall derive wonderful benefit from it.

June 9

City construction:

The difficulty: a margin for expansion, and yet with an appearance of being inhabited. May be solved by the construction of garden cities.

* * *

In all local groups, plans and pictures of the *homes** which we have drawn up by our young architects (prizes).

Selection, methods of payment, scales of rates.

* * *

Prizes for fertility and good patriarchal education of children.

* * *

We immediately have *unskilled labor** for hundreds of thousands, namely streets, highways.

A Bois de Boulogne near the capital city, or, rather, the other way around.—

To the Family Council and, earlier, at Glion: The R. fortune. That is what I am talking about. What business of yours is it, the R's will interpose. After all, we do not worry about the Herzl property.

Just a minute! It *is* my business. Every politician must regard its increase as a public menace.

But I worry about it because it is the most frightful menace to the Jews and because I am setting myself up as the *gestor* of the Jews.

More gently, before the Family Council:

In the course of the discussion I shall have to speak about your fortune. Will you concede me this right or shall I first explain that, too?

* In English in the original.

The cryptogam is the plant of Jewry; it has both sexes: capital and labor. (One sees only the capital.)

June 9

Since I want to establish garden cities, I face a dilemma: either to build the cities in forest clearings (possibly quicker, but the experts will tell me the objections to that), or plant trees between the houses, whereby I would lose the advertising appeal, the magic quality, but then I can develop the cities the way I want to; to be sure, they would look as if they were attending a tree nursery.

* * *

In any case, take landscape gardeners, horticultural experts along on my expedition to take possession of the land.

* * *

On the boat and in all places, work must be done, gentlemen of the General Staff.

* * *

June 9

Schiff's brother-in-law, after only two weeks, is home-sick for the Vienna coffee-houses. Consequently, I shall faithfully transplant Viennese cafés to the other side. With such little expedients I shall achieve the desired illusion of the old environment.

Have an ear for such small needs. They are very important.

* * *

To the Family Council:

There are two categories of Jews: those with and those without locomotion.

The latter I shall dig up and transport across—they will hardly notice it. The others, those able to move about, such as you and I, will continue to be mobile and will be respected.

* * *

Our belonging together! Do you want me to give you an example of it?

Eh bien [all right]: Today I, a stranger, come to you and tell you in confidence my most secret intentions.

It is possible that we shall wind up fighting each other—but like hostile brothers—; that way it is quite possible that we shall kill each other.

* * *

June 9

I am talking about your fortune—not because your name has become synonymous with money, for I have no feeling for it. I am not a money man. Haven't got a nose for it!

* * *

The man who pointed to the cover of a teakettle lifted by steam and said, "This is how I shall move people, animals, and freight, and give the world a new appearance," was derided as a lunatic.

* * *

Well, I shall not only demonstrate the principle to you with a teakettle, but show you the entire finished locomotive.

* * *

My analogies are too dazzling, disconcert you.

Now just imagine: if I dazzle you, from whom I want 1000 million—albeit not for myself—how I shall dazzle those whom I am going to make wealthy, free, and happy.

June 9

For Glion: The R's are to make an immediate decision, Yes or No. I have no time to lose. It has taken me thirteen years.

Family Council: I choose an aristocracy because I need an

elastic form of government for the future. A monarchy would lead to a revolution.

For a republic we are not virtuous enough, Montesquieu.

* * *

Family Council:

If not *with* you, then *in opposition* to you! What do I mean by that? I am not going to call your fortune an ill-gotten one. It would be a lie to say that.

I am not an extortioner and not a pamphleteer (but a statesman, and a Jewish one at that).

All I shall say is: it is too big! And injurious to the people, because private property increases faster than national prosperity. Coming from an unprejudiced Jew, this will create a stir.

June 10

To the German Kaiser:

If Jews emigrate, this must result in a decrease in emigration to America. You thereby gain, or, rather, preserve, genuine German citizens, forestall a revolution which might be hard to contain, weaken socialism which the oppressed Jews must flock to because they are cast out by other parties, and gain time for the solution of social problems.

* * *

My first secretary (E. Schiff) will recruit the naturalist investigators—geographers, geologists, chemists, technologists, botanists, zoologists, etc.

* * *

June 10

Political agitation which can lead to the downfall of the State is punishable by exile or, if the individual could do harm there, by death.

But even exile from the enchanting homeland will be a terrible punishment.

June 10

My constant concern must be the soundness of the economy. No dissipation, no waste. It is not a *curée* [quarry] for the covetous and the idle. It shall not become a Panama, but a Suez.

* * *

June 10

Amnesty!

All crimes committed in captivity, including those involving property, will be forgiven politically and will not affect civil rights (of course, the sound common sense of the population will bar notorious swindlers from positions of honor, *et au besoin j'y veillerai* [and if necessary I shall see to it]). A new life shall begin for Jews. But severe punishments for fresh crimes committed over there! Crimes on the eve of departure (dirty dealings left behind) I shall deal with only *civiliter* [under civil law], through the above-mentioned privileged mortgage.

June 10

As long as possible no taxes, or at most indirect ones which do not affect the belongings of the little man.

* * *

No luxury tax either, for I need luxury items for the market.

I shall gladly take French officers (Jews), but they must not be Gallic chauvinists.

* * *

From the army of *unskilled laborers** it will be possible to rise through industry, intelligence, efficiency, as in the Napoleonic army.

Anyone can become a marshal of labor. I shall frequently tell them so, or have them told, in popular addresses.

* * *

* In English in the original.

For special accomplishments which I notice, I shall immediately promote the worker and increase his salary. This bit of drama will have an effect on the masses.

As soon as *actions d'éclat* [striking deeds], which will be watched for according to my special instructions, are reported to me, I shall immediately reward them.

* * *

Organize the labor battalions along military lines, as far as possible.

* * *

Service in the labor battalions leads to a pension, as in the Army.

* * *

I must save only the badges of honor for those who risk their lives.

Through bestowing patents of nobility I shall draw great personal sacrifices from people.

Neither patents of nobility nor decorations must be obtainable for money. I shall validate those acquired elsewhere prior to the founding of the State, regardless of how they were obtained.

Later even foreign ones will be recognized only if they were acquired in a truly meritorious manner. A Jew will not be able to buy the title of a Portuguese Marquis and have it recognized by us. But if he is made a nobleman by Portugal for shining deeds (which, after all, will reflect glory on us as well), I shall recognize him at home.

All this will have to be closely examined by the Office of Nobility on an individual basis.

June 10

To the Family Council:

I am taking up once again the torn thread of the tradition of our people. I am leading it to the Promised Land. Do not think

this is a fantasy. I am not an architect of castles in the air. I am building a real house, with materials that you can see, touch, examine. Here are the blue-prints.

* * *

Note that the next European war cannot harm our enterprise, but only benefit it, because all Jews will transport all their belongings across, to safety.

Cowards will want to shirk military duty in our State if it comes to war. But just as I want to favor desertion to our side in peacetime, I shall impede it in wartime, on account of Jewish honor.

Let anyone who has delayed his adherence until then do his old duty and fight, and when the war is over we shall receive him with all honors, much greater ones than his former fatherland accorded him. In this way our fighting forces will get experienced warriors who have faced death and will enhance the prestige of our Army.

* * *

Incidentally, when peace is concluded we shall already have a say as money-givers and achieve advantages of recognition through diplomatic channels.

June 10

Draw limits of freedom of the press wisely. The pillory for slanderers, and substantial fines.

* * *

A House of Lords for the aristocracy, but not inheritable. First there must be an examination as to merit.

I must give more thought to ways of guarding against the absurd heirs of other countries.

* * *

Today is Hansi's birthday. He is four years old. I sent him a telegram to Vienna: "Love and kisses to my father-king." That is what my mother calls him. And I think of my dream.

* * *

The House of Lords will perhaps consist of three groups: one chosen by the aristocracy; one named by the government (Doges); the third elected indirectly, as in France. I have the same feeling as I did once in the Protestant *Gymnasium* [high school] at Pest in the senior grade: that I should soon leave school. At that time the death of my poor sister made it happen even sooner than I had thought!

Now I have a presentiment that I am going to leave the school of journalism.

* * *

By amnesty I mean only the restoration of honor after the crimes have been atoned for. Fugitives from justice (Jews) we shall extradite on a reciprocal basis.

* * *

Extradition treaties to exclude deserters in peacetime.

* * *

Literary copyright agreements! At first we shall pay, afterward receive payment, because we shall be a nation of thinkers and artists.

* * *

To the Family Council: The loan will perhaps not even have to be publicly floated; this would save concessions to governments in return for their permission.

Movable property will flock to us if we so much as pass the word in confidence. We shall simply start an account book and enter loans with no limit; and with this we shall acquire land, make foreign loans, etc.

* * *

In addition to transportation, industry, etc., it is also a huge financial transaction.

* * *

Come to think of it, in all this I am still the dramatist. I pick poor people in rags off the streets, put gorgeous costumes on them, and have them perform for the world a wonderful pageant of my composition.

I no longer operate with individuals, but with masses: the clergy, the army, the administration, the academy, etc., all of them mass units to me.

* * *

To the Family Council: I must call a spade a spade. This should not make you think that I am a rude person. But at the moment I do not know whether I shall proceed with you or in opposition to you. That is why the flourishes of courtesy might compromise me and give my later actions the appearance of revenge.

June 11, 1895

Labor units will march off to work like an army amidst the sounds of a fanfare and return home the same way.

* * *

June 11, 1895

No women or children shall work in our factories. We need a sturdy race. Needy women and children will be taken care of by the State.

"Old maids" will be employed in kindergartens and as nurses for the orphans of the working class, etc.

I shall organize these girls who have been passed over by suitors into a corps of governesses for the poor. They will be given housing by the State, enjoy due honors (just as every gentleman treats a governess courteously), and eventually will

be pensioned. But they can rise in the ranks in the same way that men can.

Moral conduct is a prerequisite. This makes the head of the Personnel Department an important person. For this position I must select a gentle, just, worldly-wise, elderly man and supervise him constantly, for any mistakes he might make could do a lot of harm and arouse dissatisfaction and bitterness.

But I want a happy nation.

A lot of toasts will be drunk to me. On important occasions I shall accept them and say: I like to see a leader being honored. That is necessary for his work and shows him that he enjoys the confidence of the people (unless self-seeking is part of it). But too much of it might do me harm. I want to be honored, but not flattered, otherwise I shall lose the naturalness and simplicity of my make-up.

The ship on which my parents, wife, and children make the crossing will also bring over all our relatives, near and distant. No one will feel violently uprooted, for the entire soil will go along.

A company of actors, singers, and musicians will help while away the passage; in fact, provision will be made on every ship for entertainment as well as instruction.

But games of chance will not be tolerated.

My officials will not be allowed to gamble at all. Such diversion of the intellect is no longer necessary. We need, and can use, all our intellectual resources. The love of adventure, which finds an outlet in gambling, shall now fertilize the soil of our new homeland.

As a young man I myself was a gambler—like Lessing, Laube, and many others who later became respectable men after all—but only because my craving for action had no other outlet.

This I shall at first tell the gamblers as a gentle warning. However, anyone who does not obey I shall dismiss from my service.

Only children and old people will be allowed to play. However, the games of the children must serve their physical develop-

ment: Running and ball games, cricket for boys, tennis for girls.

The inactive games must be designed to prepare the future development of the intellect. Drawing, painting, reading significant fairy-tales, games of construction for increasing the pleasure in synthesis, and the like.

Old men may play cards, but *not* for money, because this might tempt the onlookers and is unseemly for patriarchs. I want to have a patriarchal spirit in families.

However, I shall permit refined card-clubs, but with no members under forty years of age and with a stiff tax on playing cards for State revenue.

June 11

The Jews who have hitherto been in the consular service of various powers can be taken over into our diplomatic service. Of course, each individual will be tested for his qualifications.

There may be among them capable men who have acquired the polish and the forms of diplomacy. But no one has an *a priori* right to be appointed; the decisive factor is his usefulness to us.

But since for the time being we shall not be able to afford them any protection, we shall not give them any ringing titles, but call them agents, something that they can combine with their current consular assignments. Thus they will be covered by the respect they have at present.

We must not let our diplomatic titles, which will later attain high prestige, be made ridiculous at the outset.

* * *

Yacht owners can become our professional seamen and prepare to take command of our future Navy.

* * *

Should we go to South America, which would have a lot in its favor on account of its distance from militarized and seedy Europe, our first state treaties will have to be with South American republics.

We shall grant them loans in return for territorial privileges and guarantees. One of the most important concessions they will have to make to us is to allow us to have defensive troops.

In the beginning we shall need their permission. Gradually we shall get strong, grant ourselves everything that we need, and be able to defy everyone.

For the time being we must get protection from the troops of the state that receives us. Later we shall make an independent alliance with it.

We must have a South American and a European policy.

If we are in South America, the establishment of our State will not come to Europe's notice for a considerable period of time.

In South America we could at first live according to the laws, extradition treaties, etc. of the receiving state (vis-à-vis Europe).

Our defensive troops will always comprise ten percent of the male emigrants. In this way we shall get an Army together unobserved, but will for a long time proceed cautiously, exploiting the enmities of the republics and preserving their friendship through presents, bribes, loans, etc.

The crossing is to take place by local groups and social units. There will be first-class, second-class, and third-class ships, each with instruction and entertainment appropriate to it.

In this way the inciting example of class differences (observed at close proximity over many days) will be avoided.

Everyone will pay for his passage himself. I want luxury, but not fruitless envy.

* * *

I want luxury as a patron of the arts, as goal and prize. To see the enjoyments of the earth and to know that they are attainable through honest labor is a spur to great effort.

If I do not succeed in winning over the R's or the midget millionaires, I shall publish the entire plan in book form: *The Solution of the Jewish Question,* Duncker and Humblot, publishers, to whom I shall give only the first five editions under the

same conditions as my *Palais Bourbon*. They will only get an option on subsequent editions.

In my book *The Solution* etc., I shall tell about all my steps, from Hirsch via Rothschild to the midget millionaires.

Preface: They came to Rothschild with the electric light, too. He did not understand what it was all about.

I must eliminate all Venetian political elements from the book.

• • •

The danger of the R. fortune will, of course, not be presented in the manner of a pamphleteer, but with my own customary seriousness.

All polemics will be omitted. After all, I am concerned with the cause. And it will be of enormous benefit to the Jews that this will be said by a Jew who is above doubt, who has never made any deals, least of all with his pen.

June 11

S. C.'s answer was due yesterday and is not here even today. This directs my thoughts to the book. I am getting accustomed to the idea that it will not materialize.

June 11

In the Palais Royal (while standing up):

We are bad soldiers, because we are devoid of honor, because there is nothing for us beyond death. And yet there is no lack of examples to show that we know how to die well (Naquet's speech). But we cannot become leaders, and in this the states are right; otherwise we would be brigadier-generals everywhere within two generations, especially since war has become an intellectual affair. And certainly the nations cannot admit defeat by making the members of an unassimilated and unassimilable group the leaders of their armies.

• • •

June 11

The worth of my plan obviously lies in the facts that I am using only available resources, making unutilized or unutilizable things fruitful by combining them, that I have regard for all suffering (certainly including the hurts inflicted by Jews on Gentiles), protect all acquired rights, take all human impulses into account, balance world supply and world demand, use the progress of technology, and hold tradition sacred.

Make this correction above: The prudent immediately recognize the safe cobble-stones.

* * *

Yes, we have become a scourge for the peoples which once tormented us. The sins of their fathers are now visited on them. Europe is being punished for the ghettos now. To be sure, we are suffering under the sufferings that we are causing. It is a scourging with scorpions, live scorpions which are not to blame that they did not become lions, tigers, or sheep. After all, in the scourging the scorpions suffer most of all.

I could accept a mass request from the little Jews to lead them out only if all the governments concerned asked me to, promised me their sympathetic cooperation, and gave me guarantees for the peaceful completion of the enormous task, just as I would give them guarantees for an exodus without economic ill-effects. (I don't know whether I should have this printed in Roman type).

* * *

(Addendum to Teweles' letter): I must read *Daniel Deronda.* Perhaps it contains ideas similar to mine. They cannot be identical ones, because it took a concatenation of many specific circumstances to bring my plan into being.

If we have not yet emigrated by the outbreak of the next war, all Jews of quality must go to the front, regardless of whether they were "fit for active service" when they reached the draft age, whether they are still of military age, whether they are healthy

or sick. They must drag themselves to the army of their present fatherland, and if they are on opposite sides, they must shoot at one another.

Some may regard this as paying a debt of honor, others as a down-payment on our future honor. But all will have to do it.

* * *

June 11

Schiff came to see me today. I asked him to substitute for me for a few days. Was I starting a newspaper? he asked when I dropped a few vague hints.

A newspaper! *Il y a belle lurette que je n'y pense plus* [I haven't thought of that for a long time].

True enough, I first sought the practical ideas with the founding of the "Neue Zeitung" in mind.

Like Saul, who went forth. . . !

* * *

June 11

Schiff's brother-in-law said the other day: Emigrate? Yes, I'd like to, all right. But where to? Switzerland? The first country to make laws against the Jews!

Where to? This question made me inwardly very happy.

* * *

June 11

About the *assistance par le travail* [public works] I had some correspondence with Chlumecky two years ago. He did not get the idea.

* * *

Today I dined at a *brasserie* [small restaurant] near the Châtelet. I am shunning all my acquaintances. They tread on

my toes, having no idea of the world I come from; this makes daily living terribly irritating.

* * *

Tard au danger, tard aux honneurs [late to danger, late to honors].

Anyone who has not joined us during the first twenty years of our existence (although he has turned thirty or more during this period), cannot hold office nor be eligible for it.

But he can be naturalized.

* * *

A museum of technical trades.

* * *

The R's did not understand Jablochkow's "candles," but they did understand the Guttmanns' coal proposals. Thus they may not comprehend the luminous side of my idea, but they will understand the coal side of the matter.

To the Family Council: Every day you grant financial favors for minimal gestures of tolerance or even to governments that do nothing for you.

Put *that* under your own management—and in twenty years' time we shall be recognized by the whole world!

June 11

Hungarians will be the hussars of Judea; they could make splendid cavalry generals.

* * *

June 11

Every worker who makes a complaint will be transferred to another company, so that the foreman cannot take revenge. Or the foreman will be transferred.

* * *

June 11

Daudet asked me whether I wanted to carry on my Jewish campaign in a novel. He reminded me of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* I told him then and there that I desired a more manly form of announcement. At that time I was still thinking of the *Enquête* [treatise] to be entitled *The Situation of the Jews.*

Today, the more I think about it the more it seems to me that it would really be beneath my dignity to make my plan palatable to the masses through love affairs and little jests, as Bellamy did in his utopian novel.

It would be easy for me, because I am an experienced writer of *belles-lettres.* Yet I must take care not to let the book become unreadable. After all, it is to make a deep impression on the people, on the nations.

Let it have a bit of literary fascination, then. It consists in the free-flowing sequence of ideas as they moved through my mind during these sunny days of the world dream in serene profusion, with all their *accidents* [imperfections], as the sculptors put it ("finger marks in the clay").

This will also prevent leafing through this book in search of chapter headings. Whoever wants to know what is in it will have to read it.

* * *

The *assistance par le travail,* which has been so important to me, I am going to insert somewhere—namely, in my article in the *Neue Freie Presse.*

The book will be "dedicated to my parents, Herr Jacob and Frau Jeanette Herzl."

* * *

The ship of coffins! We shall also take our dead along with us.

* * *

Much in these notes will seem ludicrous, exaggerated, crazy. But if I had exercised self-criticism, as I do in my literary work,

my ideas would have been stunted. However, the gigantic serves the purpose better than the dwarfed, because anyone can do the trimming easily enough.

Artists will understand why I, otherwise of rather clear intelligence, have let exaggerations and dreams proliferate among my practical, political, and legislative ideas, as green grass sprouts among cobble-stones. I could not permit myself to be forced into the straitjacket of sober facts. This mild intoxication has been necessary.

Yes, artists will understand this fully. But there are so few artists.

June 11

In the book I may bring out typographically the distinction between the two intermingling dream worlds, by having the fantasy printed in a different type. That way the initiates will immediately see where and how the grass grows—others will hear it grow—and the rest will recognize the solid cobble-stones.

* * *

The little parallel folds of the epidermis of an artist in bronze.

* * *

Letter to Güdemann of June 11, 1895.

Dear Doctor Güdemann:

This letter will be a surprise to you in every respect: both in what it says and what it does not say.

I have decided to take the lead in an action on behalf of the Jews and am asking you whether you would like to be of assistance to me.

Your first task would be to draw up an accurate report of everything that you know about the present moral and political situation of the Jews, not only in Vienna and Austria-Hungary, but also in Germany, Russia, Rumania, etc. I don't think it should be a report with certified statistics, because that would

take too much of your time and the report would have to be finished in two or three days. The exact figures and documentation we can obtain at a later date. As a start I want only a general and faithful presentation from you. The loftier the vantage point that you choose, the fewer the details you go into, the more suitable it will be. Naturally you will use your own judgment in selecting illustrations for your assertions. These, then, are the things to be covered: vital statistics of the Jews in the abovementioned countries (births, marriages, deaths, listed by occupation); observable trends in change of residence (e.g., from Galicia to Lower Austria); whether and to what extent these changes of locality were caused or impeded by anti-Semitism; a brief survey of typical major and minor persecutions of Jews that have come to your attention (persecution in parliaments, newspapers, at rallies, on the street); signs of the increase or decrease of anti-Semitism, and in what proportion; official and unofficial anti-Semitism; hostility toward Jews in schools, offices, closed and open professions.

This looks as though I were asking a very exhaustive memorandum of you. On the contrary, please put down only what is known to you about all these matters at the moment.

It cannot be difficult for a man as skilled in words and with the pen as you are and who has surely given this matter so much deep thought to write this down or dictate it in a few hours. But if you dictate it, your secretary must not find out for what purpose it is being done.

Let me right at this point request you most earnestly to keep our correspondence as well as all succeeding steps a complete secret. The matter is an infinitely serious one. You can see this from the fact that I am not telling a word even to my parents and closest relatives. I am relying on your discretion.

Please bring me the report detailed above to Caux, overlooking Territet on Lake Geneva. If I may have your kind assistance, that is where we shall meet in a week, i.e., on Tuesday, June 18th. Why that place was chosen you will learn there. In case you are unable to finish the entire report, you can complete it verbally

then and there. However, you will not want to come all by yourself, but with a capable, serious-minded man who can supplement your statements from other aspects. You see, at Caux I shall need one spiritual and one worldly Jew. My first choice was Herr Salo Cohn who, I believe, is well known to you. I wrote him last Thursday, June 6. His reply was due yesterday. It has not arrived today. I cannot wait any longer.

I first wanted to make sure of his cooperation, but did not tell him that I wanted to approach you as well—afterwards, because (and I hope I was not mistaken) your assistance seemed assured from the outset. You probably know me better from my newspaper work than from personal acquaintance; and I imagine that you take me as seriously as I really am.

And I may receive an answer from S. C. after I mail this letter and before you receive it. In that case I shall ask you by telegram to get in touch with him.

In return I ask you to be so kind as to send me one of two telegrams as soon as you have made your decision, if possible on the same day you receive this letter: "Agreed" or "Sorry, impossible." Also include your present address (probably Baden?), so that I could send you a telegram.

If S. C. does not take on the serious and great assignment with which I wanted to honor him, we shall have to look for another man. I leave the choice to you. I don't want any of my relatives, otherwise I should have asked my father, first of all. The second gentleman should be a businessman. He, too, must take a report to Caux, to cover the following: an approximate description of how Jews earn a living in the above-mentioned countries; the distribution of property (an estimate of the number of large, medium-sized, and small fortunes—I know that this can only be a very vague estimate, but even that will do); in what countries do the Jews own a lot of immovable property; the state of the Jewish enterprising spirit (is it increasing—and if so, at what rate—or decreasing); the mood in business circles; the situation of Jewish small businessmen and manufacturers (on the Franz-Josefs-Quai, etc.)

This report, too, should not be timidly statistical, but should, as far as possible, be rather free, lively, unconstrained, and idiomatic. It will gain by being dictated.

From the foregoing you will see what sort of man we need—a calm, superior, unaffected man, not too young; he must, in any case, be a respected man of self-assured bearing, because of the tasks which he will face later on. Unfortunately I must add that I should prefer a well-to-do man, for our propertyless Jews are rather put-upon and lack bearing. But the aim which you will find out about at Caux requires, too, the second man to have a dignified, independent comportment. The person you select will presumably know me by name and will perhaps give me his confidence. For I know well that a certain amount of confidence is required in face of the presumptuous request to take a major trip the purpose of which is not clearly enough stated.

Since it is absolutely impossible for me to express myself any more clearly than this in writing, I can only pledge myself to pay a fine if I should trifle. If you two gentlemen should find at Caux that I have troubled you to no purpose, I shall hand you there one thousand francs which you will be good enough to give to your favorite charities.

And now, dear doctor, I ask you to come. A great project for our poor, unfortunate brethren is at stake. You are a spiritual adviser. At Caux a duty awaits you. That is all I can tell you.

With expressions of my cordial esteem, I am

Yours sincerely,
Theodor Herzl,
37, rue Cambon.

• • •

June 11

In my letter to Hirsch I wrote: "In France, at my age of thirty-five, men are Ministers of State, and Napoleon was Emperor."

I now find that in my haste I formulated my meaning badly.

As it stands, it smacks of megalomania. I merely meant that I too have a right to ponder political affairs and that at my age it is possible to have the maturity associated with a statesman.

June 11

The idea of having a meeting with those two Jews at Caux on Lake Geneva is a good one in many respects.

There they will be lifted out of their everyday, narrow, restricted concepts.

They will see a victory of mind over matter. And I shall be thinking of Rousseau, who saw a social contract where I discovered the *negotiorum gestio*.

* * *

June 11

The little Jews will perhaps band together in local groups and raise the money that the R's did not want to give. But will I be able to take it after I have disclosed my entire program to the world?

The big Jews will have frustrated the project through their refusal; of course, they will probably be the first to suffer for it.

* * *

Yet the publication will be of indirect benefit to the Jews.—Many of my thoughts, such as those about duelling, suicide, support of inventors, a stock exchange monopoly, traveling complaint commissions, are good for all nations. Therefore people may treat the Jews more gently because these suggestions were born of their sufferings and their spirit.

June 12, 1895

It is not enough for me to run a work project, but I must have it conducted by a permanent commission. The head of this commission must have a systematic mind.

* * *

June 12

Short-sighted people will refuse when I ask them to transplant their pension institutes, etc. The good example must carry the day here. There are three kinds of pension institutes that I have in mind:

1) those with an all-Jewish membership (*Hevras* and the like); they are the easiest to transplant, for they can be dug up with all their roots.

2) those with a majority of Jewish members (an example is the Vienna *Concordia*): There a general meeting may decide to divide up the property, or the minority can be given a cash settlement and the rest can be transplanted as above. A very effective move would also be to leave the immovables to the minority (which would cost less than it appears, because this would save a twofold transfer).

3) those with only a scattering of Jews (like an association of civil servants). In such cases we must either waive our claims to the sums due us (after all, we compensate all our people who have sustained any losses, on the principle of solidarity), or, if the statutes permit it, the pension can be made over to somebody else, or we may request that the income be forwarded abroad.

* * *

June 12

The boat sailing to occupy the land can carry, in addition to the officers of the Company, representatives of the Local Groups (possibly as non-paying passengers) who may occupy sites for their establishments over there. These representatives must have the authorization to enter into agreements binding on their Local Groups; and they, rather than the Company, will be responsible to their groups for the choice of sites and the like.

* * *

June 12

The distribution of this new world will be handled equitably!

* * *

I shall determine the time of my tour of the Local Groups later.

This tour will take place about two months before the sailing of the land-taking expedition, one month before it at the latest.

Of course, I shall be able to visit only the largest cities.

The method of this centralization is something still to be considered. Shall I send my missionaries out into districts? For this the two Schiffs would be quite suitable; this could be completed in two months if Europe were divided into two or four districts. Or shall I give lectures to a group of traveling scholars and then spread the fellows out over the countries? Perhaps the first plan should be adopted at the beginning, when everything still has to be done cautiously and secretly, and the second one later.

* * *

On my main tour I shall everywhere invite a small number of the most respectable (not the wealthiest) men to come to see me, make them take an oath of secrecy, and reveal to them the plan which I am going to announce to the Family Council. Then will follow a second, bigger meeting, the composition of which will be suggested to me by the first group. To this meeting I shall announce the "outflow" plan—there is no mention in it as yet of the State—, telling them only that we are seeking security for our capital and new soil for our labor. But I must take care in every country not to get involved in any "secret society" business. Perhaps I shall call in the first confidants one by one and have them take oaths individually.

Carefully avoid the danger of "secret societies" everywhere. That is why our official propaganda must be made by the most circumspect people. We shall cover ourselves by submitting our "secret instructions" to the governments for their approval.

After all, we want to proceed with the consent of the governments, but undisturbed by the mobs of parliament and press.

* * *

June 12

It will, incidentally, spread like wildfire. One of my dreams during the period of uncertainty was to force Alois Lichtenstein, Schönerer or Lueger to a duel. If I had been shot, a letter left behind by me would have told the world that I fell a victim to this most unjust movement. Thus my death might at least have improved the heads and hearts of men. But if I had shot my opponent, I wanted to make a magnificent speech before the assize court, first expressing my regrets at "the death of an honorable man," like Morès who had stabbed Captain Mayer to death. Then I would have gone into the Jewish Question, making a powerful, Lassalle-like speech which would have shaken and moved the jury and inspired respect from the court, leading to my acquittal. Thereupon the Jews would have offered to make me a member of parliament. But I would have been obliged to decline that, because I did not want to become a representative of the people over the dead body of a human being.—And now! I find that the anti-Semites are fully within their rights.

* * *

It would be an excellent idea to call in respectable, accredited anti-Semites as liquidators of property.

To the people they would vouch for the fact that we do not wish to bring about the impoverishment of the countries that we leave.

At first they must not be given large fees for this; otherwise we shall spoil our instruments and make them despicable as "stooges of the Jews."

Later their fees will increase, and in the end we shall have only Gentile officials in the countries from which we have emigrated.

The anti-Semites will become our most dependable friends, the anti-Semitic countries our allies.

We want to emigrate as respected people.

June 12

No Jewish paper!

Jewish papers! I will induce the publishers of the biggest Jewish papers (*Neue Freie Presse, Berliner Tageblatt, Frankfurter Zeitung,* etc.) to publish editions over there, as the *New York Herald* does in Paris.

The transplantation of habits includes one's favorite paper at breakfast.

The newspapers will keep their readers, satisfy the needs (which will soon be enormous) of those who have stayed behind, and exchange news by telegraph. At first the overseas editions will be the smaller ones. Then the old editions will shrink and the new ones become big.

The Gentile editors will stay here and feel liberated and comfortable; the Jewish ones will go overseas and become rich and respected, taking an active part in politics; in fact, at present the journalists are the only Jews who know anything about politics.

I am the best proof of this.

Amnesty for moral misdemeanors of the press, too. All shall start a new life. But let everyone be respectable over there from the outset! Tribunals of honor, like those of the lawyers. The press must be free, but let it have and preserve the priestly honor of its opinions. In this way we shall also have the most decent press in the world.

* * *

The insurance business!

It will become a big department, probably requiring a ministry of its own. We shall start with a Director of Insurance.

The capital is contained in the State (at first in the *Society**).

* In English in the original.

We shall make use of all Jewish officials of private insurance companies (that Viennese named P. who was sentenced will get a good position); they will be State officials, of course, and can advance to high positions.

Insurance is a tested, well-known enterprise in all its branches, like banking, railroads, telephone, etc. Private capital no longer has any right to make profits here, because there is no risk any more.

The determining factor for the promotion or impediment of a private enterprise is the element of risk. Where there is no risk, there must be no entrepreneurial profit. On the other hand, we shall magnanimously tolerate any untried enterprise.

* * *

Induce the Hirsch brothers to build a "Louvre" over there.

* * *

June 12

My Russian Jews, who constitute the great reservoir of *unskilled labourers,** will be organized into labor batallions.

They will be given labor ranks, as in the army, perhaps even badges to indicate them, and advance according to their efficiency and seniority. Everyone has a marshal's baton in his pack. I do not want a horde of helots who eternally remain in misery. For workers' pensions I shall gradually use all institutions similar to the *Tabaktrafik;* these permit grading, according to local differences.

June 12

Should there be a tobacco monopoly?

Probably yes. It is the most bearable form of indirect taxation; it is known to most people from their present countries; it makes bigger claims on the big consumers than on the small ones; it will give me the opportunity to start tobacco plantations (on a

* In English in the original.

franchise basis, with the penalty of cancellation in case of tax fraud) and to give business to tobacco factories, and I shall have state-licensed tobacco shops to give to workers as a pension.

* * *

June 12

Induce all big Jewish-owned factories, businesses, etc. to establish branches over there (analogous to the overseas editions of the newspapers). In this way they will be able gradually to transfer their plant and inventory as well as their business experience to the other side.

This is the transplanting of businesses; it will immediately produce employment, commerce, etc., and meet needs in the usual manner.

In the transplanting of businesses, too, those left behind will gradually pass over into the hands of Gentiles. Crises will be prevented.

A lot of people will become wealthy in the countries that we leave.

At our departure, people will gratefully and cordially shake the hands of the Jews whose business acumen has arranged everything so ingeniously. Here, too, the beginning of Jewish honor!

* * *

Quite generally, I should like to pay all pensions in the form of such easy occupations, if possible.

Homes for the aged and infirm are places of cruelty to the human soul. Old people are cut off from life there, buried before their time. A man's old age becomes his prison, and that is considered the reward for a good life. Through my tobacco-shop pensions I shall preserve freedom for old people, too, as well as their participation in life, giving them the comforting illusion of usefulness, an easy occupation which will keep them from brooding. And when such an old person gets little treats for himself, he need not look about timidly.

The tobacco-shops will at the same time be the exclusive outlets for the sale of newspapers. This will increase the pensioners' income. It will be welcome to the newspapers—and should they ever endanger the external or internal security of the state, they can be confiscated at these central points.

No state stamp for newspapers. But a bond for safeguarding against wantonness, malice, baseness, irresponsibility, and profiteering manoeuvres.

Those newspaper owners who are known to be ethical may be exempted from this bond. The money can later be returned when a newspaper has proved itself to be clean. But it can be imposed again or even increased if the newspaper concerned is found guilty of abusing the power of the press.

But I should like to submit this abuse of power of the press (a new offense) to the verdict of a jury. Under no circumstances must a paper be prosecuted on account of a hostile attitude, as long as it does not use reprehensible methods. The question of how to preserve a healthy freedom of the press and prevent insolence is worthy of very serious consideration. Possibly through courts of delegated jurors?

• • •

June 12

A monopoly on hard liquor, in any event.

Some privileges, similar to those of the tobacco monopoly, manufacture, and state-licensed shops. The latter will also serve to fight drunkenness, just as brokerages fight the gambling mania. For it will be possible to impose graded fines, culminating in the revocation of the license, for encouraging drinking by giving credit, etc.

• • •

June 12

The transition from *Society** to State is a complicated problem.

* In English in the original, here and *passim*.

This will have to be recognized conclusively in the drawing up of the Company contract and the statutes. For the *Society* will have enormous profits with which the stockholders will be reluctant to part.

From the moment at which the State comes into being the *Society* will be placed under public ownership—probably in such a way that the State acquires all shares at a stipulated price, but leaves the *Society* in its present legal status, subject to British law; for it will be some time before we ourselves shall have the power to push through the claims of our citizens or of the State itself.

June 12

When we occupy the land, we shall bring immediate benefits to the state that receives us. We must expropriate gently the private property on the estates assigned to us.

We shall try to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own country.

The property-owners will come over to our side. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly.

Let the owners of immovable property believe that they are cheating us, selling us things for more than they are worth.

But we are not going to sell them anything back.

* * *

June 12

It goes without saying that we shall respectfully tolerate persons of other faiths and protect their property, their honor, and their freedom with the harshest means of coercion. This is another area in which we shall set the entire old world a wonderful example.

At first, incidentally, people will avoid us. We are in bad odor.

By the time the reshaping of world opinion in our favor has

been completed, we shall be firmly established in our country, no longer fearing the influx of foreigners, and receiving our visitors with aristocratic benevolence and proud amiability.

• • •

June 12

The voluntary expropriation will be accomplished through our secret agents. The Company would pay excessive prices.

We shall then sell only to Jews, and all real estate will be traded only among Jews. To be sure, we shall not be able to do this by declaring other sales invalid. Even if this did not run counter to the modern world's sense of justice, our power would not suffice to force it through.

Therefore we must safeguard each of our sales of immovables through an option of re-purchase on the part of the Company. That is, if the owner wants to sell the property, we shall have the right to buy it back at our original sale price. However, we shall add a compensation, to be fixed by a board of experts, for any improvements that have been made. The owner will name an expert and we shall name one of our own. If these two cannot agree, they will choose a disinterested third to make a decision.

This option of re-purchase will be a special privilege that cannot be revoked by a mortgage.

• • •

The *Society* will have a department for the granting of mortgage credit. This will be a branch bank, nationalized, of course, like all other subsidiary institutions "over there."

The employees of private banks on this side will gradually become state employees on the other side, with bigger salaries, honors, etc.

For the voluntary expropriation we shall have to use local sub-agents who must not know that their employer is himself a secret agent who takes instructions from the centralized "Commission for Property Purchases."

These secret purchases must be carried out *simultaneously,*

as upon the pressing of an electric button. Our secret agents, who will appear over there as purchasers on their own account, will receive the signal: *Marchez* [go ahead]!

Within a week all sales must have been completed. Otherwise the prices will increase exorbitantly.

Of course, this will have to be preceded by painstaking preliminary research in land registers (where they exist), through discreet inquiries and investigation of specific situations, etc.

Estate owners who are attached to their soil because of old age, habit, etc., will be offered a complete transplantation—to any place they wish, like our own people. This offer will be made only when all others have been rejected.

If this offer is not accepted either, no harm will be done. Such close attachment to the soil is found only with small properties. Big ones are to be had for a price.

Should there be many such immovable owners in individual areas, we shall simply leave them there and develop our commerce in the direction of other areas which belong to us.

* * *

The secret land buyers will not be free agents, but our employees.

They will be told in advance that any attempt to engage directly or indirectly in land speculation on this particular occasion will bring about their immediate dismissal with permanent loss of honor.

But, like all our employees, they will have special privileges in the choice of location of their houses which we shall build for them inexpensively, making deductions from their salaries on the principle of amortization.

June 12

Special note:

If I have to do it in book form, everything that looks like a prospectus must be avoided.

I must suggest to the little Jews and the governments to

request it from me; but if I don't do it *d'un air absolument détaché* [with an air of absolute detachment], I shall become ludicrous and an instrument unfit for the magnificent purpose.

June 12, 1895

As soon as we sight the new shores from the pioneering ship, the flag of the *Society* (which will later become the national flag) will be hoisted.

All will bare their heads. Let us salute our flag!

The first man ashore will carry a cheap, shoddy flag in his hand. It will later be preserved in the National Museum.

June 12

For the future legend, have a distinctive cap designed, *à la* Stanley. Wear the yellow badge while occupying the land, and all pioneers are to receive a little yellow ribbon.

June 12

The novel. Its hero:

One of his table talks on the boat will be on the subject of Jewish Honor.

Afterwards the little yellow ribbons will be passed out to all those present. At that moment he may not be able to tell as yet that it will become a decoration.

He is only distributing it as a souvenir. He has had a list made in advance. Everyone acknowledges receipt of the little silver mark on the yellow ribbon.

This list is preserved. It contains the first knights of Jewish honor.

• • •

Over there the ribbon is worn from the beginning. He does not prescribe it—"simply looks upon it with favor." Unauthorized persons are not allowed to wear it.

• • •

A juridical difficulty presents itself: how is the State, as yet non-existent, to secure for itself the purchase of the *Society*'s shares? Incidentally, the change-over can perhaps take place only under moral guarantees.

June 12

Those South American republics must be obtainable for money. We can give them annual subsidies. But only for about twenty years, i.e., until we are strong enough to protect ourselves; otherwise this would become a tribute which would be incompatible with our future dignity and the stoppage of which could lead to war.

The duration of these subsidies should be determined by the length of time indicated by our military head as sufficient for us to become a match for all these republics together.

But at the start, before they even know that we are coming over, we could get big concessions in return for the mere prospect of loaning them money at one percent less!

June 12

Discreet, delicate investigations should first be carried on regarding the financial needs, the internal political situation, and currents in these South American republics.

On the whole, it will be a voluntary parting with the land.

* * *

But especially for these things do I need the Rothschilds.

And what if they refuse?

Well, then they will simply take the consequences.

* * *

Since my plan is now dependent on the Rothschilds, I naturally think about them a lot. I only know a few of them by sight. I know something about only two. Albert in Vienna seems to be an industrious banker and a clear thinker. At the

same time, a court snob. I am told that someone came to him with the idea of a Palais de Glace [Ice Palace]. He said: "Vienna has no patronage for that," and gave intelligent reasons for it.

I frequently see Alphonse, the Parisian, in the street, also saw him at court in the Burdeau-Drumont trial, where he had a modest, trembling appearance. He cringes in a refined way. I last saw him at the Grand Prix and had a peculiar feeling then. For this sorry, wobbly figure of a man possesses the means to turn an enormous stream of happiness on humanity —if he goes along with my plan. I followed him through the crowd for a while and looked at him with my thoughts.

June 12

I shall write Bacher a very cordial letter of farewell. He has been my friend; that I have felt.

* * *

Julius Bauer, the director of the National Theater, crosses over on the same boat with my family, in order to entertain my parents during the voyage . . . (Oh Heavens, this would be a pretty chapter for the novel—but if it becomes reality, who of the passengers I am now dreaming of will still be alive?)

June 12

For me these notes are not work, but only relief. I am writing myself free of the ideas which rise like bubbles in a retort and would finally burst the container if they found no outlet.

My God, after this confession Lombroso might consider me mad. And my friend Nordau will conceal from me the apprehension I cause him. But they are wrong. I know that two and two is four.

June 12

These notes prevent me from putting earlier things in my book.

In my clean copy I am still on my conversation with Hirsch.

But the growth of the new ideas is more important. Who knows how soon it is going to stop?

Through it all I have the fear described by Heyse in that wonderful little poem about the artist:

Ich bebe:
Dass ich hinfahren könnte über Nacht,
Hinfahren, ehe ich dies Werk vollbracht.

[I shudder to think that I could depart over night,
depart before I have completed this work.]

Ah, once I have things in order and have deposited my papers with the local Academy under lock and key, while I have the book copied, the property will be secured and will be an imperishable treasure of mankind.

Of all mankind, not merely of the Jews.

* * *

On the basis of these candid notes, some people will think me a megalomaniac. Others will say or believe that I want to do some business or advertise myself.

But my peers, the artists and philosophers, will understand how genuine all this is, and they will stand up for me.

* * *

June 12

To the architects:

Typical designs of workshops for shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, etc.; these can be printed in large quantities and distributed everywhere.

This will be publicity for emigration!

It will be a joy to work. Everyone to attain a little house of his own, wherever possible.

* * *

A conference of architects to discuss workers' dwellings; I shall preside, as with the jurists' conference.

Other mass designs for the "own house" of the middle class, "Cottage" system. Distribute this also as advertising.

• • •

Rental and amortization for these houses. In the construction industry (whether for housing, railways, roads, etc.) we will greatly favor private enterprise by granting it *sound* construction credits (which must be given careful study).

The *Society* will profit only through the increase in land values. Construction is to be inexpensive, because building increases the general value of the land.

• • •

June 12

Pawnbroker's Office:

Name and address must be given when something is pawned. The pawner will not be told the reason for this. The names of those who have pawned beds, tools, items of utter necessity will be turned in directly to the Central Welfare Office. This office makes equally discreet investigations and then takes whatever action it wishes. By keeping alphabetical lists it will soon recognize habitual pawners and swindlers.

• • •

June 12

At the present time we are stepchildren in all countries. I am even today filled with unshakable confidence that I shall succeed.

If I had any thought of making some profit on this, I should get a loan today with no qualms.

• • •

June 12

Am I working it out?

No! It is working itself out in me.

It would be an obsession if it were not so rational from beginning to end.

An earlier term for such a condition was "inspiration."

June 12

Today the thought arises in me that I may be solving much more than the Jewish Question.

Namely, *tout bonnement* [very neatly], the social question! I don't know, I doubt it, because in all these matters I have the creation of new conditions in mind; and the difficulty in the social question is precisely that everywhere men are bogged down in ancient abuses, lengthy stagnation, and inherited or acquired wrong. Whereas I presuppose a virginal soil. But if it turns out to be true, what a gift of God to the Jews!

* * *

When I say "God" I do not mean to offend the free-thinkers. As far as I am concerned, they can use "World Spirit" or some other term in place of this dear old wonderful abbreviation by means of which I get across to the simple intelligences. In our academic battle of words, we still mean one and the same thing. In fact, in belief as well as in doubt we mean the very same thing: that it is inexplicable!

* * *

June 12

Send a circumspect man over as housing officer even before the sailing of the pioneering expedition. The pioneers, especially the representatives of the Local Groups, must find things comfortable.

The Housing Officer will later have bigger and bigger tasks and head a department when workers arrive.

June 12

Prostitution:

There is not likely to be any immediate solution. (In any case, a conference of politicians will have to be convened on this.

Poets will be called in because of their continual preoccupation with love.) Long-range solutions are the following:

Patriarchal families; the encouragement of early marriages, which, incidentally, will come about *par la force des choses* [by itself], because we shall give employment to great numbers of young men, pay them well, and thus give them an early opportunity to establish households of their own. Then, too, in the early stages of our settlement they will want to have a house, because there will as yet be no big-city entertainments, no easy attractions, and no market of females.

• • •

Also, we shall give salary allowances to married men and mass-produce inexpensive wedding outfits for different classes "as premiums for industry, efficiency, etc." Our purpose in this will be the encouragement of marriage.

• • •

Allowances for children.

• • •

June 12

We Jews are a vain people. We supply the biggest quota of the snobs of "good" society. An aristocratic sponger can get whatever he wants from the bankers if he dines at their homes where others can see him.

But I believe we are vain only because we have no access to honor. Once we have regained our honor, we shall not be vain, but ambitious. Good, clever Montesquieu with his *ressorts* [competences].

• • •

I shall probably make enemies of the big Jews. Well, this is going to be apparent from the attacks or the silence of the servile part of the press.

• • •

June 12

If we move into a region where there are wild animals to which the Jews are not accustomed—big snakes, etc.—I shall use the natives, prior to giving them employment in the transit countries, for the extermination of these animals. High premiums for snake skins, etc., as well as their spawn.

* * *

June 12

I shall inform my *unskilled** laborers from Russia that they can advance and later at least get tobacco shops and the like (if they are not fitted to become officers of the labor batallions).

Therefore they will properly use the rest of the seven-hour day for self-improvement in workers' and trade schools.

For this, again, I shall need a new corps of educators: the trade instructors. A workman can become such an instructor, too.

* * *

The Seven-Hour Day!

Of course, work will be carried on not just during seven hours of a day, but during fourteen.

Two shifts or four? This will depend on the proximity of homes and schools. For if I make the workers travel long distances twice a day, I shall do them great harm.

* * *

June 12

In the *Palais Royal,* amidst the strains of military music, to my subordinates who want to flatter me:

One must not praise me because one must not censure me either. For I am the Leader. I am saying this not only on account of discipline, but also because my mind must remain sound

* In English in the original.

and simple if I am to carry it through. I shall recognize by the quality of your obedience and the warmth of your enthusiasm to what extent I can count on you.

• • •

What an example I am to the poor, aspiring Jews, such as I used to be myself!

If my object had been money, I should never have been able to come face to face with the biggest financial power on earth, the Rothschilds, the way I am going to do.

• • •

Even if Güdemann fails me, I shall send Baron Jacobs to the Palestine Rothschild—Edmond, I think—and have him arrange an interview for me.

• • •

I shall be reproached with practising state socialism—no reproach, even if it were true, provided the State aims at the right things. That is, not the advantage of one group or caste, but the gradual ascent of everyone to the distant lofty goals of mankind.

But only the narrow-minded and the malevolent can overlook the fact that I want to make the individual free, great, rich, and happy.

• • •

I merely eliminate the entrepreneur's profit on safe undertakings.

• • •

I owe to Drumont a great deal of the present freedom of my concepts, because he is an artist.

• • •

I did not want to write another utopian novel. All this is true, reasonable, possible.

Why should I not tell it straightforwardly?

* * *

Should not the dowries of wealthy girls be taxed?

The proceeds could be used to provide for penniless "old maids," just as there must always be a moral adjustment between the joys of some and the sorrows of others, by means of taxation. (A good thing in France is the amusement tax which benefits the *assistance publique* [public welfare]. We shall have one too.)

Actually, the Jews are already observing this principle, on a small scale and in the haphazard, fatuous manner of all "philanthropy" up to now. At big weddings a lot of money is donated to the poor.

But I want not only to bring this under firm, sound regulations, but also to call on the hard-hearted people who do not remember the needy.—Certainly I don't have to spare the matrimonial fortune-hunters. (In this connection it is a droll thought that the tax can also be slapped on the father-in-law.)

I shall prevent or punish tax fraud by invalidating fake contracts, giving big rewards to informers, imposing heavy fines, and making the swindler permanently ineligible to be elected to office, to receive a decoration, or to be raised to the nobility.

* * *

June 14, 1895

Today a severe headache.—In order to divert the blood from my head, today I will start learning to ride a bicycle. Otherwise I shall not be able to carry the task through.

* * *

June 14

The moral blessings and physical bliss of labor.

* * *

Yesterday I dined with a wealthy Viennese bachelor, a useless playboy. He groaned about the anti-Semites, about the blood-libel. I got him to talk. That way I confirmed my opinion of the temper of the rich. For a moment I even took this man seriously. I asked him if he was prepared to do something for the Jewish cause. He seemed to suspect a financial sacrifice and drawled, "Naw!" I hastened to rectify this misconception and said: "For instance, a journey to Constantinople?" "No," he said, "I am no good at such things. I am too lazy." Yes indeed! It will be a long time before I arouse, before I shake, the Jews out of the indolence of their prison life.

June 14

The Promised Land, where it is all right for us to have hooked noses, black or red beards, and bandy legs without being despised for these things alone. Where at last we can live as free men on our own soil and die in peace in our own homeland. Where we, too, can expect honor as a reward for great deeds; where we shall live at peace with all the world, which we shall have freed through our own freedom, enriched by our wealth, and made greater by our greatness.

So that the derisive cry "Jew!" may become an honorable appellation, like "German," "Englishman," "Frenchman"—in short, like that of all civilized peoples. So that by means of our State we can educate our people for tasks which still lie beyond our horizon. For God would not have preserved our people for so long if we did not have another role to play in the history of mankind.

* * *

The flag occurs to me. Perhaps a white flag with seven gold stars. And the white field will signify our new, clean life. Just as the stars are the working hours. Under the banner of labor we shall enter the Promised Land.

* * *

It is a great good fortune for me and will gild my parents' old age and be to the lasting honor of my descendants that I have devised this great project.

* * *

June 14

Güdemann telegraphs me today:

"Unable to make trip. Salo at North Cape. Letter follows. Going to Baden Sunday afternoon. Güdemann."

Oh yes, it will be hard to get the Jews interested in it. But get them I shall. I feel a gigantic strength for the glorious task gathering in me. A man grows with greater purposes!*

* * *

To the Family Council:

I should gain greater glory if I moved to the Promised Land only with the poor and the wretched and made a proud and respected people out of them. But I shall renounce this glory, just as I should be ready to recede into the background entirely. The only thing is that a master builder must, as long as he is alive, supervise the building himself, no matter how great the worry, the toil, and the responsibility.

* * *

Our entire youth, all those who are now between twenty and thirty years of age, will abandon their vague socialistic leanings and turn to me. They will go forth as itinerant preachers to their own families and into the world—without my having to urge them.

For the land is to be theirs!

June 15, 1895

The non-Jewish expropriates over there will, after the purchase has been made, be given the choice between payment

* Translator's Note: This is a line, slightly misquoted, from Friedrich Schiller's Prologue to his *Wallensteins Lager*.

in cash or in shares (according to the face value). No outwitting, only self-protection.

After all, through us the world shall be acquainted with something that has not been considered possible in 2000 years: Jewish honor.

* * *

To the Family Council:

Your older men will assist us with their advice as to finances, banking, railroads, and politics, perform diplomatic services for us, etc.

Your sons, and I would want you to have as many of them as possible, will be in positions of leadership in the army, the diplomatic corps, etc., according to their abilities—but strictly according to their abilities—, govern provinces, etc.!

With your daughters you will reward our best officers, our finest artists and most brilliant officials. Or continue to marry them off in Europe, as the Americans do, something that I consider rather useful. The main thing is that your money be scattered far and wide.

June 15

Today I am an isolated and lonely man, tomorrow perhaps the intellectual leader of hundreds of thousands—in any case, the discoverer and proclaimer of a mighty idea.

* * *

To the midget millionaires I shall send my representatives: Schiff, Goldmann, Wolf Schulmann.

I shall ask the millionaires who still have Jewishness in their hearts to meet with a rabbi who will read my address to them.

The rabbis who do not want to come along will be shunted aside. There is no stopping the procession.

* * *

But the rabbis will be pillars of my organization and I shall honor them for it. They will arouse the people, instruct them on the boats, and enlighten them on the other side. As a reward they will be formed into a fine, proud hierarchy which, to be sure, will always remain subordinated to the State.

* * *

While I have been writing, and especially when I have seen in my mind's eye the solemn, festive mood on the boats and the arrival, the gala reception on the other side, I have often wept over the misfortunes of my people.

But if I am to lead my people, I must not show any tears. The leader must have an impassive face.

June 15

I do not believe there is a mania for speculation among our people. These people are good providers. And a solicitous *pater familias* [family man] approaches the stock exchange with trepidation.

But what other place is there for him to go under present conditions?

* * *

June 16, 1895

During these days I have more than once been afraid I was losing my mind. This is how tempestuously the trains of thought have raced through my soul.

A lifetime will not suffice to carry it all out.

But I shall leave behind a spiritual legacy. To whom? To all men.

I believe I shall be named among the greatest benefactors of mankind.

Or is this belief already megalomania?

* * *

June 16

I must, above all, keep myself under control.

As Kant noted down for himself: No more thoughts about Johann.

My Johann is the Jewish Question. I must be able to summon it and dismiss it.

* * *

June 16

No one ever thought of looking for the Promised Land where it actually is—and yet it lies so near.

This is where it is: within ourselves!

I am not misleading anyone. Everyone can satisfy himself that I am telling the truth. For everyone will take across, in himself, a piece of the Promised Land—one in his head, another one in his hands, a third in his savings. The Promised Land is where we carry it!

* * *

I believe that for me life has ended and world history has begun.

* * *

June 16

At first we shall only work on and for ourselves in all secrecy.

But the Jewish State will become something remarkable. The land of the seven-hour working day will be not only a model country for social experiments and a treasure-house for works of art, but a miracle country in all civilization. It will be a destination for the civilized world which will come to visit us the way it now visits Lourdes, Mecca, Sadagora. Do you at last understand me? But I shall be at my strongest in the third stage. There I shall have the whole world on my side—Jews, Christians, the common people, the middle class, aristocrats, the clergy of all denominations, kings and emperors!

* * *

Sadagora.

No pressure will be exerted on anyone's conscience; the subtle suasions of civilization will have an effect on all.

* * *

I shall take in the *pieds crottés* [men with filth on their shoes] outside the stock exchange, all lost and wrecked existences, and give them a new life! These will be our best co-workers.

* * *

June 16

Goethe, Goethe!

For three hours I tramped around the Bois in order to walk off the pangs of new trains of thought. It grew worse and worse. Now I am sitting at Pousset's, writing them down and feeling relieved. It is true that I am also drinking beer.

The Jewish State is a world necessity.

They will pray for me in the synagogues. But in the churches as well.

If you force me into opposition to you, I shall in the second stage—which I do not quite believe in, although it is certainly possible—gather about me all medium and smaller millionaires. A second formidable Jewish financial force will march up. For in the initial period, when I have no use as yet for the fully deposited billion, I shall have to engage in banking transactions.

I have no more aversion to banking, if the cause requires it, than I have to transportation, construction, etc.

But will Europe bear both you and us?

The earth is already trembling here.

* * *

One of the major battles I shall have to fight will be against the self-mockery of the Jews.

This readiness to scoff represents, at bottom, the feeble

attempt of prisoners to look like free men. That is why this mockery actually touches me.

* * *

June 16

As soon as we have established ourselves and all diplomatic moves and land purchases have been completed, I shall give my speech (with the changes desired by the R's) to the *Neue Freie Presse,* because I discovered this thing as their correspondent.

I want the *Neue Freie Presse* to make extracts available to the other papers, including the anti-Semitic ones. To the *Berliner Tageblatt* as well.

* * *

June 16

A more beautiful Sadagora!

One of the things, perhaps the main thing, that we shall have learned from the civilized nations will be tolerance.

They did have the good will to emancipate us. It no longer worked, in the old surroundings.

* * *

The Stock-Exchange Monopoly will probably be the first thing in which Europe will imitate us. And that will push the vacillating, cowardly Jews my way. They will follow us a bit late.

In this, too, the procession will ride over the reluctant.

* * *

June 15

Family Council:

You see that we are not hoodwinking anybody. Nor are we doing violence to anyone—except to ourselves, our habits, our evil inclinations, and our faults. But he who wants to do great things must first conquer himself.

* * *

June 15

Anyone who cares to wear a *kaftan* may continue to do so unmolested.

We shall only observe the principles of modern hygiene, for the well-being of all.

Insert: To the Family Council:

Through amicable expropriation the State will be able to acquire factories, etc., which Ministers of Finance never dared to think about.

* * *

Insert:

Shares for the expropriated. Right of repurchase on the part of the *Society*.

* * *

June 16

Schiff was here today and teased me, saying that I looked as if I had invented the dirigible airship.

—Hm, perhaps I did! I thought to myself, and kept silent.

June 16, 1895

Second letter to Güdemann.

Dear Doctor Güdemann:

Your letter made amends for the impression which your telegram gave me. It had made me think, a bit angrily: Just try to help the Jews! Which, to be sure, did not stop me from proceeding vigorously with the project itself, just as I shall, heedless of everything, march on to my goal! Anyone who wants to help me is most welcome; he will be doing nothing for me, everything for himself. I shall pass over those who are recalcitrant or indifferent.

Thus even the first impact of your telegram did not dismay

me, but only annoyed me. The next moment I said to myself: I probably did not make it sufficiently clear to him how desperately serious things are. My plan is actually as serious as the situation of the Jews itself, and I feel that the Jews in their torpor do not realize this seriousness clearly enough.

I further said to myself: the man does not know me, that is, knows me only very slightly; we have exchanged a few unimportant phrases or jokes, and in the newspaper he reads articles of the lightest kind from my pen. But your letter appeased me. It is written in a tone that pleases me, the kind that I need for my purpose. I can see that you will be the right kind of helper to me, one of my helpers, for I shall need many.

You are surprised at my warm interest in "our cause." At the moment you cannot even suspect the degree of heat which this interest has reached. Of course, I did not have it before. I was indifferent to my Jewishness; let us say that it was beneath the level of my awareness. But just as anti-Semitism forces the half-hearted, cowardly, and self-seeking Jews into the arms of Christianity, it powerfully forced my Jewishness to the surface. This has nothing to do with affected religiosity. Despite all my piety for the faith of our fathers I am not a bigot and shall never be one.

That I am not planning anything contrary to religion, but just the opposite, is shown by the fact that I want to work with the rabbis, with *all* rabbis.

I called you and the businessman to Caux for two reasons. First, because I wanted to take both of you out of your accustomed surroundings and place you in the lofty freedom of the mountains where everyday life fades away, where a glacier railway would offer you visible proof of the extent to which the human inventive faculty has already conquered Nature, and this would have put you in a sufficiently serious and yet unconstrained mood for my unusual message.

The second reason was that for weeks I have toiled over written work and shall have to continue to toil for an indefinite

period of time, and thus desired a respite of two or three days from the enormous work which I would not have abandoned thereby, because I must not abandon it any longer.

I should have given you a verbal explanation of everything, observed the impression it made on you, dispelled your doubts, and constantly appealed from one to the other. For on those points, spiritual or secular, where one of you might not have understood me, the other disinterested man would have certified that I was proceeding constantly on the basis of solid fact.

Your companion need not have been a wealthy man or a philanthropist, for my project is dependent neither on the rich nor on the charitable. It would really be bad if it were. The only requirement was that he be an independent Jew.

You two were intended to be my first helpers. Since I cannot have you right away, I do not need the other man either.

I should immediately have approached other men if, as I have already said, I had not recognized from the contents of your letter that you are the right helper after all. I should have found others; and if not, I should simply have gone by myself. For I have the solution of the Jewish Question. I know it sounds mad; but in the initial period people will often think me mad until they realize with deep emotion the truth of all I have been saying. I have found the solution, and it no longer belongs to me; it belongs to the world.

As I have said, you two would have been my first assistants, or, more correctly, my messengers, for the time being. Your first joint mission would have been to Albert Rothschild to whom you would have given my message, and again the spiritual man would have been supported by the worldly man in the clarification of questionable points. Albert Rothschild would have taken the matter before his family council, and they would have asked me to appear there and give them a talk about my project.

Let me hasten to clear up a misconception that may arise in your mind. I am as little dependent on the Rothschilds' cooperation as I am on that of the other wealthy Jews. But the special

character of my plan involves the necessity of notifying the Rothschilds.

Once you know the plan, you will see why.

Today I cannot tell you what it consists of. I would mutilate my thoughts if I sought to crowd them into a letter.

For weeks I have been writing from morning to midnight just to get the main features down on paper. It would be torture if it were not such bliss. I am the first one to be made happy by the solution. That is my reward, and it shall be my only reward.

How did I discover it? I do not know. Probably because I pondered it all the time and felt so unhappy about anti-Semitism. Thirteen years is my estimate of the period during which this idea took shape in my mind. For my first notes date from 1882, the year in which I read Dühring's book. Now that everything is so clear in my mind I marvel at how close to it I frequently was and how often I passed by the solution. I consider it a great good fortune that I have found it. It will gild the old age of my parents and be the lasting honor of my descendants.

I confess to you that I have tears in my eyes as I write this; but I shall carry it through with all rigor.

Perhaps you still believe that I am daydreaming. You will change your mind when you know everything. For my solution is a strictly scientific one, and this you must not take for academic socialism or congressional twaddle.

Enough of this! I am going to write down the address which I was going to make here before the Rothschild Family Council. It is a very long speech and yet it contains only the main features.

On this stationery and with this close handwriting it amounts to sixty-eight pages so far, and I am not nearly finished yet. It will take you a few hours to read it off. For your first mission, dear Doctor Güdemann, will be to read this speech to Albert Rothschild. Don't give it to him to read; you read it to him.

I believe that he will, as a matter of course, have enough respect for you and confidence in you to listen to you for as long as you deem necessary. You will, of course, have read the speech

beforehand and will tell him in advance what decision his family will be faced with.

According to a newspaper report I have read, Albert Rothschild is on his country estate at Gaming-Waidhofen. Let me know by telegram if you are ready to go there.

Since you were going to come to Caux if I had given you an indication of what it was all about, you will certainly make that short trip to Gaming. Then I request you to ask Albert Rothschild by letter when he can receive you without interruption. He must make himself free for a whole day. He will be just as deeply moved and just as happy as you are, because I have been told that he is a serious, good Jew. He will immediately come to Paris to see me. You see, for the time being I have to stay here because of the discussion with all the Rothschilds.

After receipt of my letter, you send me a telegram and write him immediately. I hope to finish my address the day after tomorrow. Then it will take me at least three days to make a clean copy.

So the speech will be sent off from here on Saturday and be in your hands on Monday. You can have your meeting with Rothschild at Gaming on Tuesday, the 25th, or Wednesday, the 26th.

All the rest is contained in the speech. But even now you can indicate to Albert Rothschild in the same serious tone which you, as a Bible expert, surely sense in my letter that a most important matter of Jewish life is involved. I shall make the greatest effort to finish it quickly. I shall not put up with a genteelly dilatory treatment of the matter. The Jews are waiting.

Everything must be done immediately! That, too, is part of my program.

I could probably have saved myself the delay of this correspondence, etc., if I had procured an introduction to some member of the Rothschild family here, which would have been an easy matter. But I have valid reasons, which you will learn, for not entering into any personal contact with the Rothschilds be-

fore they have voiced their agreement in principle. And they will not have much time to deliberate, either.

Now I greet you in trusting admiration as my first associate.

Yours,
Th. Herzl.

Third letter to Güdemann.

June 17, 1895

Dear Doctor Güdemann:

I sent you a registered letter today. It is possible that it will be delivered in Baden at a time when you are out walking in the fields toward Soos where in my youth I also used to take philosophical walks by myself, or across the meadow to the *Kramerhütte* where it must be such a lovely early summer now. When you come home you might learn that someone attempted to deliver a registered letter to you. You are expecting the letter which I told you of in my telegram and you are a bit impatient, though not very much as yet, because, after all, you do not know yet. Perhaps you will go to the Weikersdorf post office or even the one in Baden. I don't know whether I have already aroused your interest, nor do I know from which post office registered letters are delivered there. Perhaps you will sit down and wait for the postman to return. Or you haven't been out at all and received my first letter promptly; in that case this one will strike you as superfluous, peculiar, long-winded.

Why do I write you a separate letter, then?

Because in the main letter there is, as yet without further details, the sentence: "I have the solution of the Jewish Question." And I can see the worried expression with which you are muttering into your fine patriarch's beard: "Completely cracked! His poor family!"

No, I am not cracked, neither completely nor partially, not cracked at all.

And that is why I am sending you these lines in addition to

that letter, as a sign that I never lose sight of the actual situation and take into account the smallest things just as accurately as the biggest ones.

Oh yes, even in my most exalted expositions I shall, here and there, have to mention casually, as though accidentally, that two times two is four, two times three is six, and $17 \times 7 = 119$. And I shall say that I quite distinctly remember what you or somebody else said to me, or must have thought about me, at some earlier point in my life—just so people will see that I still have my wits about me rather nicely.

A task in which things of this sort have to be faced is not a comfortable one—but great things are not done with comfort.

Again, my most cordial greetings.

Sincerely yours,
Th. Herzl
37 rue Cambon.

* * *

June 17, 1895

Schiff says: It is something that a man tried to do in the last century. Sabbatai!

Well, in the last century it was impossible. Now it is possible—because we have machines.

* * *

Telegram to Doctor Güdemann, Baden near Vienna.

"Must request you return unopened my non-registered letter sent yesterday. One of friends involved whose consent had likewise been presupposed raises absolute objections. Must comply."

June 18, 1895

Gardens of the Tuileries:

I was overstrained with thought. So I came here and recuperated by looking at the statues.

Outdoor art is the source of much happiness. The bowl-

shaped green lawn with the charming "Runners" of Coustou (1712) should be copied without delay.

* * *

June 18, 1895

Have been to the same place again with Schiff. He "cured" me. For I accept the negative part of his observations, namely, that through this undertaking I would make myself "either ridiculous or tragic." It's that business of Jewish mockery. The negative part I do accept—and thereby differ from Don Quixote. The positive side (talk about socialism, face slapping, etc.) I reject—and herein differ from Sancho Panza.

* * *

Fourth letter to Baron Hirsch.

June 18

Dear Sir:

My last letter requires a postscript. Here it is: I have given the matter up. Why? My plan would be more likely to be wrecked by the opposition of the poor Jews than that of the rich.

You told me as much on that Pentecost morning, it is true. But I was in no position to believe you, for you had not let me finish what I had to say.

But recently I expounded my entire plan to a sensible friend (who is not a financier). I softened him completely, he swam in tears; I convinced his reason and wrung his heart.

Then he slowly got control of himself and said to me: "Through this undertaking you will make yourself either ridiculous or tragic." Becoming a tragic figure would not scare me; as for ridicule, it would ruin not me but the cause. The worst that people could say about me is that I am a poet. This is why I am giving the matter up.

For the present there is no helping the Jews yet. If someone were to show them the Promised Land, they would scoff at him. For they are demoralized.

Still, I know where that land lies; within ourselves! In our capital, in our labor, and in the peculiar combination of the two which I have devised. But we shall have to sink still lower, we shall have to be even more insulted, spat upon, mocked, whipped, plundered, and slain before we are ripe for this idea.

For the time being we shall have to endure *affronts* in high society where we try to push our way, an economic squeeze among the middle classes, and the most frightful misery in the lower classes.

We are still not desperate enough. That is why a rescuer would be greeted with laughter. Laughter? No, only with smiles; people no longer have the strength to laugh.

There is a wall—namely, the demoralization of the Jews. I know that beyond it lie freedom and greatness.

But I cannot break through this wall, not with my head alone. Therefore I am giving it up.

I merely repeat once more: the only way out is to weld all the smaller Jewish bankers into a second formidable financial power, fight the Rothschilds, pull them with us or pull them down—and then over and across.

If we meet again sometime, soon or late, and you ask me how this can be done without plunging Europe into the most horrible stock-market crisis, how anti-Semitism everywhere can, by this very expedient, be brought to an immediate standstill, I shall give you the explanation.

As a practical proposition, I am done with the matter. But I hold on to the theory of it and cherish it. Maybe this goes to show that I too am only a demoralized Jew. A Gentile would go through thick and thin for an idea of such power.

What would you have me do? I don't care to look like a Don Quixote.

But the petty solutions—your 20,000 Argentinians, or the conversion of the Jews to socialism—I will not accept. For I am no Sancho Panza either, but

Yours respectfully,
Dr. Th. Herzl

June 19, 1895

Schiff was here today, brought me the *reçus* [receipts], and then we did some figuring. It was a great relief to me to find that I was doing addition more rapidly and more accurately than he was. It took him a long time and he kept making fresh mistakes. So badly had he upset me yesterday!

* * *

June 19

I found an escape from the mental torment into which Schiff's anguished opposition had plunged me.

I am turning to Bismarck.

He is big enough to understand me or cure me.

* * *

Letter to Bismarck. June 19, 1895

Your Highness: (Highness everywhere!)

Perhaps one or another of my writings has had the good fortune to come to Your Highness' attention, possibly my essays about French parliamentarianism which appeared in the literary section of the *Neue Freie Presse* under the titles "Election Sketches from France" and "The Palais Bourbon."

On the basis of this questionable and meagre authority I am asking Your Highness to receive me for a political discourse.

I am not trying to obtain an interview by cunning in this manner. Your Highness has occasionally granted such a favor to a journalist, and an editor of my paper in Vienna has been among those who have received the distinction of being admitted to you. But I have nothing of the sort in mind. If desired, I shall pledge my word of honor that I shall not publish anything about this discussion in newspapers, precious though it may be for my memory.

And about what subject do I want to make the political discourse? About the Jewish Question. I am a Jew and therefore qualified *ad causam* [on the subject].

I may remind Your Highness that you once spoke with another Jew also without mandatory authority, a man named Lassalle, about matters not exclusively Jewish.

What do I have to say on the Jewish Question? Actually it is very hard for me to utter the word. For if I do, the first impulse of every rational human being must be to send me to the observation room—Department for Inventors of Dirigible Balloons.

Well, how shall I preface it? Perhaps this way: two times two is four, two times three is six, $17 \times 7 = 119$, unless I am mistaken. I have five fingers on each hand. And I am writing with violet ink. And now I shall finally risk it:

I believe I have found the solution to the Jewish Question. Not *a* solution, but *the* solution, the only one.

It is a very voluminous, complicated plan. After completing it, I have told it to two Jews here, one very wealthy and one poor; the latter is a cultured person.

I can truthfully say that the rich man did not think me crazy. Or was it only out of tact that he treated me as if I still seemed sane to him? At any rate, he went into the theoretical possibility and finally said only, "You won't get the rich Jews for it; they are no good." (I implore Your Highness not to reveal this family secret.)

But on the poor Jew it had a different effect. He sobbed bitterly. At first I thought, without being astonished at it, that I had overwhelmed his reason and wrung his heart. No! His sobs were not those of a Jew, but of a friend. He was worried about me. I had to cheer him up, swear to him that I was firmly convinced that two times two was still four and that I did not foresee the time when two parallel lines could converge.

He said, "By this proposal you will make yourself ridiculous —or tragic!"

I finally promised him everything he asked: that I would use the plan only for a novel in which the tragic or comic hero is only on paper. In this way I succeeded in raising my shattered friend up again.

Being a tragic figure would not daunt me, nor would even the

most terrible ridicule frighten me. But even though I have the right to stake my person for my idea, be it crazy or sound, I still have to limit the sacrifice to my person; and if I got the reputation of being insane, that would no longer be the case. I have parents and a wife who would grieve profoundly, as well as children whose entire future could be spoiled if people considered me a crazy do-gooder.

In this quandary—whose morality is clear, I believe—I am turning to Your Highness. Allow me to present my plan to you! If worst comes to worst, it will be a utopian novel of a kind of which many have been written from Thomas More to Bellamy. A Utopia is the more amusing the farther it strays from the rational world.

I dare to promise that in any case I shall bring with me a new Utopia and therefore an entertaining one. I am enclosing with this letter a leading article on "Public Works" which I published in the *Neue Freie Presse* two years ago. I am sending it to you not as a noteworthy literary achievement, but because the principle of public works is one of the many pillars on which my edifice rests.

When I studied all these institutions here two years ago and wrote about them, I did not know that later they would serve me for the solution of the Jewish Question. Yet I should have to preface my talk with this essay. Therefore I ask you to take note of it for the time being. After all, it will reflect the fact that I am not a Social Democrat.

It will be an easy matter for Your Highness to make inquiries in Hamburg, Berlin, or Vienna whether I have hitherto been considered a sensible man and whether it would be all right to admit me to a room—*bien que ça n'engagerait pas l'avenir* [that would not commit the future]. But the way I imagine Prince Bismarck, you will not need to make any inquiries after you have finished reading this letter. Anyone who reads the faces and the guts of men the way you do will also understand the soul of something written.

I can really not turn to a lesser person. Shall I go to a psychia-

trist and say to him: "Tell me frankly, is this still the reasoning of a sane person?" In order to judge this he would have to have sociological, juridical, and commercial information of all kinds, which a medical man does not have even in the land of the *sous-vétérinaires* [assistant veterinarians].

Shall I ask individuals, Christians or Jews? Such an inquiry would gradually produce the very thing that I want to avoid.

No, it must be the last court of appeal right away. Only the man who has stitched a torn Germany together with his iron needle in such a wonderful way that it no longer looks patched up, only he is big enough to tell me once and for all whether my plan is a truly saving idea or an ingenious fantasy.

If it is but a novel, I shall have enjoyed the favor of providing some diversion for Your Highness and at the same time gratifying my old longing to commune with you for a moment—a longing which I should never have dared to express without such a momentous occasion.

But if it is true, if I am right, then the day on which I come to Friedrichsruh will go down in history. Who will still dare to call my plan a pretty dream after the greatest living empire builder has stamped his approval on it? And for you, Your Highness, it will be a participation in the solution of a question which is tormenting not merely the Jews, but all of Europe—a participation which is in moral, national, and political harmony with all the proud accomplishments of your glorious life.

The Jewish Question is a dragged-out piece of the Middle Ages with which the civilized nations cannot cope, even with the best will in the world, in a manner different from that planned by me. They have tried it through emancipation, but it came too late. It does no good to declare abruptly in the Legal Gazette: "Starting tomorrow, all men will be equal."

This sort of thing is believed only by beerhall politicians and their higher colleagues, the classroom theorists and drivelling fools in Clubs. And the last-named lack even the best part of those less learned exercises, the beer!

Would it not have been better to let the Jews rise to emanci-

pation gradually and during this ascent assimilate them, gently or vigorously, depending on circumstances? Perhaps! How? One could have passed them through the filter of mixed marriages and ensured a new generation of Christians. But it would have been necessary to put emancipation after assimilation, not the other way around; that was bad thinking. But in any case, it is too late for this, too.

Just try to rescind the legal equality of the Jews. (Only their *legal* equality exists, anyway. What a misunderstood doctrine for the men from the beerhall!) What would be the consequences of that? Immediately all Jews, not only the poor ones as hitherto, but the rich ones as well, would join the Socialist Party with all their resources. They would plunge to their moneybags the way a Roman plunged unto his sword.

Crowd the Jews out of the country by force and you will have the most serious economic upheavals. In fact, even a revolution directed exclusively against the Jews—if such a thing were conceivable—would bring no relief to the lower strata even if it were successful. Movable property has become more intangible than ever. It immediately sinks into the ground, and into the ground of foreign countries at that.

But I do not want to talk of things that are impossible or for which it is too late, but of timely ones. At worst it might be too early for them—for I won't believe in the fantastic nature of my ideas before I hear it from your mouth.

If my plan is only premature, I shall put it at the disposal of the German government. It will be used if it is considered sound.

As a planner I must reckon with all eventualities, including the one that Your Highness will not answer my letter or will decline my visit.

Then my plan *will* be a fantasy. For I cannot demonstrate the feasibility of my solution any more clearly than, in this letter, I have demonstrated the justification for my desire to present the solution to Your Highness.

In that case, too, my mind will be at ease. Then I shall simply

have dreamed, like the Utopians from Chancellor Thomas More to Bellamy.

I beg Your Highness to accept this assurance of my profound reverence and admiration.

Dr. Theodor Herzl
Paris Correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*

June 20, 1895

A hat parable (a kind of "Tale of the Three Rings"), or Belief, Doubt, Philosophy resolved in "the Inexplicable."

I take my headgear from my head and show it to people. What is it?

"A *chapeau,*" says one.

"No, a *hat,*" yells another.

"He's wrong! It's a *capello,*" says a third.

"You fools, it's a *sombrero,*" cries the fourth.

"A *kalap,*" the fifth.

"Scoundrels! *Es ist ein Hut!*"

And so everyone uses a different word—there are countless ones; and yet these are only the general words, which in turn break down into generic terms like "cap," "helmet," "bonnet," etc.

And people are irritated at one another because they use different words for the same thing.

I agree with everyone, and everyone is indeed right. It *is* a hat, a *chapeau,* a *capello.* I tell everyone in his own language; otherwise he would not understand me. But I want to be understood, now and in the future, and I make my greatest concessions in the terms that I use.

I don't fight over words. I have no time for that.

What do you mean to say by your "faith"? And you, by your "doubt"? Is it not simply that it cannot be explained by reason?

Nous sommes d'accord [We are in agreement]. You may squabble among yourselves—but not with me.

I do say—that it cannot be explained rationally!

Let everyone get from this what he will. Do I appear to be evasive? Not at all.

For after I have talked to everyone in his own language, I take the floor for a general, clear explanation, and say, "Is this an object which serves to protect my head against drafts, rain, and sunshine?"

They all cry, "It is!"

"Does it serve me to greet my friends, and do I also take it off before a flag?"

"Yes, yes!"

And I can close with a pleasantry: "Do I also take it off when I join a social gathering?" As a matter of politeness—that is, because we have agreed to consider this polite. Everyone has his own specific hat and should not annoy others because its shape is different.

I can thus conciliate people by explaining to them the meaning and purpose of a thing.

June 20

What if Bismarck had felt constrained to say, in his Frankfurt period: I will unite these states, which are incapable of small sacrifices, by forcing them to make great ones. I will make them brothers through the bloodiest brawls with one another. And since I cannot get them to agree upon a Kaiser within the country, I shall take them out of the country.

And because I cannot find a German city in which all would convene without objection, I shall take them to a small French provincial town where long-forgotten French kings once erected a castle.

What would people have said to that? In the 1860's, 70's, 80's, and 90's! That is, if he had not carried it through!

June 20

Taverne Royale, over a *cassoulet* [stew].

I believe that if an acquaintance of mine were to invent a dirigible airship, I would box his ears. It would really be an

awful insult to me. Why was it he and not I? If it were a stranger, I wouldn't mind.

With things that are above personal considerations, their connection with a person is offensive.

* * *

June 20

Faults of Democracy:

One gets only the disadvantages of its insistence on publicity. This publicity brings about the loss of that respect which is necessary for government. All the world finds out that the men who govern us are merely human beings too—and in so many cases laughable, narrow persons. Thus I lost my "respect" in Paris. On the other hand, only average types should be allowed to run the government. The geniuses and prodigies are necessary for the creation of things, but harmful to existing things, whether they replace them by something greater or expand them to the point of madness. They cannot leave the world the way they found it; they would be their own ruin if they were not able to destroy something, no matter whether bad or good.

The existing order, one that is to be preserved, must be governed only by mediocre people. The geniuses understand the past, they divine the future—but they are in a hurry to abolish the present, which the healthy ones among them also understand perfectly.

Something impels them to leave their mark. They are afraid of passing on before anyone notices that they have been here.

For government, however, we need ordinary men because they alone appreciate all the ordinary needs of mankind: food, drink, sleep, etc.

A prodigy pays no attention to these needs—in himself or in others.

And this is the difference between a healthy and an unhealthy genius. The unhealthy genius ignores ordinary needs because he does not understand them. The healthy genius ignores them despite the fact that he understands them!

* * *

Moreover, the light of publicity which Democracy offers is only something false and fictitious. Behind its glare things do take place which later emerge as scandals, such as the Panama affair and the like.

June 20

Taverne Royale.

After my *déjeuner* the two Marmoreks came to my table. I got them to talk. Without suspecting it, they confirmed what I wanted. The architect described the virulent state of anti-Semitism in Vienna. Things were getting worse and worse. He thought there was some relief in the fact that the City Council had been suspended. I explained to him the nature of such a suspension: it was a suspension of the Constitution. And after that? Either the Constitution is allowed to function normally again—in which case the common variety of anti-Semites will return with a lot of noise; and stronger than ever! Or the Constitution is suspended "for good." This would be done with a furtive loving glance in the direction of the anti-Semites, and they will get the point, or it will be explained to them if necessary. The Constitution will be abolished, equal rights for the Jews will be chucked out—and afterwards a special Constitutional Assembly will be magnanimously granted.

* * *

Marmorek, the medical scientist, said: There will be no other course left but to assign us a state of our own! (This is the clever fellow who does research to find a serum and kills streptococci.)

I was inwardly delighted.

I need such supporters at this point. This is how greatly Schiff demoralized me with his agitation and his tears.

I see now that he lacks understanding, for all his integrity and loyalty. Yet I owe him a great debt of gratitude. First, for his unmistakably great friendship; secondly, for dissuading me from

the insufficient Güdemann, and thus making me hit upon the Bismarck idea—without his being aware of it.

Bismarck is now the touchstone and cornerstone of the project.

* * *

June 21, 1895

Democracy is political nonsense which can only be decided upon by a mob in the excitement of a revolution.

* * *

June 22, 1895

I must introduce educational considerations into the census. The franchise can be qualified as follows: literacy required to vote for delegates to the Constitutional Assembly, advanced education for the election of higher representatives, etc. Thus I can make levels of representation out of educational levels. To be eligible for election by one level, a candidate must himself hold the franchise of the next higher level.

* * *

The community defrays expenditures out of direct assessments (autonomy). A grievance court for the protection of individuals against the community.

The community is liable through assessments for obligations incurred in the auctioning of land.

* * *

Institutions of learning will be established in provincial cities, on the pattern of the German universities. A student may not be an active member of a uniformed association for more than one year. Students have no business in the capital city.

* * *

June 22

Being asleep on the job will disqualify a judge; habitual rudeness, an official. (An *accès de mauvaise humeur* [a touch of ill humor] in people must be viewed leniently.)

June 22

How can I make suicide something dishonorable? It will be easy with attempted suicide: insane asylum, involving loss of all civil and personal rights. Harder if death results. Burial in a separate place, after the body has been used for scientific purposes, will not suffice. There must be legal consequences as well. The last will and testament of the suicide (provided it can be established that he made it with suicide in mind) will be declared invalid as the work of a lunatic. His letters and posthumous writings must not be published.

His funeral must take place at night.

• • •

June 22

Sometimes one hears it said: this man has been driven mad by the Jewish Question; another by Jewish exploitation; a third, by socialism; a fourth, by religion; a fifth, by doubt, and so on.

No, these people were *already* mad. The only thing is that their hitherto imperceptible madness or colorless wandering wits have taken on the hue of some fashionable trend, just as jets of steam in a stage production may be tinted red, yellow, blue, etc.

Such a *couleur à la mode* [fashionable color] for suicide is anarchism. I can no longer arrest the anarchist idea. So I must seize suicide by the throat.

Who was greater, Napoleon or Bismarck? Napoleon.

But his greatness was an inharmonious one. Napoleon was the sick superman, Bismarck is the healthy one.

June 22

After completing my letter to Bismarck I thought of a funny story that I could have used regarding precedents for an interview.

One day I asked an Austrian diplomat to get me an interview with Casimir-Périer—*en ces temps éloignés président de la République* [in those illustrious times president of the Republic]. The diplomat groaned: That will not be possible. There is no precedent for it!

That man would have been extremely embarrassed if someone had asked him to invent gunpowder. There was no precedent for it.

But I beg of you, Your Highness, never to tell this to an Austrian diplomat. No matter which one you tell it to, there is a chance that he will feel offended.

* * *

June 22

But will Bismarck understand me?

Napoleon did not understand the steamboat—and he was younger and thus more accessible to new ideas.

* * *

June 22

Today, incidentally, I have regained my spiritual equilibrium which I lost when Schiff had rocked the boat.*

In this respect I am really like the errand boy who has drawn the grand prize in the lottery and an hour later says cold-bloodedly: "Pooh! What are a hundred thousand guilders?"

An inventor need not inevitably go mad. A man loses his mind only while questing or through the tremendous shock of discovery—as when gold first flashes before the alchemist's eyes,

* Translator's Note: Herzl uses the word *Schiffsstoss*, a pun on the name of his friend. (*Schiff* means boat.)

when a steam engine begins to work, or a balloon suddenly shows itself to be dirigible.

Inventions that are *trouvailles* [finds] are more conducive to madness than systematic discoveries, because they are so fortuitous, especially in the final, decisive leap. A Pasteur does not go mad, and his successors, who may make quite original discoveries, may be plain jackasses.

Right now I even believe that the implementation of my plan will find me tranquil. I used to be afraid of it.

Provided that I convince Bismarck. If I do not, or if he won't even see me—well, then the whole thing will have been a novel. Oh, an immortal one!

That too is something.

• • •

[The following notes, which form the conclusion of Book I, are entitled "Address to the Rothschilds" in the copy prepared by Herzl's father.]

June 13

To the Family Council.

I should first like to enlighten you on the special character of our conversation. It will create a permanent relationship between you and me. Henceforth I must be your friend or your foe forever. The force of an idea resides in the fact that there is no escape from it.

You will think: we have invited a bad visitor.

But it would not have changed anything in the situation if you had not sent for me. In that case I merely would not have had the personal *égards* [consideration] to which I feel obliged now.

At first, to be sure, I thought that I could carry on my project only in opposition to you. That is why I first went to Baron Hirsch. Oh! I did not tell him that I was an adversary of the Rothschilds. It may well be that this would have been a more powerful inducement to him than anything else. But I conduct

things on an impersonal plane. All I said to him was: *tous les juifs ont plus* [all the Jews have more]. For I wanted to . . . (there follows an account). Hirsch did not let me finish.

Actually, he does not know my plan. In the end he said only: we shall talk some more. I am ready, I replied, but I am not going to wait for you. Perhaps he will come to me, like so many others, when my plan is a living reality. For one has many friends when one does not need them.

I shall go on. It occurred to me: Wait! What makes you think that you cannot do it with the Rothschilds? And that is why I am here. For the moment, it is *de bonne politique* [good policy] and perhaps it will be *de bonne guerre* [good military strategy].

Now I must beg your permission to speak about your fortune. If it were small, like mine, I should have no right to do so. But its size has made it a matter of public concern.

I don't know whether it is underestimated or overestimated. With a fortune of this size it is no longer a matter of what is visible or tangible in the way of gold, silver, securities, houses, estates, factories, and concerns of all kinds. It is no longer a matter of the material resources, even much less in your case than with a state bank. Because, if a bank can secure coverage with two-thirds, one-half, even one-third, perhaps one-tenth or less will suffice for you. Your credit is enormous, monstrous, amounts to many billions. I do not say ten, twenty, or fifty billions. Incalculable amounts are involved, and they cannot be expressed in figures.

And *that* is where the danger lies! The danger for you, for the countries in which you are established, for the entire world.

Your fortune—and by this I mean resources plus credit—is like a tower. This tower continues to grow; you continue to build, you must continue—and that is the sinister part of it. And because you cannot change the laws of nature, because you remain subject to them, either the tower must one day collapse by itself, destroying everything around it, or it will be demolished by force. In any event, an enormous convulsion, a world crisis.

I bring you your salvation—not by razing the tower, but by

giving it a broader foundation, one designed to last, as well as a harmonious conclusion. For a tower must have a limit. At the top I will place a light which will cast a wide beam. I shall make it into the highest and safest tower, an Eiffel Tower with a magnificent electric lantern.

It goes without saying that it has not been my purpose to meddle with your interests. Your private affairs are none of my business. I don't want to make any business deals with you, I am not in your service and never will be.

But I want to place myself at the service of all Jews.

After all, every person, and most of all, every Jew, is entitled to take an interest in the jeopardized Jewish cause, provided that he does it as an honest man with the best of intentions and conscience. The future will then bring him either approval of his actions or condemnation for the harm he may have done.

Improvement is out of the question because of the aforementioned cogent reasons. If someone were to ask me how I know this, I should tell him that I also know where a stone rolling down an incline finally arrives—namely, at the very bottom. Only ignoramuses or madmen do not take the laws of nature into account.

Therefore we must finally end up at the bottom, rock bottom. What appearance this will have, what form this will take, I cannot surmise. Will it be a revolutionary expropriation from below or a reactionary confiscation from above? Will they chase us away? Will they kill us?

I have a fair idea that it will take all these forms, and others. In one of the countries, probably France, there will come a social revolution whose first victims will needs be the big bankers and the Jews.

Anyone who has, like myself, lived in this country for a few years as a disinterested and detached observer can no longer have any doubts about this.

In Russia there will simply be a confiscation from above. In Germany they will make emergency laws as soon as the Kaiser can no longer manage the *Reichstag*. In Austria people will let them-

selves be intimidated by the Viennese rabble and deliver up the Jews. There, you see, the mob can achieve anything once it rears up. It does not know this yet, but the leaders will teach it.

So they will chase us out of these countries, and in the countries where we take refuge they will kill us.

Is there no salvation?

Oh yes, gentlemen, there is one, one that has existed before. It will be necessary to repeat a very old, very famous, very proven maneuver, albeit in a different, modern, more refined form. All the resources of the present may be used for this simple, easily understood purpose.

This simple old maneuver is the exodus from *Mitzraim* [Egypt].

I have intentionally prefaced my address with this brief critical part, although everything in it was already known to you, and at the risk of boring you. My main aim was to convince you that I am thinking along the same rational lines as you do, that I view things with the same calm eyes as you. I may have delineated rather sharply a few dangers and complexities with which you do not concern yourselves frequently or willingly. But in any case, everything has been true, simple, and sensible.

Do not, then, consider me a visionary. I shall now proceed to develop the business aspects of the matter which will give you a chance to observe closely whether I am talking sense or nonsense.

The only possible, final, and successful solution of the Jewish Question requires a billion francs. This billion will be worth three in twenty years—three billion exactly, as you will see later.

But before I present my plan to you, I will tell you in two sentences the principle that it is based upon. This will help you understand everything more easily. 1. We shall solve the Jewish Question by either safeguarding or liquidating the fortune of the wealthy Jews. 2. If we cannot do it with the help of the wealthy Jews, we shall do it in spite of them.

This is not a threat. We do not threaten any more than we beg. This will become clear to you at a later point.

The plan is as follows:

As soon as the *Society of Jews** has constituted itself, we shall call a conference of a number of Jewish geographers to determine, with the help of these scholars, who as Jews are loyally devoted to us, where we are going to emigrate. For I shall now tell you everything about the "Promised Land" except its location. That is a purely scientific question. We must have regard for geological, climatic, in short, natural factors of all kinds with full circumspection and with consideration of the latest research.

Once we have agreed on the continent and the country, we shall begin to take diplomatic steps with the utmost delicacy. So as not to operate with wholly vague concepts, I shall take Argentina as an example. For a time I had Palestine in mind. This would have in its favor the facts that it is the unforgotten ancestral seat of our people, that its very name would constitute a program, and that it would powerfully attract the lower masses. But most Jews are no longer Orientals and have become accustomed to very different regions; also, it would be hard to carry out there my system of transportation, which will follow later. Then, too, Europe would still be too close to it, and in the first quarter-century of our existence we shall have to have peace from Europe and its martial and social entanglements, if we are to prosper.

But on principle I am neither against Palestine nor for Argentina. We merely have to have a varied climate for the Jews who are used to colder or to warmer regions. On account of our future world trade we have to be located on the sea, and for our large-scale mechanized agriculture we must have wide areas at our disposal. The scientists will be given a chance to provide us with information. The decision will be made by our Administrative Council.

I can tell you right now that due to technical progress we shall

* In English in the original, here and *passim*.

be able to occupy a country, build cities, and found a civilization much more successfully than could be done in antiquity—indeed, as recently as a hundred years ago. The railroads have made us independent of the course of the rivers, and thanks to electricity we can settle in the mountains. At the outset, factories will be located in the mountains where cheap water power is available, the accumulation of masses of workers is impossible, and the working population can live and thrive more happily in the health-giving air. In this way, too, we shall prepare for the obviously coming development which will divide the forces of nature for small-scale industry and make them available to the individual.

As soon as we have determined the country that is to be occupied, we shall send out trusted and skillful negotiators who are to conclude treaties with the present authorities and the neighboring states covering our reception, transit, and guarantees for internal and external peace.

I am assuming that we shall go to Argentina. In that case we shall negotiate with the South American republics.

I shall now tell you the main features of our policy. Our goal must be to acquire the country we occupy as an independent one immediately after we declare ourselves a State. For this reason we shall probably grant financial advantages to the receiving country, although they must not take the form of a tribute. This would be incompatible with our future dignity. The subsequent cessation of payments could embroil us in an unnecessary war. In any case, it would damage our good reputation in the eyes of the world. We want to proceed legally and be good neighbors to everyone, if we are left in peace.

The financial emoluments that we give the South Americans need not be in cash, of course. Even the procuring of loans on favorable terms would make them grateful and disposed to make major concessions. It would be a good investment for the reason that we would divert streams of wealth to South America. For the neighboring states will have enormous indirect advantages in addition to the direct ones. Through us and with us, an un-

precedented commercial prosperity will come to South America. The countries adjacent to ours cannot help becoming rich. This will, of course, be adequately explained to them during the negotiations.

While we are establishing these diplomatic connections over there, we shall have other tasks in Europe. A great deal of what I am here presenting successively will take place simultaneously.

The *Society of Jews* will start operations by making treaties of removal with the governments. Only with Russia will there be a specific treaty of this kind; in the other countries involved, free movement is guaranteed by law. But we want to work hand in hand with the governments everywhere. We wish to, and shall, part as good friends. Great things are accomplished not with hatred and vengefulness, but only with Olympian friendliness.

Russia will undoubtedly allow our people to move away. Baron Hirsch is permitted to recruit even men subject to military service; when they come back, to be sure, they are treated as deserters. That will be all right with us. Surely we shall be granted at least the same concessions. After all, we shall take not only young and vigorous people, but the old, the sick, women and children as well (I shall tell you later what I shall do with these categories).

The moment may conceivably come in which the Russian government begins to view the departure of so many people with displeasure. At that point your credit policy will have to come to the rescue. How often in recent times have you put your financial power at Russia's disposal?! And I ask you: what for? Just consider what unused political power lies dormant in your granting of credit. In short, if we proceed purposefully, it will be an easy matter to keep the Russian government in a good mood, until our last man has gone.

The treaties of removal will take a different form in other countries. The individuals' freedom to move about is of no use to us. Here, too, we shall of course have to strive to procure the release of men liable for military duty, and under the same

harsh conditions as in Russia. In Germany, they don't like to have Jews in the army, anyway; and the people who want to remove the Jews from the army are certainly right from their point of view.

But what about the free removal of property? In its present form, movable property is easier to get out than ever. But what about immovables?

In the beginning, before our movement becomes a universal one, the first Jews who go with us will find it easy to sell their immovables. Gradually various contrarieties will appear. At first these emigrants will force one another's prices down. Without our aid, all sorts of business crises would occur in the countries affected by the departure of the Jews, crises whose form and extent could not even be calculated. Finally the population would be disconcerted and enraged, and it would hold the remaining Jews responsible. They might resort to legal chicanery, but certainly to the administrative kind.

The Jews who don't go with us could fare badly. We could, to be sure, leave them to their fate, since they were too cowardly or too mean to join us.

But what we have in mind is a project of justice and charity. We want to have mercy even on the contemptible. For are we not offering the solution? And a solution is only what satisfies all.

Now, gentlemen, we come to a commercial key point of the plan.

You have already suspected that the *Society* will be piloting us to our State. But we are still a long way from that point.

(This is the point at which to make an interpolation; for, as I have already said, many activities which I have described in succession will in reality take place simultaneously.)

We left our diplomatic negotiators in South America where they were concluding treaties of occupation with the states. These treaties are now completed, and we are assured of the land that we are going to occupy.

There can be no doubting that this operation is a legal one.

But it is not scrupulous. We know about the increase in value which the seller does not suspect. For that reason we shall, after the transaction has been completed, give him a choice between a cash payment and a compensation in shares at the nominal value. If he thinks the whole thing a fraud—*tant pis pour lui* [so much the worse for him]. In any case, we shall have nothing to reproach ourselves for.

The building material will have been taken care of by our geologists when they were looking for sites for our cities.

Our principle of construction will be that we ourselves shall undertake the building of workers' dwellings (and by this I mean the dwellings of all manual laborers). I am certainly not thinking of the sad-looking workers' barracks in European cities, nor of the paltry shacks which are lined up around factories. Our workmen's houses must have a uniform appearance too, to be sure—because we can build cheaply only if we mass-produce uniform building materials—, but these individual houses with their little gardens shall everywhere be combined into beautiful collective units.

A normal working day will consist of seven hours. This does not mean that only for seven hours each day will trees be felled, earth dug, rocks carted—in short, a hundred chores done. No, work will be going on for fourteen hours. But the workers will relieve one another after shifts of three and a half hours each. The organization will be quite military, with ranks, advancement, and retirement. You will hear later where I shall get the pensions from.

A healthy man can do a lot of concentrated work in three and a half hours. After resting for an equal period of time, a period which he will devote to his relaxation, his family, his guided self-improvement, he will be quite alert again. Such laborers can work wonders.

The seven-hour working day! I choose the number seven because it is connected with age-old associations of the Jewish people and because it makes possible fourteen general working hours; you can't get more into a day. Moreover, it is my

conviction that the seven-hour day is something entirely feasible (Jules Guesde speaks of five hours). In this, the *Society* will gather a store of new experiences from which the other peoples of the earth will benefit as well.

(Widows, too, are taken care of in my somewhat complicated welfare system.)

We shall raise the children right from the start the way we need them. I shan't go into this now.

As for *assistance par le travail* [public works]:

This *assistance* consists in every needy person being given *unskilled labor,** some light, non-specialized work, as, e.g., splitting wood, making *magotins* [kindling wood] such as is used to start the fire in kitchen stoves in Paris households. It is a sort of prison labor *before* the crime, i.e., one that is not dishonorable.

No one will have to resort to crime from necessity any longer, if he is willing to work. No more suicides must be committed out of hunger. As it is, suicides are one of the worst stigmata of a civilization in which tidbits are thrown to the dogs from the tables of the rich.

The public-works system thus gives employment to everyone. Does it have a market for its products? It does not, at least not an adequate one. This is a flaw in the existing structure.

This *assistance* always operates at a loss. It is prepared for one, of course. After all, it is a charitable institution. The alms constitutes the difference between the cost of production and the selling price. Instead of giving a beggar two sous, the *assistance* gives him work on which it loses two sous.

But a beggar who has become a skilled worker will make 1 franc 50 centimes. Instead of 10 centimes, 150! Do you know what this means? It means increasing the benefaction fifteen-fold, making 15 billion out of 1 billion. The *assistance,* to be sure, loses the 10 centimes. However, you will not lose the billion, but triple it.

* In English in the original.

All this will be done according to a big plan which is set from the start.

I left the main theme of this presentation at the construction of workers' dwellings under State auspices.

Now I go back to other categories of homes. We shall have the architects of the *Society* build homes for the petty bourgeois, too, either for barter or for money. We shall have the architects make drafts of about 100 types of houses and reproduce them. These pretty designs will also serve as part of our publicity. Every house will have its fixed price; the quality of the execution will be guaranteed by the *Society*, which does not wish to make a profit on the construction of homes. And where will the houses be constructed? I shall tell you this when I speak of the Local Groups and the pioneering expedition.

Since we will not make a profit on construction work, but only on the land, we shall welcome it if many free-lance architects build on private commissions. This will enhance the value of our other land-holdings, and bring luxury into the land, and we need luxury for various purposes, especially art, industry, and, finally, to make up for the decline of the large fortunes.

Yes, the rich Jews who at present must timidly conceal their treasures and give their uneasy parties behind drawn curtains will be able to enjoy them freely over there.

If our emigration is accomplished with your participation, capital will be rehabilitated among us on the other side, for it will have shown its usefulness in an unparalleled project.

In this area of my plan, too, you could do us great services with your credit.

In this instance, it is drawing-room credit. If you begin to build your castles, at which people in Europe are already looking askance, *over there* and if you stimulate your syndicate members to do likewise, it will soon become fashionable among the wealthy Jews to settle in sumptuous houses on the other side. *Il y a là un mouvement à créer* [there is a movement to be created]. And that is such an easy matter. You simply tell

good friends who will pass the word on: "Want some good advice? Build over there." You see, this really *is* good advice.

In this manner the art treasures of the Jews will gradually find their way across. You know best how great these treasures already are. Perhaps this will be the point at which the governments will first interfere, if we do not have your help in this project, that is, the benefit of diplomatic assistance, and must establish contact with the Jewish people through publicity. The kind of action that the governments would have to take has already been shown in Italy. May I remind you of the prohibition to export works of art.

However, it would be very injurious to the movement if the governments hit upon the idea of extending this ingenious prohibition to other pieces of tangible property as well. The little Jews would be least affected by this—*et pour cause* [and with reason]; the bigger ones would be hit harder and harder, and you, gentlemen, would be hit the latest and the hardest. Do not overlook the legal nature of this export prohibition. It is the partial deprivation of the right to dispose of an object; one quality of the object, its exportability, is confiscated.

To me even this seems like a bad thing. And once confiscation starts, where is it going to stop?

Let us not provoke this; but can we prevent it if it occurs in the course of our movement? You will see from our entire proposal that we are not bent on harming you—on the contrary!

We are showing you the way, making you suggestions as to how this huge movement can be led gently, without upsets. It will come into being—you probably surmise that much, gentlemen; and it will be to your advantage to go along with *us*. If you do not, we could not bother about the liquidation of your European business interests. We liquidate only the fixed assets and businesses of the people who have gone with us by a certain date—let us say, within the first decade. For we shall have to withdraw from Europe. We can stay here no longer. And we shall be allowed to leave without molestation only if we don't do much shilly-shallying.

We can and will liquidate all those who desire it as quickly as possible. All except you, because it will be utterly impossible. For after the Jews have emigrated, Europe could not stand the additional shock of your liquidation.

June 14

Address to the Family:

The movement will be born the moment I impart my idea to the world. You are rich enough, gentlemen, to further this plan; you are not rich enough to prevent it. The reason is remarkably simple: I cannot be bought.

Yes, I would be sincerely sorry if you did not go along with me and thus suffered harm. For your refusal would not be due to wickedness or narrow-mindedness—you are known to be loyal adherents of despised Judaism; you would be refusing because you did not see the correctness of my assertions, or because I did a bad job of explaining my plan. In that case I shall go to the depths with my solicitation. If the *Society of Jews* cannot be formed through aristocrats of money, it will be formed through democrats of money. Among them, as I told you in the beginning, the anxiety is greater; consequently their desire to draw a free breath will be greater. If then a few Jews and their possessions perish in the movement, I shall have no further responsibility. I have given a clear enough warning: The procession is under way!

But is this not in contradiction to my earlier statement that the peaceful exodus of all Jews should be secured? It is not, for we can protect only those Jews who go along with us, who entrust themselves to us. Those in the procession will not be stepped on. In regard to them we can assume guarantees vis-à-vis the governments and nations and receive in return their protection by the states and by public opinion.

You, gentlemen, are too big for us to take you under our protection at a later date. This is not due to *rancune* [rancor], nor because we shall in the meantime have arrived at opposite ends and shall have to have it out in many areas; on the con-

trary, we shall give you a brotherly reception over there if one day you come in search of protection and peace. To be sure, we shall have to take some safety measures against your dangerous wealth.

If you do not give me your support, you will inflict great damage on my plan. For the most delicate, the most secret, the diplomatic aspects become impossible if I have to conduct things in public.

I could not deal then with the South American republics the way I am planning to, could not expropriate things so inexpensively, would have a thousand difficulties attendant upon publicity.

With your aid it will be a splendid business (oh, but not for me); with the help of the midget millionaires a doubtful one; with that of the small Jews a bad one which could possibly not be brought to fruition and could end with a scandal (as in Panama).

"I hold you responsible for it"—this might be something you would smile at.

No, I shall say: You will suffer for it if the project, as a popular one, fails. And if it succeeds we shall let in all the Jews except the Rothschilds.

And that is not such a matter of indifference to you as it may seem today. For even after our departure your fortune will continue to grow in an alarming manner, and all the hatred which hitherto has been spread over countless Jewish heads will be concentrated on just a few—namely, yours.

These few heads will not be firmly attached, least of all in France.

Gentlemen! The only conceivable form the voluntary liquidation of the Rothschild fortune could take is the one about which I have been talking to you for so long: the emigration of the Jews.

Well, in what form will the *Society of Jews* (whether it has an aristocratic or a democratic complexion) give guarantees that

there will be no impoverishment or economic crises in the countries we have left?

I have already told you that we want to let respectable anti-Semites participate in our project, respecting their independence which is valuable to us—as a sort of people's control authority. But the state, too, has fiscal interests which could be damaged. It loses a class of tax payers which enjoys little civic respect, but is highly valued financially. We must offer the state some compensation for this. We are giving it an indirect one by leaving behind our businesses which Jewish astuteness and diligence have fashioned, by letting our Gentile fellow citizens move into the positions that we have abandoned, thus making it possible for masses to rise to prosperity in a manner unprecedented in such scope and peacefulness. On a smaller scale, the French Revolution produced something similar, but there the blood had to flow in streams under the guillotine, in all provinces of the country and on the battlefields of Europe, and inherited and acquired rights had to be violated into the bargain. And this only served to feather the nests of the shrewd buyers of national property.

Another indirect advantage the states will have is the tremendous growth of their export trade. Since over there we shall be dependent on European products for a long time to come, it will be essential for us to import them. And in this, too, my system of Local Groups (more about which soon) will create an equitable adjustment. The customary requirements will be met by the customary places for a long time. But the greatest indirect advantage, one that may not immediately be appreciated in its full import, is the social alleviation. Social discontent will be put at rest for some time, perhaps twenty years, possibly even longer. As for the social question, gentlemen, I consider it a merely technological question. Steam power has gathered men around the machines in factories where they are squeezed together and make one another unhappy. Production is enormous, indiscriminate, unplanned, and every

moment brings about serious crises which ruin the workers along with the management. Steam, then, has crowded people together; I believe that the exploitation of electricity will disperse them again to happier places of work. That is something I cannot predict. But in any case, the technical inventors, the true benefactors of mankind, will go on working in those twenty years, and, I hope, invent such wonderful things as before—no, ever more wonderful ones.

As for us, we shall utilize and improve upon all innovations over there; and just as we shall institute the seven-hour working day as an experiment for the good of all mankind, we shall lead the way in all philanthropic pursuits and be a new country of experimentation, a model country.

But the states will hardly content themselves with indirect benefits. They will want direct payments. In this we must lend the governments and parliaments a helping hand. It is perhaps one of the noblest aims of this plan that the modern civilized nations are to be spared the shame of making special laws against a people that is already unfortunate. In order to spare the governments an emigration tax on the Jews, the *Society* will assume all responsibility. Our headquarters will be in London, because in matters of civil law we must be under the protection of a great nation which is not anti-Semitic at present. But if we receive official and semi-official support we shall everywhere provide a broad base for taxation, what is called *surface* in France. We shall everywhere found taxable subsidiary and branch institutions. Moreover, we shall provide the advantage of a double transfer of fixed property, which means double fees. Even where it acts only as an agent for immovables, the *Society* will assume the temporary appearance of a buyer. Thus, even when we do not wish to be the owners, we shall for a moment be entered as buyers in the land register.

This, of course, is purely a matter of bookkeeping. In each individual place it will have to be investigated and decided how far we can go in this without endangering the existence of our undertaking. We shall have to have frank discussions with the

Ministers of Finance about it. They will clearly see our good intentions and will everywhere grant us those special considerations which we demonstrably need for the successful completion of our historic project.

Another direct contribution which we shall make is in the field of freight and passenger transportation. In the case of state railroads this is immediately obvious. In the case of private railroads we shall get special rates, like every major shipping agent. We must, of course, transport our people and their belongings as cheaply as possible, because everybody pays his own way across. For middle-class people we shall have the Cook System, and for the poor classes, travel at special reduced rates. For the freight we have our experienced agents. We could make a big profit on passenger and freight discounts. But in this area, too, our principle must be merely to break even. We must not make any more profits in Europe. Therefore we shall divide the discount between our emigrants (fare reduction) and the states (providing *surface* through the establishment of shipping agencies and freight-insurance companies).

It will not be necessary to establish new moving agencies everywhere. In many places the moving business is in the hands of Jews. These companies will be the first we will need and the first we will liquidate. Their present owners will either enter our service or freely establish themselves over there. After all, receiving agents will be needed at the point of debarkation; and since this is an excellent business and people not only may, but should, immediately make money on the other side, it is evident that there will be no shortage of enterprising spirits in this field.

We ourselves will undertake the management of the boats, and at the same time we shall encourage Jewish ship-owners. At first we shall buy the boats (and through secret and simultaneous purchases, similar to the centralized system of land purchase which will have been developed earlier, we shall prevent price increases); later, and as soon as possible, we shall build our own ships over there. We shall encourage the shipbuilding of

free-lance entrepreneurs through various benefits (inexpensive material from our forests and blast furnaces). The labor supply will be handled by our Central Employment Office.

In the beginning we shall have little or rather unrewarding cargo on the return trips of our boats (except, perhaps, from Chile, Argentina, and Brazil). Our scientific assistants, who will be the first to go across on the pioneering ship, will have to give their immediate attention to this point as well. We shall look for raw materials and take them to Europe; this will be the beginning of our export trade. Gradually we shall produce industrial goods, at first for the poor among our emigrants. Clothes, underwear, shoes, etc., will be mass-produced, for in the European ports of embarkation our poor people will be given new clothes. This will not be a gift to them, because we have no intention of humiliating them. Their old things will merely be exchanged for new ones. We do not care if we lose anything on this; we shall put it down as a business loss. The completely destitute will be our debtors for their clothes, and over there they will pay by working overtime; we shall exempt them from this for good conduct.

There shall be something symbolic about these very clothes: You are starting a new life now! And we shall see to it that on the boats a serious and festive mood is maintained through prayers, popular lectures, information regarding the purpose of the undertaking, hygienic advice for the new places of residence, and directions for their future labors. For the Promised Land is the land of labor. On the other side, each ship will be given a festive reception by the heads of our government. Without fatuous jubilation, for the Promised Land will yet have to be won. But right from the outset these poor people shall see that they are at home there.

As you can imagine, our clothing industry for emigrants will not be aimless in its production. Through a centralized network of agencies—which constitute our political administration, as opposed to the autonomous Local Groups—we shall always know in time the number of emigrants, their day of arrival, and

their requirements, and we shall make provision for them. In this systematic management of an industry there are the faint beginnings of an attempt to avoid production crises. This is how we shall proceed in all areas where the *Society* appears as an industrialist. But on no account do we want to crush private enterprise with our superior power. We shall be collectivists only in those instances where the enormous difficulties of the task require it. In general, we want to cherish and protect the individual and his rights. Private property as the economic basis of independence shall have free and respected development among us. After all, we shall allow our very first unskilled laborers to acquire private property. Moreover, you have already seen in several examples (the free building contractor, the free shipowner, the free shipping agent) how we want to encourage the enterprising spirit. In industry we shall favor the entrepreneur in various ways. Protective tariff or free trade are not principles, but matters of usefulness. At first we shall, in any case, be free-traders. Later the requirements of our policy will decide.

But there are other ways in which we can aid industry, and we shall use them. We have the allotment of cheap raw materials under our control and can regulate their supply through sluices, like the flow of water. This will become important later for the prevention of crises. And then we shall establish an institution of permanent and increasing value: an Office of Industrial Statistics, with public announcements.

Thus the enterprising spirit will be stimulated in a salutary way. Risky desultoriness will be avoided. The establishment of new industries will be announced promptly, so that any entrepreneurs who six months later might have the idea of going into a certain industry will not build their way into a crisis, into misery. Since the purpose of a new establishment will have to be reported to our Industrial Police, the outlook for new ventures will be available to anyone at any time, just as the land registers make available information about the property situation.

Finally, we are offering entrepreneurs a centralized labor pool. An employer applies to the Central Employment Office which charges him only a fee required for its operating expenses (office rent, salaries, postage, and telegram charges). The employer sends a telegram: Require tomorrow 500 unskilled laborers for three days (or three weeks or three months). The next day the 500 men requested arrive at his agricultural or industrial establishment. Our Central Employment Office collects them from various places where they may happen to become available. The migration of laborers in search of work* will be improved along military lines and changed from a crude procedure into a meaningful institution. We shall, of course, supply no slave labor, but only seven-hour laborers who will keep their—that is, our—organization and retain their seniority as regards rank, advancement, and pensions even when they change their location. A free entrepreneur may get his workers from somewhere else if he wants to; but I doubt if he will be able to.

We shall thwart the importation of non-Jewish slave labor through some sort of boycott of uncooperative industrialists, through making their commercial activity more difficult, denying them raw materials, and the like. So people will have to take our seven-hour-a-day workers. You see, gentlemen, how we are almost painlessly approaching the regular seven-hour working day.

It is evident that what applies to the unskilled laborers will be even easier to accomplish with more skilled labor. The part-time workers in the factories may be brought under the same regulations. There is no need for me to go into detail on this.

As for the independent artisans, the small master craftsmen, we want to foster them with a view to the future progress of technology, give them technological information even if they are no longer young, and make water power and electricity available to them. These independent workers, too, shall be

* Translator's Note: Herzl uses the term *Sachsengängerei*, referring to laborers from the eastern part of Prussia who tried to find work in the Saxon lands.

sought out by our Central Employment Office. A Local Group will apply to this office: we need so-and-so-many carpenters, locksmiths, glaziers, etc. The Central Office will make this public and the people will come forward. They and their families will move to the place where they are needed and remain there, not crushed by random competition. A permanent, good home will have come into being for them.

This brings me to the Local Groups. So far I have only shown how the emigration may be accomplished without an economic upheaval. But in such a mass migration many strong emotions are involved. There are old customs and memories which bind all of us to certain places. We have cradles and we have graves, and you know what graves mean to Jewish hearts. The cradles we shall take along; in them there slumbers our future, rosy and smiling. Our beloved graves we must leave behind. I think this is what we covetous people will find it hardest to part with, but it will have to be.

Even now, economic distress, political pressure, and social hatred frequently remove us from our places of residence and our graves. Even at present the Jews constantly move from one country to another. There is even a strong overseas movement, to the United States, where we are not liked either. Where will people want us so long as we have no homeland of our own? But we will give the Jews a homeland—not by uprooting them forcibly from their earth, but by carefully digging them up with all their roots and transplanting them into a better soil. Just as we want to create new economic and political conditions, we intend to keep sacred all the emotional attachments to the past.

I am only touching on this briefly. On this point, more than on any other part of my plan, there is great danger that you will consider it overly romantic. And yet even this is as clear in my mind as everything else.

Our people are to emigrate in groups of families and friends. But no one will be forced to join any group departing from his present locality. Everyone may go the way he wants to. After

all, everyone is paying his own way, in whatever class of railroad and ship he chooses. But I should always like to use trains and boats that have only one class. On such long trips the poor are bothered by differences in wealth. And even though we are not taking our people across for entertainment, we still do not wish to spoil their good humor on the way. No one will travel under conditions of hardship; everything in the way of elegant comfort will be available. People will make arrangements far in advance; after all, it will be years before the movement by homogeneous property classes gets rolling. The well-to-do will form traveling parties. All personal connections will be taken along. As you know, with the exception of the wealthiest, Jews have almost no social relations with Gentiles. A Jew who does not happen to support a few dinner-table parasites, spongers, and Gentile flunkeys does not know any Gentiles at all.

Therefore, those of average means will make prolonged and careful preparations for departure. Every locality will form a group. In the large cities there will be several district groups which will communicate by means of elected representatives. There is nothing obligatory about this division into districts; it is actually intended only as an aid to those less well-to-do, so that no discomfort or homesickness will arise during the trip. Everyone is free to travel alone or to attach himself to whatever Local Group he prefers. The conditions will be the same for all members of each class. If a traveling party is large enough, the *Society* will give it a special train and thereafter a special boat. In transit and on the other side, the Central Housing Office, headed by the Director of Housing, will have provided suitable housing (Cook System). On the boats, entertainment and instruction will be provided, this time not according to property classes, but according to educational levels. Jewish actors, singers, and musicians, as well as Jewish professors and teachers will, after all, go along too. They will all be given assignments, which they will soon have guessed anyway. We shall make a special appeal for the participation of our clergymen. Each group will have its Rabbi who is traveling with his

congregation. You can see how naturally all these groups fall into place. A Local Group will have a Rabbi as its nucleus; there will be as many such groups as there are Rabbis. The Rabbis will be the first to understand us and become enthusiastic over our cause, and they will impart their enthusiasm to the others from their pulpits. Imagine with what fervor our old saying "Next year in the Promised Land!" will be spoken henceforth. There is no need to call any special assemblies with a lot of blather. This propaganda will be included in the religious service, and properly so. We recognize our historic identity only by the faith of our fathers, because we have long since inextinguishably absorbed the languages of various nationalities. I shall return to this point later when I speak of the Constitution of our State.

The Rabbis will then regularly receive the advices of the *Society* and announce and interpret them to their congregations. Israel will pray for us and for itself.

The Local Groups will appoint small committees of representatives under the chairmanship of the Rabbis. These committees will discuss and decide all practical issues in accordance with local needs. What will be done with the charitable institutions I shall explain later.

The Local Groups will elect their representatives who will go across with the pioneer ship in order to select sites for towns. In all our activities we shall aim at a gentle transplantation, and the preservation of all legitimate claims.

Later the Local Groups will have plans of the towns. Our people will know beforehand where they are going, in what towns and in what houses they will live. I have already mentioned the building plans and clear illustrations which will be distributed among the Local Groups.

Just as strict centralization will be the principle of our administration, the principle for the Local Groups will be full autonomy. Only in this way can the transplanting be accomplished painlessly.

I am not imagining all this to be easier than it actually is; on the other hand, you must not imagine it to be harder.

The middle classes will automatically be drawn along by our movement. Some will have their sons on the other side, as officials of the *Society*, judges, lawyers, physicians, architects, railroad engineers, bridge-builders, etc. Others will have daughters married to our workers. These will all be good matches, for those who come with us will rise high, especially the pioneers who will be rewarded for their devotion, and also because the positions which do not lend themselves to any *actions d'éclat* [striking deeds] will be governed strictly according to seniority rather than influence.

Then one of our unmarried people will send for his fiancée, another for his parents, brothers, and sisters. In a new civilization, people marry young. This can only benefit general morality, and we shall have sturdy offspring—not those delicate children of fathers who have married late, having already spent their energies in life's struggles. It is evident that especially the poorest will go with us. The already existing Emigrants' Committees in various cities will accept our leadership. Since they were founded by well-meaning men who have a heart for their poor brethren, there is no doubt that they will readily submit to our higher purpose, our higher institutions. If they do not, we shall forget about the envious ones. But I don't think there will be any such people. It would be pitiful; and they would incur disgrace as surely as we shall gladly honor them if they join forces with us.

June 15

Address to the Family:

Any person of discernment must see the development clearly even now. But no great exertion will be necessary to stimulate the migration movement. The anti-Semites are already taking care of this for us. As soon as our institution becomes known, the anti-Semites will agitate for the *Society* in the government, in parliament, at rallies, and in the papers. Good for the Jews who

are going with us! Woe to them who will let themselves be forced out only by brutal arguments.

But our exodus must and will be a voluntary one. Anyone who appreciates the phenomena of acquisition and entertainment—*panem et circenses* [bread and circuses]—must also realize how right I am.

Let me explain to you these phenomena which I learned to understand myself only in Paris.

How can I direct a multitude to a particular spot without giving them a command? Baron Hirsch, a man who is concerned about Jewry, but whose attempts I consider a failure, says: "I shall pay these people to go there." That is dead wrong, and all the money in the world cannot pay for it.

By contrast, I say: I am not going to pay them; I am going to make them pay. Only, I shall offer them something.

Let us say that Hirsch and I want to assemble a crowd of people on the plain of Longchamps on a hot Sunday afternoon. By promising them 10 francs each, Hirsch will, for 200,000 francs, bring out 20,000 perspiring, miserable people, who will curse him for having inflicted this drudgery on them. I, on the other hand, shall offer the 200,000 francs as a prize for the swiftest race horse; and then I shall put up barriers to keep the people off the Longchamp course. Those who want to get in have to pay: 1 franc, 5 francs, 20 francs.

The upshot will be that I get half a million people out there; the President of the Republic will drive up *à la Daumont;* and the people will have a good time entertaining one another. Most of them will find the exercise in the open air a pleasure in spite of the heat and the dust. And for my 200,000 francs I shall have taken in a million in admissions and betting taxes.

I can get those same people out there again any time I want to, but Hirsch cannot, not at any price.

Let me show you the same phenomenon in an economic situation. Try to get someone to shout this out in the streets of a city: Whoever is willing to stand all day long, in the bitter cold of

winter or the burning heat of summer, in an iron hall exposed on all sides and there to accost every passer-by and offer him junk, or fish, or fruit, will receive two florins, or four francs, or anything you please.

How many people would you get to go to that hall? If hunger drove them there, how many days would they stand it? And if they did hold out, how much eagerness would they display in trying to persuade the passers-by to purchase fruit, fish, or junk?

I shall go about it in a different way. In places where trade is active—and these places I shall discover all the more easily because I myself shall channel trade in any direction I please—there I shall build large halls and call them markets. I could make these halls worse, more unhealthy than those I have mentioned, and yet people would flock to them. But I shall make them better and more beautiful, put my whole good will into them. And the people, to whom I have promised nothing, because I cannot promise them anything without deceiving them, these good, enterprising people will create an atmosphere of fun and do a thriving business. They will tirelessly harangue the buyers. They will stand on their feet and hardly notice their fatigue. Every day they will not only rush to be the first on the job, but will form unions, combines, all sorts of things, just so they can continue this gainful employment undisturbed. And even if it turns out at the end of the day that all their honest work has netted them only a guilder-and-a-half, or three francs, or whatever, they will still look hopefully to the next day which may be better for them. I shall have given them hope.

You would like to know where I am going to get the demand which I need for the markets. Do I really need to tell you that? Did I not demonstrate that the *assistance par le travail* will produce a fifteenfold return? One million will produce 15 millions and one billion, 15 billions.

Well, you may wonder if this is just as true on a large scale as it is on a small one. After all, capital yields a return diminishing in inverse ratio to its own growth. That is true of inactive capital, capital that has gone into hiding, but not of the active kind.

In fact, that kind of capital yields a tremendously increasing return in large amounts. The social question is contained in this. Is what I am saying true? You be your own witnesses, gentlemen. Why are you managing so many industries? Why do you send men to work underground and bring up coal amidst terrible dangers and for meager wages? I cannot imagine this to be pleasant, even for the mine owners. For I do not believe, and do not pretend to believe, that capitalists are heartless. I am not an agitator, but a peacemaker.

Do I need to illustrate the phenomenon of masses and the ways of attracting them to any desired spot by discussing religious pilgrimages, too?

This speech may have to be published, and I do not wish to offend anyone's religious sensibilities by words which could be misinterpreted.

Let me just mention in passing what the pilgrimage to Mecca means in the Mohammedan world, Lourdes and the Holy Mantle at Treves to the Catholics, and so many other places from which people return home comforted by their faith.

So, over there we will build a more beautiful Sadagora for the Wonder Rabbi. After all, our clergymen will be the first to understand us and go with us.

We shall let everyone find salvation over there in his own way. That includes, and very particularly, our beloved freethinkers, our immortal army which is conquering more and more new territory for mankind.

No more force will be applied against anyone than is necessary for the preservation of the State and public order. And the force necessary will not be arbitrarily determined by whatever person or persons happen to be in authority at a given time, but will reside in iron-clad laws.

I have mentioned commerce and the markets. Are we not going to have too many tradesmen? We are not. At present, large-scale or small-scale trade does attract most of our people who want to make a living. But do you think that a peddler who covers a territory with a heavy pack on his back is happy? I think that by

means of the seven-hour day we shall be able to make workmen out of all these men; they are such decent, misunderstood, unhappy people, and are perhaps suffering most of all right now. From the very beginning we shall concern ourselves with training them to be workmen. In this we shall be aided by the advancement of the unskilled laborers and their eventual pensioning off. For the pension will consist in something that may seem like paradise to today's peddlers during their disheartened tramping through the villages: a tobacco-shop, a liquor store. I shall get back to this in a moment.

The small businesses will be operated only by women, I think. You can see how this will relieve the pressure for women's rights. Women can easily take care of such businesses in addition to their household chores, even if they are pregnant, and can also supervise their girls and small boys. The bigger boys we shall take, for we can use them all.

But what about dealings in money? After all, that seems to be one of the main problems. At present we are unfortunately a people of stock-market speculators. Is everybody going to rush to the stock-exchange right away? Ah, or are we by any chance not going to have that useful, indispensable institution at all? You may begin to laugh at me. Be patient, gentlemen!

In the first place, I do not believe that our people are crazy about the stock-exchange. I have often had a deep and sympathetic insight into the situation of the little stock-traders. I think they would rather do anything than run to the stock-exchange. A Jew, especially one of small means, is an excellent *pater-familias,* and it is with trepidation that he goes out every day to "grab a percentage," because he can be commercially disgraced, i.e., made incapable of earning a living, in the twinkling of an eye, through some maneouvre of the big boys or some political development that may break suddenly. Then he spends years or even the rest of his life outside the stock-exchange, which is tragic rather than comic. And yet for him there is no other place to go, no other way to earn a living. Even our educated people cannot

get in anywhere; what use could be made of these poor people? We, however, are going to use them according to their skill, without any prejudice; after all, they are our own. We shall make new men out of them. Yes, a new life starts for all, with the experience of the past and without the onus of past sins. Out of the present refuse of human society we shall make respectable, happy men, just as beautiful aniline dyes are now made out of factory refuse that once went to waste.

Believe me, these little stock-traders will serve us gratefully and loyally wherever we place them, unless they prefer to become free-lance contractors of jobs and transactions of all kinds. If they want to become small agricultural industrialists, they will get credit in the form of machinery and can make our land arable as leaseholders.

On a larger scale, the same goes for the ordinary stock-holders. They will become manufacturers, building contractors, etc., because they have capital or credit. Impartial observers like ourselves know that a real stock-exchange deal is not child's play, requiring, as it does, the calculation of many factors, powers of observation, quick judgment—in short, many things that can and will be put to far better use. The only thing is that Jews cannot get out of the stock-exchange. In fact, the present political situation forces more and more Jews into it; all our unemployed people of average education must either starve or go to the stock-exchange. On the other hand, the moneyed Jews are driven to pure speculation by the persecution of capital by the Socialists and anti-Semites. They administer their property at the stock-exchange. And the big ones—yourselves, the biggest ones, included—are forced to do likewise. This makes the great fortunes grow frighteningly. At least, that is what everybody thinks, and it probably is so.

Well, we will set all these forces free. We shall channel them our way and have gold mines in our country. I am not speaking of the mines that might be discovered in the new soil over there; that would be a foolish illusion. I am speaking of the certain

gold mines, the full extent of which is well known and which we ourselves shall take across with us in the form of labor, capital, and the happy union of both.

By now you will see what I am driving at: the Promised Land is within ourselves! No one has ever looked for it there.

Gentlemen! I am trying very hard not to present things in too tempting a manner. If my words have a beautiful ring, this is due to my subject. But you are certainly not peasants and will not regard this alone as cause for mistrust.

My psychological explanations and predictions why over there our people will not be stock-traders may not satisfy you or my subsequent worldwide audience.

My aim has been to show first the beautiful and the free aspects. These are the front walls of the building. But rest assured that my edifice has steel girders inside.

You see, we are going to close the stock-exchanges right after we have set them up! In other words, we shall institute a stock-exchange monopoly. Yes, all dealings in money will be nationalized. At first I had only the re-education of our people in mind. But the more this plan grew and matured within me, the more the ways in which I found the stock-exchange monopoly right. This will also give us control over the mania for gambling without eradicating sound speculation. Above all, we shall manage our State credits independently of private financiers. Furthermore, we shall get resources for pensioning our higher officials and taking care of their widows and orphans. How does this aspect of it work? Very simply. It involves large, divisible tobacco-shops (*un quart d'agent de change* [a petty stockbroker]). These non-inheritable agencies will be conducted by sworn lessees who are members of a disciplinary association. These licensed agents will guarantee us that their clients are not professional gamblers. That will be hard to establish; it is more of a moral question and we shall have to operate with indefinite standards, like the term "economic ruin" in the Austrian Usury Law.

In a comparable manner, we shall control alcoholism among

our *unskilled** laborers by means of the truck system. Let me here mention the fact that we shall also establish a liquor monopoly. In addition to the profits on the manufacture, this will give us a large number of small retail outlets for pensioners and widows. Small outlets, I say, because as a rule our people are not drinkers. They are not, at present, but physical labor might make them drink; a state must take preventive measures. And this is the place to speak of the tobacco monopoly, the last form of indirect taxation for the time being. If at a later date we need more and bigger sources of revenue, this will have been caused by our needs, i.e., our standard of living. But once we are established we can find whatever forces are required.

The tobacco monopoly has several points in its favor: most Jews are familiar with it from their present locations; it enables us to exact bigger amounts from bigger consumers; it gives us any number of small pensions in the form of tobacco-shops. The last-named will at the same time be the exclusive vending places for newspapers; there they will be available to the public, and to the government, if need be.

This is all I have to say about the stock-exchange monopoly. Of all the fine institutions which we shall create over there, this will probably be the first to be copied by Europe.

Right now, of course, it would be a tremendous hardship if we were barred from the stock-exchanges. Where should the unfortunate Jewish brokers turn? But once we start migrating, this will suddenly be a great boon to the Jews, and at the same time the states will create great resources for themselves and get control of speculation with government credits, as we shall do in our State. Over there we shall offer rich fields to industrious traders and enterprising capitalists. Let the gamblers, the dissolute fellows, stay in Monte Carlo. If they follow us uninvited, we shall tame them, just as we keep mutinous elements among our unskilled laborers in check through our protective troops.

It will be said that we make people unhappy by our measures.

* In English in the original.

I deny this most categorically. A wound that old cannot be healed by moaning and groaning; it has to be *cauterized.* And who will dare deny the moral power of labor? By this I certainly do not mean only manual labor, but brain work as well. The latter undoubtedly includes speculation, provided it is not gambling.

The moral aspects of work have long since been recognized in penal legislation. We have seen them operating in an incomparably nobler fashion, *before* the crime, in the *assistance par le travail.*

Let me briefly tell you a touching story which I came across in an account of the gold fields of Witwatersrand. A man came to the Rand one day, settled down, tried several things, not including gold mining, finally opened an ice factory that prospered, and soon earned general respect for his decency. Years later he was suddenly arrested. It seems that as a banker in Frankfurt he had perpetrated fraud, then had escaped and started a new life here under an assumed name. When he was taken away as a prisoner, the most respected people of Johannesburg turned up at the station and gave him a cordial "Farewell—until we meet again." For he *was* going to return.

There is a lot in this story. First, it says that I am right. And after all, our unfortunate stock-market operators are no criminals. They are conscientious, struggling, decent heads of families. Of course, there are crooks among them. Where aren't there any? In what distinguished office or profession do you *not* find them? How many gamblers are there in the Clubs?!

But even if they were criminals, which they are not, we would still take them along. We shall take the real criminals along as well—after they have served their term, you understand. For in Europe everything must be liquidated in an honorable manner. Then, a new life!

We shall also take along the sick and the aged; do I even have to mention this? The charitable institutions of the Jews will be freely transplanted with the Local Groups. Endowed institutions will remain with their original Local Group over there. The buildings should not be sold, in my opinion, but donated to

needy Gentiles in the cities concerned. Over there we shall give the Local Groups credit for this by not charging them for building sites when the land is distributed and giving them special consideration in construction. Also, it shall be credited in the auctioning off of the local community.

I shall speak in a moment about the distribution and auctioning off of the land. I am trying to present everything as succinctly as possible.

Over there we shall from the very beginning put the charitable institutions in a centralized system, and I have already worked it out. If you believe me implicitly, I shall spare you an elaboration of this now.

Private philanthropy must cease, because it is haphazard. Those unable to work will all be provided for by the State and the free Charity Headquarters. Beggars will not be tolerated. Anyone who refuses to choose his own occupation will go to the Workhouse.

You see how we pull some along and let others tag after us, how the third kind is swept along, and the fourth pushed after us.

If the stock-exchange monopoly is instituted after we have left, it will hasten all vacillators after us, overseas, where they may no longer find the best berths.

You see, gentlemen, how cog meshes with cog, how I slowly build a great iron machine out of familiar components that you can touch with your own hands. I shall also show you the coals with which I shall make fire, and the water which I shall turn into steam.

Then there will be a whistle that will mean: Get aboard, or out of the way!

I have already mentioned some of the Jewish State's forms of revenue. It will have still others. Any kind of undertaking that has already been completely investigated, like railroads and insurance of all kinds known up to now, will be nationalized. All Jews who have been serving as officials of such institutions in Europe will freely transfer into the service of our State, receiving positions at least as good and, besides, chances for

advancement, etc., which at present a Jew does not have even in a private institution. Certain industries we shall manage ourselves, even at the risk of running them less cheaply than private interests. Mines, particularly, will be operated only by the State, because even with a seven-hour day mine workers should not be subject to an entrepreneur's parsimony. The State will not economize on safety measures. But there is no striking against it. It represents no private interests. On the other hand, the varying difficulty of kinds of work will be compensated for by a scale of pensions. The man who has worked harder will get his tobacco-shop sooner.

The State will collect certain taxes not for its own benefit, but as an informal equalization between poverty and wealth. We cannot remove economic differences. Even if we were visionaries enough to attempt this, they would immediately arise anew. But we *can* establish a moral connection between the joys of some and the sorrows of others. The amusement tax (as in France) will benefit the hospitals. The dowry tax will be used to take care of indigent girls whom men have forgotten to marry because the girls have no money. Many wealthy Jews are doing this sort of thing now, but haphazardly, like everything else. Nor shall this become the prey of chance mendicancy. We shall have no beggars. As for preventing cheating on dowry taxes, I have got that worked out, too.

I have already said that we are going to nationalize all dealing in money, with the exception of the issuing bank. I think the Bank of France is a good model. The stability of the currency can be guaranteed better by a private issuing bank. But its employees resemble state employees anyway.

As for harmonizing the private issuing bank with the State Bank, with all the proper precautions and policies, our financial geniuses, of whom there is no lack, will know more about this than I do.

I am going to concern myself only with fundamentals. The nationalization of the money-exchange will be designed to educate the people in our State, something that will be necessary

in the early stages. There will be neither small nor big bankers any more. Those with capital must and will shrewdly invest it in other enterprises. Let the little ones, the hole-and-corner usurers and speculation agents, enter State service. There they will be subject to a sound code of discipline, and they need not be placed in a Ministry, but can also be in branch offices, like manager of Postal Savings, etc.

You are quite aware, gentlemen, that I am not talking nonsense about the state centralization of the money-exchange. And it is also common knowledge where and how the states even now engage in financial deals with themselves, either in the open (savings banks) or under cover, by entering into silent partnership with the issuing bank.

But if that were not so, what would your World House be? I do not believe that our State or any other state will ever have a bigger money-exchange. You know, then, that the large-scale money-exchange not only can stand centralization, but actually thrives on it. By going from one of your windows to the next, I can collect a claim in London and pay a debt in Naples. I can even save myself this little trip, you can take care of it for me. And wherever centralization does not already exist, it is widely sought. For larger financial transactions the banks stand together in groups and form those evil financial cartels which have not yet been recognized in their full harmfulness. And you are right in the midst of everything! *On vous voit trop, messieurs* [One sees too much of you, gentlemen]! I know, of course, that you do not come in uninvited, that people seek you out, that you wait to be asked.

And that is your curse! People can no longer do without you. You are forced to become richer and richer, whether you want to or not. You have lost control of your fortune, you are drifting on this stream of gold and no longer know where you are going!

I don't know whether all governments already realize what an international menace your World House constitutes. Without you no wars can be waged, and if peace is to be concluded, people are all the more dependent on you. For the year 1895 the military

expenses of the five Great Powers have been estimated at four billion francs, and their actual peacetime military strength at 2,800,000 men. And these military forces, which are unparalleled in history, you command financially, regardless of the conflicting desires of the nations!

Who has given you the right to do this? What universal human ideal are you serving? And who are you, anyway? A handful of bankers, now more than ever *"Schutzjuden,"* who are occasionally invited to court—with what repugnance you can imagine, if you are not shown it. For you are nowhere given full rights or even regarded as regular citizens. And you who are in a position to tighten the belts of almost three million soldiers, you and your cash-boxes have to be anxiously guarded everywhere, from the people who, to be sure, do not know everything yet.

And your accursed wealth is still growing. Everywhere it increases more rapidly than the national wealth of the countries in which you reside. Therefore this increase takes place only at the expense of the national prosperity, even though you yourselves may be the most decent persons in the world.

For that reason, the Jewish State from the outset will not tolerate your alarming wealth, which would stifle our economic and political freedom. Not even if you go with us! Do you understand that, gentlemen? And how do we intend to keep you from getting richer over there when we should like to make everyone richer? Do we by any chance have special legislation against you in mind? What ingratitude, if you help us, or what nonsense! Gentlemen, if you do not go with us, we shall probably have to outlaw you. We shall not admit you to our country, just as in France the pretenders, all of them scions of famous French families, are barred from the country.

But if you do go with us, we shall enrich you one last time more. And we shall make you big beyond the dreams of the modest founder of your House and even of his proudest grandchildren.

We shall make you richer by tripling your contribution, the billion with which we started. The Jewish State will be given

the right to redeem the shares of the *Society* within twenty years at three times their face value. These are the three billions exactly of which I spoke earlier.

We shall make you big, because we shall take our first elected ruler from your House. That is the shining beacon which we shall place atop the finished Eiffel Tower of your fortune. In history it will seem as though that had been the object of the entire edifice.

Just a few words about the Constitution. A principality with an elected head. We shall choose a quiet, modest, sensible man who will not think that he is our master. We shall impose sufficient restrictions on him in our Constitution anyway. For we shall be free men and have no one over us but the Almighty God.

Alas, many of our brethren cannot even imagine in their dreams what it means to be a free man!

We shall not found a hereditary principality. We cannot make ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of the world. It would look like something bought, like some dubious marquisate. In order to prevent for all time subtle pressure from those in power, the second prince will not be a Rothschild, and never will a son be allowed to succeed his father. Any Jew can become our prince, with the exception of the author of this plan. Otherwise the Jews would say that he did everything for his own benefit. And if you examine it closely, even the first Prince Rothschild will not have attained this high position because of his money.

As you will soon see, we are not dependent on your money. But by giving us your contribution you will perform a moral act. You will be subjecting yourself to the National Ideal, helping us to carry out the enormous undertaking without a fight, and sparing the whole civilized world the severest upheavals. For this you shall be rewarded and the world will not deride it.

To make them comprehensible to the people, ideas of this kind must be presented in the simple and moving form of symbols. That is why we shall all be in glittering gala dress when we march to the Temple to crown the Prince. Only one man in our

midst will wear the shabby garb of shame of a medieval Jew, including the pointed Jew's hat and the Yellow Badge, and that very man will be our Prince. Only in the Temple shall we put a princely cloak about his shoulders and a crown on his head.

The meaning of this will be: To us you are but a poor Jew; you shall never forget what we have endured and take care not to expose us to fresh dangers. But in the eyes of the world you are our Prince; as such you shall be resplendent and represent us with distinction.

Oh, now you will again think that I am telling you a tale. You are touched and shaken, and yet feel like mocking. Am I speaking of the impossible? In what way is my plan unrealistic? The Temple? I am going to build it wherever I please. Our gala dress? We shall be rich and free enough to wear it. The crowds? Them I shall draw wherever I want. The wondrous garb of the Prince? You must have been moved when I described it, and if you were not, *tant pis pour vous* [so much the worse for you]! Other nations also see old costumes in such festive processions and do not regard them as masquerades, but as meaningful remembrances of the past.

And why do I, who am talking to, and counting on, businessmen, dwell so long on this kind of description?

Because the intangible element of popular enthusiasm, surging like steam out of boiling water, is the power with which I run the great machine!

All right, and now to the as yet unsolved question of what will be done with your fortune if you come with us.

It is extremely simple. Your wealth consists of two parts: of the actual funds, which we shall even increase by two billion (within twenty years the Jewish State will redeem the shares at three times their face value), and of your credit.

The funds you keep. We shall then no longer be afraid of this wealth, great though it is. A large part of it will remain in Europe, but it will no longer be active. Your castles, palaces, all luxury establishments may remain; you can use them for future visits to Europe, when members of your family return on pleasure

trips or represent us as diplomats. The natural disintegration of great fortunes will set in: through marriages, ramification of the lineage, and wastefulness. Then, too, over there you will set a good example to the rich by starting beautiful art collections, erecting fine buildings, and making gorgeous gardens. We will subtly entice the intellectually backward to culture. As for the main part of your fortune, the dangerous international power of your credit, we shall take it over for the benefit of our *Society of Jews*.

We shall liquidate the Rothschilds in the same way that we liquidate the smallest shipping agent or shopkeeper. This means that the *Society* will absorb the House of Rothschild.

This, too, will happen in the most natural way in the world. For the time being, all your employees will remain where they are, and you yourselves will remain at the helm everywhere—until such time as you, the present-day Rothschilds, will be used in our State, as directors of our financial system or as other government officials, as governors of provinces or as our diplomatic representatives to foreign powers. Through your connections with the European aristocracy you will be well suited for the diplomatic service. That way you will not need to tear yourselves away from your accustomed surroundings either.

We shall not give you any titles that might sound ridiculous in the beginning. You will simply be the representatives of the Jews in this place or that. Even now you occasionally identify yourselves as representatives of the Jews when, upon the conclusion of a loan, you beg for a bit of protection for the local Jews.

Once the time has come when other nations consider it expedient, and us worthy enough, to send ambassadors to us, we shall gladly return this compliment.

When the other Jews, those of moderate wealth, who are now Consuls-General and the like, join us, we shall make them our representatives in their present localities until such time as we summon them.

We shall recognize the present noblemen among the Jews if they bring proof to our free Office of Nobility by a certain date.

This office will see to it that no overly grotesque nobility is smuggled in. For certain exalted purposes of our policy we need a State nobility, just as we shall have one single decoration (along the lines of the *légion d'honneur* [legion of honor]). This decoration will be called "Jewish honor"! It will consist of a yellow badge, and so we shall make our new honor out of our old disgrace. Our best men, and only they, will be allowed to wear it, which will bring it the respect of the entire world. It will not be available for money. Otherwise it would no longer be a reward for our people whom we shall sometimes ask to give their lives, or who will offer their lives to us. In the hereditary nobility we give the reward after death, that is, we bestow it on the descendants. With our decoration we shall place the reward in the middle of life, and the nation will immediately recognize its oustanding men.

Our sons! Just as I have frequently and tenderly thought of my little boy, who is only 4 years old now, during the drawing up of this plan, you, too, will be thinking of your sons. I wish you numerous and able ones; we shall need all of our boys. Right now the future of your sons is one of your big worries—will you admit this? Will you again make bankers out of them, or loafers, simple-minded sportsmen? They will not be allowed to give any orders anywhere, in the government or in the army; you realize that, don't you? No one will turn the real command over to you in addition to the financial one.

But things will be different in our State. If your sons have the ability, they can become anything, just like any other Jew. But only if they have ability. Nobility and private property will be hereditary in our State, but offices will not be. Otherwise we should be ruined. That must be prevented at all costs.

What will our Constitution be like? It will be neither a monarchic nor a democratic one. I am a staunch advocate of monarchic institutions because they favor a stable policy and the interests of a historically illustrious family, one born and educated to rule—interests that are bound up with the preserva-

tion of the state. But our history has been interrupted too long for us to attempt to resume this institution.

I am against democracy because it is extreme in its approval and disapproval, tends to idle parliamentary babble, and produces that base class of men, the professional politicians. Nor are the present-day nations really suited to the democratic form of government; and I believe they will become less and less suited to it. For democracy presupposes a very simple morality, and our morality is becoming ever more complex with the advance of commerce and civilization. *Le ressort d'une démocratie est la vertu* [the concern of a democracy is virtue], said wise Montesquieu. And where will you find this virtue—political virtue, I mean? I have no faith in the political virtue of our people, because we are no different from the rest of modern men and because freedom will at first make our heads swell. Government by referendum does not make sense, in my opinion, because in politics there are no simple questions which can be answered merely by Yes or No. The masses are more prone even than parliaments to be misled by every kind of heresy and lend a willing ear to every ranting demagogue. As you know, the Swiss people, which is famous for its love of freedom and now subsists on its tourist trade, was the first to pass special legislation against the Jews. Neither internal nor external policy can be formulated in popular assembly. I could not even explain the protective tariff or free trade to the people, let alone some currency problem or international treaty, and least of all those sensible principles of popular education which must be our prime concern.

Politics must work from the top down. This does not mean that we shall put anyone in bondage, for we shall let every capable Jew rise, and everyone will want to rise. Can you imagine what a powerful upward surge is bound to move through our people? Every individual will think he is only raising himself, and yet the entire community will be raised. We shall bind this rise in moral forms which will be useful to the State and further the National Ideal.

Therefore I am thinking of an "aristocratic republic," as Montesquieu termed it. This would also be in keeping with the ambitious spirit of our people which has now degenerated into fatuous vanity. Many of the institutions of Venice come to mind, but we shall avoid all the features that caused the ruin of that city. We shall learn from the commercial mistakes of others, just as we shall learn from our own. Our people, to whom we are presenting the new country, will also gratefully accept the new Constitution that we give it. But wherever opposition may appear, we shall break it down. Everywhere we shall try it with friendly persuasion, but if need be we shall push it through by brute force.

I am not going into detail on the public institutions. Take my word for it: I understand the State. We shall also have a grand council of State jurists. We shall impose extensive but firm limits on public opinion, especially in the beginning. You can imagine that I as a journalist am concerned about the freedom and honor of my profession. But we certainly cannot permit our work to be disturbed by obtuse or malicious individuals.

(Here I wish to insert *incidemment* [incidentally] something that will show how easily we can transplant many of our customs. The newspapers which are now being hawked as Jewish sheets—and rightly so, I believe—will have editions over there, like the Paris edition of the *New York Herald*. The news will be exchanged between both sides by cable. After all, we shall remain in contact with our old homelands. Gradually the demand for newspapers will increase, the colonial editions will grow, the Jewish editors will move overseas, leaving the Gentile ones by themselves. Little by little and imperceptibly, the Jewish papers will turn into Gentile papers, until the overseas editions are as independent as the European ones. It is an amusing thought in this serious plan that many a government will be willing to help us for that reason alone.)

Let me just add a few remarks about other public institutions. Someone may think that our lack of a common language would present difficulties. After all, we cannot converse in Hebrew.

Who among us knows enough Hebrew to ask for a railroad ticket in this language? We have no such people. But it is really a very simple matter. Everyone retains his own language. I am a German-speaking Jew from Hungary and can never be anything but a German. At present I am not recognized as a German. But that will come once we are over there. And so let everyone keep his acquired nationality and speak the language which has become the beloved homeland of his thoughts. Switzerland offers visible proof that a federated state of different nationalities can exist.

I believe that German will be our principal language. I draw this conclusion from our most widespread jargon, "Judeo-German." But over there we shall wean ourselves from this ghetto language, too, which used to be the stealthy tongue of prisoners. Our teachers will see to that.

Actually, the only thing by which we still recognize our kinship is the faith of our fathers. Shall we, then, end up by having a theocracy? No! Faith unites us, science makes us free. Therefore we shall permit no theocratic velleities on the part of our clergy to arise. We shall know how to restrict them to their temples, just as we shall restrict our professional soldiers to their barracks. The army and the clergy shall be honored to the extent that their noble functions require and deserve it. But they will have no privileged voice in the State which confers distinction upon them and pays them, otherwise they would cause us trouble externally and internally. Every man will be as free and unrestricted in his belief or unbelief as he is in his nationality. And should it happen later that men of other creeds and other nationalities come to live among us, we shall accord them honorable protection. We have learned tolerance in Europe. I am not saying this sarcastically. Present-day anti-Semitism can only in a very few places be taken for the old religious intolerance. For the most part it is a movement among civilized nations whereby they try to exorcize a ghost from out of their own past.

I believe that by now it must be clear from every aspect: a Jewish State is a world necessity!

And that is why it will come into being—with you, gentle-

men, or in opposition to you! Sooner or later it would arise, *par la force des choses* [of necessity], even without this proposal. They cannot throw us into the sea, at least not all of us, nor burn us alive. After all, there are societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals everywhere. What, then? They would finally have to find us some piece of land on the globe—a world ghetto, if you please.

Thus my plan does not invent a need; it only demonstrates one and shows at the same time how things can be accomplished to everyone's satisfaction without upheaval, struggle, or suffering. That is why it is the solution.

We shall found the new Jewish State in a respectable manner. After all, we have in mind our future honor in the eyes of the world.

For that reason all obligations in our old places of residence must be scrupulously fulfilled. We shall grant cheap passage and settlement benefits only to those who produce an official certificate saying "Affairs left in good order." Every private claim originating in the abandoned countries will be heard more readily in the Jewish State than anywhere else. We shall not even wait for reciprocity, but act purely for the sake of our own honor. Thus our claims will later get more consideration from law courts than may now be the case in some places.

It is self-evident, from the foregoing remarks, that we shall extradite the Jewish criminals more readily than any other state, until the time comes when we can enforce our penal code on the same principles as all other civilized nations. For the time being we shall admit Jewish criminals only after they have paid all penalties, but then we shall receive them without any restriction. The criminals among our people shall start a new life, too. The only exception will be made in the case of deserters. Deserters in wartime we shall not let in. If they try to take refuge in our State, we shall arrest them immediately and extradite them. Anyone who remains in his old home until war breaks out must stay there until the war is over, and of course he must fight like any other man who can carry a rifle. But after the war we shall re-

ceive them gladly and with great honors, for they will have fought for Jewish honor.

However, they will have to let us take and keep peacetime deserters. Otherwise we shall not be able to start out.

We shall need all hands that are able to work. As it is, we must allow for the loss of half a generation as far as physical labor is concerned. Only in fifteen years, I imagine, will our boys be fully grown and suffice for all the physical work that needs to be done. Until then we shall have to import many products. The atrophied arms of the generation that is already withering are not of much use now. We shall give these people occupations, certainly, but it will be work that is no hardship on them. We shall make them supervisors, mailmen, retailers, etc. We are not going to put them in homes for the aged. These homes are one of the most cruel forms of charity which our fatuous good nature has devised. In a home for the aged an old person dies of shame and grief. Actually, he is buried alive there. But we will leave even those on the lowest level of intelligence the comforting illusion of usefulness till the end of their lives.

In this way we shall seek for all ages, for all walks of life, the physical happiness and moral blessings of work. Thus our people will regain their skill in the land of the seven-hour working day.

Gentlemen! I cannot sketch this plan in concentric circles and straight lines. I must draw it like a map with its zigzag of mountains and waters. This is why I come to speak only now of the event which will be one of the first to take place, the actual occupation of the land.

When peoples migrated in historic times, they let themselves be carried, pulled, propelled by world accident. Like swarms of locusts they settled somewhere in their aimless wanderings. In historic times, after all, people did not know the earth yet.

The new migration of the Jews must take place according to scientific principles.

As recently as some forty years ago, gold digging was carried on in a curiously naive manner. How adventurous things were in California! There a rumor made the desperadoes come running

from all over the world; they looted the earth, stole the gold from one another, and then gambled it away in an equally predatory manner. But today! Look at gold digging in present-day Transvaal. Gold mining is no longer run by romantic rogues, but by sober-minded geologists and engineers. Ingenious machines separate the gold from auriferous rock. Little is left to chance.

And so the new Jewish land must be explored and exploited with all modern aids.

As soon as our geographers have decided on the location and the international and private purchase contracts have been concluded, a ship will sail to take possession of the land.

This ship will carry administrative officials, technicians of all kinds, and delegates of the Local Groups.

These pioneers will have three tasks: first, the exact scientific investigation of all natural properties of the land; second, the establishment of a tightly centralized administration; third, the distribution of the land. These three tasks overlap and are to be expanded rationally to fit the purpose which is already sufficiently known.

Only one thing has not been clarified yet, namely, the way in which the land will be occupied according to Local Groups. An indispensable condition will be a variegated climate. We must give our people roughly the same climate to which they are accustomed in their old places of residence. After this general division comes the specific one.

In America the occupation of a newly opened territory still takes place in a rather naive manner. The settlers gather by the border and at the appointed hour rush forward simultaneously and forcibly.

We shall not do it that way. The locations in our provinces will be auctioned off—not for money, but for achievements. It will have been established according to the general configuration of the land which roads, water-regulation systems, bridges, etc., are necessary for commerce. This will be organized by provinces. Within each province the sites of towns will be auctioned off in a similar manner. The Local Groups will take the responsibility

for carrying this out in an orderly fashion, and will defray the costs from local assessments. After all, we shall be able to know in advance whether or not they are undertaking too great a sacrifice. The bigger communities will get more elbow-room for their activities. Greater sacrifices will be rewarded by certain concessions. Universities or various technological research institutes and those institutions that do not have to be in the capital will be systematically spread over the country. We do not want to have a hypertrophic capital.

The proper development of what is taken over will be guaranteed us by the interest of the purchaser himself, and, if need be, by the local taxes which we may collect as dues. For, just as we cannot and do not want to abolish differences among individuals, differences among the Local Groups will continue. Everything will fall into place in a natural way; all acquired rights will be protected, all new developments will get sufficient elbow-room.

All these things will have been made clear to our people. Just as we will not take others by surprise or cheat them, we shall not deceive ourselves either.

Everything will be arranged systematically in advance. Even on the ship that sails to occupy the land everyone will know his assignment quite clearly—the scholars, the technicians, the officers and officials, and finally and principally, the authorized representatives of the Local Groups.

But when the new land first comes in sight, our new flag will be raised on the staff. At present we do not have any. I am thinking of a white flag with seven gold stars. The white field signifies our new, clean life, and the seven stars, our desire to start this new life under the banner of labor.

This is the way it can and will be if you go with us, gentlemen. And what if you do not feel like it, if you feel happy enough in your present situation—does that mean that the whole thing will be cancelled by your smile of rejection? It does not!

We would be poor people indeed if we came to you begging for a billion.

If you are not willing, the matter will go to the second level, to

the Jews of moderate wealth. We shall send a few copies of the plan to the main centers of Jewish wealth, and bring it to the attention of the medium millionaires. Money-raising will then take a different form. All the medium-sized Jewish banks must be organized into a second, formidable financial power against the top bankers in the name of the National Ideal. The task is to sweep you along or pull you down—and then, across. In the latter case, to be sure, I will have nothing to do with the execution. I will not be a party to money matters.

And yet, for the time being, it will only amount to a money matter, for the billion would have to be deposited in full—there is no starting otherwise—and since this money would be used only gradually, all sorts of banking and loan transactions would be made in the first years. There is also a possibility that in this way the original purpose would gradually be forgotten. The moderately wealthy Jews would have found a new, big business, and the emigration of the Jews would be bogged down.

The notion of raising money in this way is certainly not fantastic—that you know. Several attempts have been made to marshal the Catholic money against you. No one has ever thought that you could also be fought with Jewish money. And this is how you might be beaten.

But what commercial crises all this would produce! How the countries in which these financial battles took place would suffer! How anti-Semitism would necessarily gain ground in the process!

This, then, is not agreeable to me. I am mentioning it only because it lies within the logical development of my thought, because this danger may induce you to go along with us, and because, after all, the Jews of moderate wealth have a right to be given ample notice.

I do not know whether the medium-sized banks will take the matter up. Maybe they will.

In any case, even if those of moderate wealth refuse, this will not finish the matter. No! Then it will begin in earnest, for I shall take it to the Jewish people and the whole world. I shall

publish this Address, including all the steps I have taken in the matter and all the reactions that I have received. I know full well to what I should then be exposing myself. People will ridicule me and say that I want to become King of the Jews. They will try to hold me up to contempt and say that I was only interested in making a business deal. Of course, I have never made such a deal, least of all with my pen—but after all, that proves nothing about the future.

Then my peers, the philosophers and artists all over the world, will take me under their protection. For they know that certain words come only to a man who means them sincerely.

And the people will believe me. Not only among the poor Jews, but among all peoples, there will arise a feeling of rage against you who are able to bring this relief to the world and refuse to do so.

I believe that my book will have readers. The people will believe my words—and the governments no less. In the synagogues there will be prayers for the success of this plan—and in the churches as well! The little people and the middle classes and the nobility and the clergy and kings and emperors will warm to the cause. It is a relief from an old pressure under which all have suffered.

No, Messieurs Rothschild, you are not necessary for all that. Do you know who is going to raise the share capital of the *Society of Jews*? The Gentiles!

Perhaps even the poor, very small Jews. For them the billion will be divided into tiny parts. To be sure, in such a case I could not participate in the execution either—not only because it would again be a money matter, but especially because even this money would not be sufficient for the many purposes for which we could have used your world-wide credit.

I do not want to lead the poor people into penury. In this case the migration of the Jews could be accomplished only with the express, definite aid of the governments concerned. People would have to give us a helping hand with everything, procure the

requisite and adequate land for us, give us all possible concessions on the transportation—in short, everything that is indispensable for carrying this out soundly.

The governments—by now I am no longer talking to you, gentlemen, but out the window—the governments will soon realize the full scope of what the solution of the Jewish Question will bring them.

Earlier, I spoke about direct and indirect advantages of our exodus. These were only the smallest. Yes, we shall produce considerable fiscal income by moving away. Yes, we shall patronize the railroads, give work to the movers, pay double fees, take care of all our debts, let appropriate numbers of people move into the lucrative positions that we give up, and where the state wishes to take over our industries and institutions, we shall give it the right of first refusal.

These individual voluntary expropriations and nationalizations can and must be something considerable. Yet they are not the most important benefit which the states and their citizens will derive from the emigration of the Jews. The most important benefit is something else. What?

Have you not been thinking all the time: they certainly cannot let us move away with all our money. After all, at present they still have a bit of power over us and can occasionally tighten the leash. Is this, then, the weak point in my system? I think, on the contrary, that it is the strongest.

In the first place, movable property in its most important current form, shares payable to the bearer, can never be regarded as being in the country. These shares can no longer be got at. The Paris commune tried it from below, and we know with what result. No one tries to do it from above. In the second place—and this is the enormous point which everyone must see—we shall free the world's credit system of us, for the moment we move out, the states will nationalize their credit. Through the stock-exchange monopoly, which they will hasten to copy from us, they will get control of the pernicious juggling with the state's credit. Perhaps they will even completely nationalize the

money market; otherwise one would have to fear that the civilized peoples will Judaize themselves after we are gone.

We shall be in a position to show how this nationalization can be carried out. Transitional forms are easy to find. The states can found banking organizations which will take over from the *Society of Jews* the incomplete transactions which the *Society* will have taken over from individuals. The *Society* itself can do this organizing for the states and turn over to them those transactions that have been completed. In fact, the whole *Society* can eventually be split in two parts—the neo-Jewish part, which will go to our State, and the old Jewish, i.e., European one, which belongs to the states. The form and scope of the settlement would be a subject for negotiation with the individual governments.

So, you see, we by no means take the world credit-market with us—oh, how happy and strong our national spirit will be once we are rid of it!—rather, by our departure we shall organize the national credit of the states. That will be our greatest gift; it cannot be regarded as an emigration tax, because we shall do it voluntarily. As a matter of fact, in this plan we do everything voluntarily and in keeping with our honor!

Well, what is going to happen with the nations financially less stable? Are they not going to be controlled by the distant Jewish financial power?

Not any more than the others. Our credit will continue to be at their disposal if they seek it—but they will no longer be dependent on us exclusively. The governments will have their own foreign financial policy. They will get together in alliances. There will be a concordance of all political resources.

Whether the governments shall communicate with one another through financial ambassadors, or in a less formal, even a very informal manner, is really only a small detail. The important thing is that internally and externally the State will get control over its finances and will no longer be dependent on international groups and stock cartels. I look at everything through the eyes of the State, for ourselves as well as for others.

The State must exist!

Will there be Jews who will consider me a traitor to the cause of the Jews because I say all this?

I shall immediately enlighten and calm them. I am not representing and defending the bad Jewish cause, but I believe I am performing a service to the good Jewish cause by making these thoughts public.

But their publication will not even harm the selfish and predatory swindlers among the Jews.

For, all this can only be carried out with the free consent of the majority of Jews. It can be done against the will of individuals, even against groups of those now most powerful, but certainly not by the State against all Jews.

The emancipation of the Jews, which I consider just as much a failure on political grounds as I approve of it enthusiastically and gratefully for human reasons, came too late. It was no longer possible to emancipate us by legislation and in our old places of residence.

Nevertheless, the legal equality of the Jews, where it exists, can no longer be abolished. Not only because it would run counter to modern sensibilities—Good Lord, necessity knows no law—but also because that would immediately drive all Jews, poor and rich alike, into the arms of the revolutionary parties.

Therefore, no effective measures can actually be taken against us. And yet, anti-Semitism increases among the nations every day, every hour, and must continue to grow, because the causes have not been and cannot be removed.

The *causa remota* [indirect cause] is the loss of our assimilability which dates from the Middle Ages.

The *causa proxima* [immediate cause] is our overproduction of average minds who cannot sink and cannot rise—that is, cannot do so in a healthy way. At the bottom we are forced into becoming proletarian revolutionaries, constituting the petty officers of all revolutionary parties. And, at the same time, our frightful financial power grows at the top.

That is how it is. That is how things really are. I am not ex-

aggerating and not denying anything. What I am saying is the simple truth.

And this is why my outline contains the solution. Do I hear somebody saying: Well, if such a thing were possible, would it not have been done before?

It was not possible before. It is now. As recently as a hundred or fifty years ago it would have been a fantasy. Today it is all a reality.

You, gentlemen, know best what can be done with money; how rapidly and safely we now speed in huge steamers across formerly uncharted seas. We have built safe railways up into a world of mountains which we previously scaled on foot and with trepidation. A hundred thousand brains are constantly thinking of ways to wrest all Nature's secrets from her. And what one man discovers belongs to the whole world an hour later. It is possible!

And it will happen in a wondrous way: the plain people who do not know these truths as you do, gentlemen, especially the simple souls, will have the greatest belief in me. They have the age-old hope of the Promised Land within them!

And it is real: no fairy tale, no deception! Anyone can find out for himself, for everyone will take across a piece of the Promised Land: one his brain, another his brawn, a third his belongings.

No doubt about it: it is the Promised Land, where it is all right for us to have hooked noses, black or red beards, and bandy legs without being despised for these things alone. Where at last we can live as free men on our own soil and die in peace in our own homeland. Where we, too, can expect honor as a reward for great deeds; where we shall live at peace with all the world, which we shall have freed through our own freedom, enriched by our wealth, and made greater by our greatness.

So that the derisive cry "Jew!" may become an honorable appellation, like "German," "Englishman," "Frenchman"—in short, like the name of any civilized nation. So that by means of our State we can educate our people for tasks which still lie beyond our horizon.

June 17

Now it might seem as though this were a long-drawn-out project. I keep speaking of months, years, decades. In the meantime, in a thousand places the Jews are being teased, insulted, scolded, whipped, plundered, and slain.

No, gentlemen, it is the immediate solution. I shall stop anti-Semitism instantly all over the world. It is the making of peace.

For, after we have taken all initial steps with the greatest dispatch and discretion; after we have secured our independence as a State through treaties under public law, and the land through purchases under civil law; after we have acquired cables and boats and made contracts on customs and special rates—in short, after we have done everything that is necessary to carry out our plan inexpensively, we shall make our entire program public.

This will be done in the pages of the *Neue Freie Presse*. For I have a debt of gratitude to this paper to discharge. It sent me to Paris and gave me the means and the opportunity of acquiring much of the knowledge that is now in the service of the cause. Therefore, any literary aspect of my announcement shall be the property of this paper.

On the next morning, a message will fly out into the whole world: Peace!

Peace to the Jews, victory to the Gentiles.

We must make peace because we can no longer fight, because later we should have to surrender under less favorable conditions.

The anti-Semites will have carried the day. Let them have this satisfaction, for we too shall be happy. They will have turned out to be right because they *are* right. They could not have let themselves be subjugated by us in the army, in government, in all of commerce, as thanks for generously having let us out of the ghetto. Let us never forget this magnanimous deed of the civilized nations.

By liberating them from us we shall also relieve them of the atavistic pressure of the Middle Ages which they have been under

in the Jewish Question without recognizing it. They are not to blame for the sins of their fathers.

Forgiveness, peace, reconciliation for the whole world. And the relief will come instantly. The middle classes will immediately be drained of our overproduction of average minds which will flow into our first organizations and constitute our first officers, officials, jurists, physicians, and technicians of all kinds.

And so the matter will proceed with dispatch and yet without upheavals. There will be prayers in the synagogues for the success of our wonderful project. But in the churches as well!

The governments will give us their friendly assistance because we relieve them of the danger of a revolution which would start with the Jews—and stop who knows where!

The nations will breathe a sigh of happy relief. But so shall we, we especially! We shall depart as respected friends.

And so we shall move out to the Promised Land, the Land of the Seven Hours, the land which God has promised us in His inscrutable goodness, under the bright banner which we shall fashion for ourselves.

Book Two

June 23

With my letter to Bismarck this development of my thought which has been growing in me has logically entered a new stage. I am starting a new book. I don't know how much space the previous notes will occupy; I am not in the mood now to make a clean copy of them.

June 24

Today Bismarck has my letter. Will he take me for a gentle fool or a raving one? Will he reply?

June 25

Dined with Fürth. I told him of my meeting with Hirsch. I thought he would hear of it in any case, and therefore I wanted to supply some authentic notes on my letters, intended to be passed along. I especially regret that third letter. When shall I break myself of the habit of writing imprudent letters?

Incidentally, Fürth told me that I had judged and treated Hirsch correctly.

He also confirmed my assumption that Hirsch had arranged for the two secretaries to be there as witnesses that my visit actually took place.

Then we went to the circus.

I said: There is one man who would understand my plan (which I did not disclose to Fürth, although he seemed to guess its approximate nature). That is the German Kaiser.

Fürth: Draw up a memorandum for him. Then find a reliable man to transmit it. Perhaps my cousin von Kaiser, the director of the Colonial Office.

I: He is your cousin? Baptized?

Fürth: Yes. He coached Herbert Bismarck for his assessor's examination and in that way became acquainted with the old

man who said he could use him if he had himself baptized. Kaiser did it, perhaps partly because he wanted to marry his present wife, a Catholic. First he became State Attorney at Strassburg, then he was promoted and finally appointed director of the Colonial Office. When Bismarck had a falling out with the Kaiser, von Kaiser went over to the latter. He always has access to him.

I: Then he would probably be the right man. But being a convert, will he want to have anything to do with the Jewish cause?

Fürth, with a shrug: Maybe. (After all, F. has also been converted.)

June 26

Today Bismarck's reply is due. It has not come.

I wonder if he has even received my letter. If there are "black cabinets" on either side of the border, the letter will have been opened once or perhaps even twice. The postal censors actually had an invitation in my final remark that I was prepared to receive no answer at all. They could simply have thrown my letter away.

Here is a droll idea: if you want to be sure to get some message into the hands of the government, you only have to put it into such a letter with a conspicuous address.

June 27

No answer from Bismarck. I am already convinced that I shall receive none. I thought of having Feldmann inquire at the *Hamburger Nachrichten* whether Bismarck has received my letter.

But Feldmann would at some later date tell this as an anecdote about me. I no longer care whether Bismarck has received my letter or not. If he has—*tant pis* [too bad].

I am now thinking of Schoen. He could deliver my memorandum to the Kaiser. But come to think of it, isn't Schoen on vacation?

June 27

In the Chamber of Deputies I casually asked Wolff whether Schoen was here. No, he is in Bavaria, on vacation until August 15.

I thought of asking Schoen through Wolff whether he would see me between trains.

Decided later to write Schoen directly. The fewer know about it, the better.

Schoen, by the way, will know me and lend me a willing ear.

Possibly look for some other German diplomat to do this. It will not be hard.

June 27

Addendum to the plan.

Those who die during the passage will not be thrown into the water. This would be a deterrent to immigrants and a ghastly image to the people. Corpses will be safely embalmed and buried on the other side.

June 28

Before I approach Schoen it will be helpful to notify Albert Rothschild. This way, I believe, I shall get back to my original thought in better style. And I shall be covered against the reproach of having acted without, i.e. against, the Jews.

• • •

Letter to Albert Rothschild:

Dear Sir:

I shall come to the point without preliminaries.

I have composed a memorandum about the Jewish Question for the German Kaiser. A reliable man (a diplomat) will deliver it to him. It is not a fatuous and querulous complaint. Even if he wanted to, the Kaiser could not do anything against anti-Semitism, as I understand the movement. Rather, my memoran-

dum contains a comprehensive plan for self-help on the part of Jews of all countries. If the Kaiser sends for me after reading my memorandum, I can pursue the matter with him as an independent man because I am not under his political jurisdiction. From the outset there cannot be any doubt that I do not want any favors or special treatment from him or anyone else. And therefore I hope that this alert and vigorous ruler will understand me. My memorandum will bear only my signature and I shall have the exclusive responsibility for it. But since I am taking up the cause of the Jews, I owe them some proof of my good intentions, and for this purpose I need a few reputable and independent persons as references. Note: references, not guarantors or principals. Actually, individuals would not even be entitled to give me an assignment which, incidentally, I do not need.

Would you care to be one of the references? I am having some trouble finding serviceable men. Since I have been concerned with the cause I have already had quite bad experiences. Sometimes I have been utterly fed up. We have such twisted, crushed, money-worshipping people who are therefore booted around even more than they deserve. But even these miserable qualities fill me with pity, in the final analysis; they are products of prolonged pressure.

Let me immediately dispel one doubt that might arise in your mind. My memorandum does not contain even the slightest trace of a violation of duty or of reverence toward our sovereign. I am simply trying to get at anti-Semitism where it originated and still has its center: in Germany. I consider the Jewish Question an extremely serious matter. Anyone who thinks that agitation against the Jews is a passing fad is seriously mistaken. For profound reasons it is bound to get worse and worse, until the inevitable revolution comes.

Some Jews, of course, think that the danger is no longer there when they close their eyes.

Let me recapitulate. My memorandum will be delivered to the Kaiser at the end of July or the beginning of August. In the latter part of July I shall come to Austria. If you would like to

know what is in the document, I shall read it to you. We can arrange a meeting for this purpose. I am prepared to come to you for half a day. You will certainly make sure that we are undisturbed. But if you should be traveling at that time, I would like it even better if I could meet you on your travels somewhere—I don't care where.

If you feel no desire to become acquainted with my memorandum, it will be quite sufficient for you to return this letter to me. I shall not regard it as an insult, because I am expressly asking you to.

In any case, I know that I am dealing with a gentleman. And when I now ask you to treat my letter in complete confidence and not tell a soul about the matter, it is just as if I had told it to you verbally and immediately sworn you to secrecy.

It may not be superfluous to remark that no one on my newspaper has any knowledge of the matter. I am doing this alone and independently.

Respectfully yours,
Dr. Theodor Herzl,
36 rue Cambon.

* * *

June 28

In the Chamber I spoke with the *Communard* Leo Franckel. Fine face, mediocre mind, a sectarian's pride. He boasted of the prisons in which he has "languished."

I explained to him why I am against the democracies.

"So you are a disciple of Nietzsche?" he said.

I: "Not at all. Nietzsche is a madman. But one can only govern aristocratically. In the community I am in favor of the widest autonomy. Parish-pump politics are sufficiently—in fact, best—understood around the parish pump. However, the state and its needs cannot be comprehended by the people."

Franckel: "How are you going to establish this aristocratic government?"

I: "There are all kinds of ways. Here is just one example, from which you need not generalize. The French Academy constitutes an elective aristocracy."

We then spoke about social theories. I said that I was in favor of nationalizing banking, insurance, railroads, and everything that has already been tested, where there no longer is any risk that would justify entrepreneurial profits.

Franckel: "That way everything can be arranged collectivistically."

I: "By no means. The individual must not be done away with."

Here, obviously, is the flaw in the thinking of the Socialists: they say, "everything."

I say: what has been adequately worked out!

June 28

On the Champs Elysées.

Moritz Wahrmann's son rode past. Looks vigorous but bored. Such fellows, with their unused vitality, would be splendid material for us. It would be easy to fill them with enthusiasm for the cause. And how beautiful is my scheme in which such Leo Franckels and young Wahrmanns would find room for their development.

June 28

Champs Elysées.

Poverty: when you wear your winter clothes in summer.

July 4

Albert R's reply, which was due today, has not come. Fortunately I did not degrade myself by excessive courtesy in my letter.

The memorandum to the Kaiser is being given its final form. In this, too, I shall take care to maintain my dignity.

July 4

Now the novel is again very much in my thoughts, because my plan will probably strike everyone as fiction.

When I am at Aussee, I shall request two months' leave without pay and write the novel there in September and October.

July 4

In the novel I shall include everything that I am sorry to have written to Hirsch and that he may have laughingly shown around. My revenge will be a generous one: I am going to make a likeable character out of him. (I do like him, after all.) I shall glorify his stock market coups. He had made them without suspecting that they will benefit the cause which he as yet does not know about. Thus his figure will acquire a vague grandeur. Then there will be a good reversal. The Baron has misunderstood the office of "sovereign." He thought that he was to become not only President of the Company, but also Chief of State. That cannot be. No matter how great his contributions to the cause, he cannot become Chief of State. At that point the hero hits upon an ingenious solution. He says to the Baron when they are about to be recognized under international law: "All right, now both of us will retire. If we want to become part of history, we must do all this unselfishly. Henceforth we shall be merely observers. I shall so arrange it that you are offered the sovereignty—but you must immediately refuse it." The Baron does not see the need for this, but the hero gives him to understand, in no uncertain terms, that this is the way it has to be. And if he did not first pledge himself in writing to reject the honor, he would not even be offered it; in fact, the hero would ruin him completely if he did not comply.

At first the Baron flies into a rage; then he realizes that the hero is right, throws his arms about his neck, and tearfully kisses him.

Then, at the coronation, the two give a symbolic spectacle of selflessness, and the one who has not been truly selfless outdoes the other in manifestations of modesty.

July 5

Strange: While I was writing the above, Hirsch's letter, which I no longer expected, was on its way to me. It arrived last night.

82 Piccadilly, W.
July 3, 1895

Dr. Herzl, Paris.*

I am in receipt of your letter to which this is a somewhat tardy reply. However, an answer was not urgent. When I return to Paris, which, I may add parenthetically, will not be for several months, I shall be delighted to see you, although without any change in the ideas which I have already expressed.

Very sincerely yours,
M. de Hirsch.

My reply to Hirsch:

Paris, July 5, 1895

Dear Sir:

I was greatly annoyed that you did not reply at once to the letter I wrote you after our conversation. That is why I informed you two weeks later that I had given the matter up. But after receiving your letter yesterday I should like to tell you how my decision is to be understood. I shall still try to do something *for* the Jews, but not *with* them. If I ventured to believe that someone would understand my resolute ideas, it was you. From other Jews I can expect even less. The decline of our once-vigorous race is revealed most clearly in our political lethargy. People would deride me or suspect me of making God knows what business deals with the cause. I should have to pass through a swamp of disgust—and I am not ready to make this sacrifice for the Jews. They are incapable of understanding that a man can act out of other motives than money, that a man can refuse to submit to money without being a revolutionary. It follows that the last step, and perhaps even the most effective, that I shall take

* In French in the original.

will be to place the matter before the exalted personage I spoke to you about. He is said to be an anti-Semite, but this does not bother me. I have found an approach to him. Somebody is going to hand him my memorandum. If he then sends for me, the conversation could be interesting. Unless he expressly enjoins secrecy, and if anything at all in the conversation can be passed on, I shall tell it to you as soon as chance brings us together again. It is not likely to be in Paris, for I have had my fill of this city and have prevailed upon the publishers of my newspaper to transfer me to Vienna. Our conversation would have no value anyway beyond the pleasure of an exchange of ideas. You stick to your views, and I with equal stubbornness, to mine. You believe that you can export poor Jews, the way you are doing it. I say that you are only creating new markets for anti-Semitism. *Nous ne nous comprendrons jamais* [we shall never understand each other]. For the rest I do not regret having made contact with you. I found it most interesting to make your acquaintance.

One more thing: I should like to clarify something that may have struck you. I emphasized in every letter that this matter is not a business to me. *C'est qu'il est horriblement compromettant d'écrire aux gens riches* [The point is that it is terribly compromising to write to rich people]. I am well aware that a gentleman carefully guards or destroys the letters written to him in confidence. But the malice of things may bring it about that such a piece of paper falls into other hands; and if anything worries me it is the thought that in the course of my efforts I could lose as much as a shred of my good reputation.

Therefore, keep my memory untarnished.

Respectfully yours,
Dr. Herzl.

July 5

Dined yesterday with little Wolff. He has been called up for military drill. I listened once again to his tales of the Dragoon-Guards. He doesn't consider anti-Semitism so bad. The upper-

class Prussians, he says, are not anti-Semites at all; they feel just as superior to the middle-class Gentiles as they do to the Jews. Thus Wolff does not notice that the upper-class people he admires only substitute one kind of contempt for another. He is satisfied to be thrown in the same pot with the middle-class Gentiles and to be despised along with them. He finds it quite natural that he will not get an officer's commission although he got the highest marks on the examinations.

By the way, if there is one thing I should like to be, it is a member of the old Prussian nobility.

July 6

Yesterday with Nordau, over a glass of beer. Also discussed the Jewish question, of course. Never before had I been in such perfect tune with Nordau. Each took the words right out of the other's mouth. I never had such a strong feeling that we belonged together. This has nothing to do with religion. He even said that there was no such thing as a Jewish dogma. But we are of one race. Fürth was also present, and I noticed a certain *gêne* [embarrassment] in his manner. I think he felt ashamed of having had himself baptized when he saw and heard our strong profession of adherence to Judaism. Another point on which Nordau and I agreed was that only anti-Semitism had made Jews of us.

Nordau said: "What is the tragedy of Jewry? That this most conservative of peoples, which yearns to be rooted in some soil, has had no home for the last two thousand years."

We agreed on every point, so that I already thought that the same ideas had led him to the same plan. But he comes to a different conclusion: "The Jews," he says, "will be compelled by anti-Semitism to destroy among all peoples the idea of a fatherland." Or, I secretly thought to myself, to create a fatherland of their own.

Fürth said: "It is not good for the Jews to develop such a strong nationalist feeling within themselves. This will only intensify the persecutions."

July 7, 1895

Why has Hirsch suddenly written me again? I have two explanations for it.

Either Fürth casually mentioned in a letter to him that I was preparing a memorandum for the Kaiser.

Or—and this seems more likely to me—my last letter, in which I wrote "Pull Rothschild with us or pull him down—and then over and across!" really struck home.

He instructed his secretary to write me after exactly two weeks—so that the matter would not appear urgent. Actually, I have been much on his mind.

And if he has any nose for such things he must certainly sense what I am bringing him.

After all, we two are natures such as emerge at the beginning of a new era—he is the *condottiere* of money, I am the *condottiere* of the intellect.

If this man goes along with me, we can really usher in a new era.

July 8

Lunched yesterday with Schiff at Ville d'Avray. We visited Gambetta's house. The most remarkable thing was the death mask. I don't really like Gambetta; he looks as though he were a relative of mine.

Afterwards we went to the restaurant Au bord de l'Etang by the pond. Nine tables were occupied; at three of them I recognized Viennese Jews. That proves something.

Schiff told me that his brother-in-law had been insulted by an anti-Semite on leaving the train at Kitzbühel; as a result of that, so his mother-in-law had written, he was upset and hurt.

And this sort of thing is repeated in a thousand places every day—yet people fail to draw any conclusion from it.

I didn't want to go into the matter further with Schiff, for he doesn't understand me.

No answers either from Hirsch or from Rothschild. Hirsch may

be stalling again. But on the part of the other man, it's just bald, vile arrogance. Must be repaid in kind at the first opportunity.

July 9

"If I were a prince or a legislator I would not waste my time telling what ought to be done; I would do it, or keep silent." *

(Rousseau, *Contrat Social,* Book One)

July 9

There is a novel by Ludwig Storch, *The Star of Jacob* (*Der Jakobsstern*), which deals with Sabbatai Zvi.

July 10

Businessmen are best suited for conducting political affairs. But a man seldom gets rich—and wealth is the freedom of businessmen—without having soiled himself.

In order to be able to call on them for political services, nevertheless, some sort of investigation of the way they have made their fortune would have to be instituted, on a voluntary basis. This would have to be done not by jealous peers, but by a political tribunal of honor composed of independent men from all walks of civil life. Often a man in public life finds it necessary, as it were, to permit examination of his books afterwards.

If he does this at the start of his political activity, we shall have, in addition to his business sense, the near-certainty of his decent character. At the same time it will be ascertained what he was worth prior to his public service. If, subsequently, demagogues or intriguers throw suspicion on him, he can proudly point to his financial status.

Of course, I am not thinking of this in terms of a law, but as a gradual moral institution. At first this idea will be carried out by a few reputable businessmen, then it will become more and more firmly established usage, and will finally be embodied in

* In French in the original.

legislation when enough time has elapsed for the young merchants to set this as a goal for themselves.

After about twenty years it can become law.

July 10

I consider money an excellent means of political evaluation, provided the morality of its acquisition can be established. But only then; for otherwise a financial standard would be absurd and repugnant.

Anyone who has earned a lot of money honestly must be a very capable man, a clever speculator, a practical inventor, an industrious, thrifty person—all qualities eminently useful for guiding the state.

Habitual speculation with stock would be grounds for disqualification. On the other hand, occasional stock deals are nothing dishonorable. Naturally, it is hard to draw the line—therefore, a tribunal of honor in each case. The person being investigated must, at any rate, take an oath of manifestation (under penalty of perjury). After all, no one will be forced to become a political figure. That way we shall keep the shady *politicians** off our necks, and politics will become the goal of our cleanest and most capable men.

July 10

Types for my novel, which is to contain real people:

The "dog in the manger" (a village fiddler, a fake aesthete)

Gamel Moishe (extremely likeable)

The "forgotten" girl (include only one, but teach readers to understand them all through her; possibly have someone devise the dowry tax while returning from her funeral. For the excellent girl has missed her "natural calling" and died from it. But what a splendid mother she would have made! I shall call her Pauline!)

And it is to her memory that the novel will be dedicated.

* In English in the original.

July 12

Heinrich's gushing young brother, the musician, will be "trained" to be a ruler in the novel. It is the hero's long-prepared plan to make it up to Heinrich's parents in this way. He chuckles inwardly as he tends this beautiful, useless plant, the visionary and dreamer with his head in the clouds.

July 12

A character for the novel.

A clever swindler (*à la* Schapira, the bank-note splitter) who becomes an honest boy scout after he returns from a European prison.

He fled to the Seven-Hour Land, but his extradition was demanded and he was returned. Before he is deported in the custody of the police, the hero comes to see him in the prison of the port and sets him straight. "You will have to serve your term because of us. But while you are in prison, think about some *honest* schemes that you will put into practice here later."

And the hard-hearted cheat is deeply moved. Before his departure the hero comes up to the handcuffed man and shakes his hand in view of everybody. A commotion. And the swindler quickly bends down and kisses the hero's hand.

In prison on the other side his conduct is excellent, so that he is given time off for good behavior. Then he goes back and becomes an efficient, honest, ingenious businessman.

July 12

For the novel.

Pastimes for the workers after working hours. They make music (Workers' Orchestras).

But the main thing: Jewish National Passion Plays from ancient times (Maccabees) and the Middle Ages. Fear, pity, pride, and adult education in the form of diversion.

Popularization of the amateur theatricals of high society.

This will furnish nice chapters for the novel, comic episodes

of the innocent little *cabotinage* [strolling players] in every locality.

Circenses [entertainment] for their own sake.

Teacher-directors will have seen models in the capital.

July 13

Forms of consistency:

(At the rendezvous)

—I have changed my mind and have come.

—But you were going to come.

—Yes, *that* was my first change of mind.

* * *

Letter to Güdemann:

July 15

Dear Doctor Güdemann,

My last letter seems to have made you somewhat annoyed at me, because you did not answer it.

But I hope we shall have an opportunity to have a direct exchange of ideas about this matter which concerns us so closely, and at that time I shall give you an adequate explanation of everything.

The reason I am writing you today is the recent anti-Semitic riots in Vienna. I am very closely following the movement in Austria as well as elsewhere. These are but trifles. Things are going to get worse and more out of control.

Unfortunately, nothing decisive can be done at the moment, although the plan, which has been carefully devised and is mild, prudent, and anything but violent, has been completely worked out. To put it into practice now, that is, with the Jews, would be to jeopardize it. This plan, you see, is a reserve for worse days; please believe me, even if I express myself in such vague terms. You will see and hear about it when we meet in Vienna at the end of the summer.

For the present, I simply would not want this mood of annoyance to take hold of a man whom I respect, and in the midst of

this bleak situation in which the Austrian Jews find themselves I should like to hold out to you hope for some relief which we younger, resolute men are preparing for our unfortunate brethren. To be sure, the mean people, the cowards, and those whom their money has made arrogant would be enough to sour one on the noble undertaking; but we must think of the poor and decent Jews. They are in the majority. We are not a chosen people, but not a base one either. This is why I am holding on.

Yours very sincerely,
Herzl.

July 15

Schiff has been here. I asked him what he thought of the anti-Jewish riots outside the Lanner Hall in Vienna.

"The Jews must turn Socialist!" he says obstinately.

In vain I explained to him that this would do even less good in Austria than in Germany. He believes that Hungary, which has a liberal policy toward the Jews, is going to prevent an anti-Jewish reaction in Austria. How wrong he is! In Hungary the Jews are committing the greatest error by buying up the landed estates. The "gentry" who are being ousted from the soil will overnight make themselves the leaders of the people and fall upon the Jews. The liberal government is being kept in power quite artificially by Jewish election funds. The conservative National Party, with Vienna and the army behind it, can overturn everything from one day to the next.

July 16

Dined at Nordau's party yesterday.

It's a lucky thing for me that I've had no social life here. I would have spent myself being scintillating at dinner parties.

For a moment the conversation turned to Baron Hirsch. Nordau said: "With his money I would make myself emperor of South America."

How strange! And that time Schiff had said that I should submit my "crazy" plan to Nordau.

July 16

Novel.

Hero is of the blond type, blue eyes, a piercing look.

His beloved is a Spanish Jewess, slender, dark-haired, high-bred. She first sees him as the captain of the ship sailing to occupy the land. He dreams of her in his tent.

July 21

Had a good letter from Güdemann today. I am immediately writing him as follows:

My Dear Friend:

Permit me to address you thus after receiving your letter, which is a joy to me.

I see now that my eyes did not deceive me when I saw in you one of the right people that I need. Now I will give you a little more information about why I recalled my letter. That was done in a terrible fit of demoralization caused by a local friend, the first and only person in whom I have confided my plan so far. When I showed him the letter which I had sent you the day before, he said to me: "Güdemann will think you crazy; he will go to your father right away, and your parents will be unhappy. By doing this you are making yourself either ridiculous or tragic . . ." Only when you know everything that I have in mind —and you will learn it, for I now feel your Jewish, manly heart beating next to mine—will you understand what a severe crisis I went through, after the tremendous birthpangs with which the plan had been born, when my loyal and devoted friend said this to me. I am ready and able to stake my life on the Jewish cause, but I must confine the sacrifice to my person. That would not be the case if people considered me "meshugge [crazy]." It would spoil my parents' last years and ruin my children's future.

Naturally, I did not consider myself crazy just because my

friend, who is a good man but lives in confining circumstances and is not an outstanding intellect, did not understand me. But I had to tell myself: He represents the average educated Jew. He knows me, has confidence in me, respects and loves me; if he feels that way, what must the others say! He showed me how thick the wall is against which I want to beat my head . . . Therefore it can't be done the way I was going to do it. And so I recalled that letter.

But I did not abandon the matter. I thought about other ways of putting the plan into practice.

There are two of them. The first is a memorandum to the Kaiser. An acquaintance of mine offers me a possibility of having this memorandum transmitted to him.

But this acquaintance would not be able to do this before the middle of August. At the end of this month I am going to Aussee where I shall spend my vacation. Perhaps a better way to reach the Kaiser will present itself to me there. I once had some correspondence on a problem of social legislation with the president of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, Baron Chlumecky. He is in Aussee. If I can explain my plan to him, maybe he will introduce me to Imperial Chancellor Hohenlohe, who can then take me to the Kaiser.

If I don't get to him, there remains to me the last form of implementation: the fictional kind.

I shall tell the Jews didactic fairy-tales which they will understand gradually, in five, ten, or twenty years. I shall put seeds into the earth. That is lovely, apt, and worthy of a poet. Only I fear that by the time the seeds sprout, everyone will have starved.

Yes indeed, it would pain me to have to do this, for my plan is no fantasy.

Now I have your letter. Only when you know everything will you realize how you have guessed my innermost thoughts and I have guessed yours. And, no! We are not isolated cases. All Jews think as we do! I have faith in the Jews, I, who used to be

lukewarm and am not a religious man even now! *Les coups que nous recevons nous font une conviction* [the blows we receive give us conviction].

Enough of talking. If you had written me in this vein sooner, we would be one month ahead.

What you write me about Dr. Heinrich Meyer-Cohn makes me long to meet this man immediately. Immediately! It may be in the highest interest of our cause that I get together with you and Meyer-Cohn before I go to the *reshoim*. Could you find out by telegram where he is now, and could the three of us meet somewhere at the end of this week? After your letter and the portrayal you have given me of M.-C., I want very badly to speak with both of you. I suggest some place in Switzerland, such as Zurich. In Austria you and I are too well known. We would run into acquaintances everywhere. At the moment I do not want that.

Zurich is a well-situated central point. After your letter I no longer doubt that you will make the small sacrifice of money and time that this trip will entail. You can tell the head of your congregation—that is, if you must give any reasons for a short absence—that you have to meet Meyer-Cohn in Zurich to give him some important information.

You have already shocked me once—when you did not want to come to Caux right away the time I summoned you in the service of the Jewish cause (!) To be sure, you must have been surprised at first when the author of comedies and writer of feuilletons wanted to speak about serious matters. Do you believe me now? Do you already sense from my every word that I have important, decisive things to say?

I don't need the rich Jews—but I need men! *Donnerwetter* [damn it], they are hard to find! And that was my crisis which my good friend had brought about. For a moment I despaired of the possibility of finding any men among the Jews. The crisis is over now; I had already overcome it before your letter arrived, because every day I pay close attention to the sufferings of our

brethren in all countries. I think that such oppression must make men out of even the most degenerate riff-raff. What has been lacking hitherto is a plan. Such a plan has been found!

I am saying this in all humility—believe me. Anyone who thinks of himself in such a matter does not deserve to be engaged in it.

Get Meyer-Cohn to Zurich and go there yourself! I shall leave here on Thursday or Saturday evening and be there the following morning. I authorize you to send this letter to Meyer-Cohn if he hesitates. But if he hesitates, he won't be the person that you have described.

I am taking on the case of Bloch, and you can tell him so. But no one except you and Meyer-Cohn should see this letter.

To get the money for Bloch will be an easy matter. I am acquainted with Hirsch, and if I drop him a line, I am convinced that he will immediately give what is needed. At the moment, to be sure, relations between Hirsch and me are a bit strained, because in my last letter I used some more explicit language than this man, who is accustomed to beggars, parasites, and aristocratic sponges, can stand. Yet there is no doubt but that he will give the required money without thinking twice about it if I ask it for Bloch, because he is already aware that I should not be capable of asking anything for myself. But even without Hirsch, Bloch will be taken care of—you can depend on that. Of course, I only know Bloch's unpleasant side, the evidences of his lack of taste, but the fact that you consider him necessary is enough for me.

Awaiting your acceptance by telegram, I remain, with cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
Th. Herzl.

July 21

Telegram to Güdemann:

Thanks for kind letter. Wire immediately requesting Meyer-Cohn's whereabouts. We three must definitely meet end of this

week, perhaps in Zurich. Please get ready for departure. Details by letter. Regards,

Theodor.

July 22

In the Austrian Beer Hall, Herrschkowitz (Hercovici) came to my table.

I had him describe the situation of the Rumanian Jews to me. Horrible. There are 400,000 in the country; most of the families have been living there for centuries and still have no civil rights. Each person must first apply to the Chamber of Deputies for these rights after he has completed his military service, and his application may be rejected by secret vote.

Since 1867 there have been only two major pogroms. H. was a witness to the one in Galatz. Hundreds of Jews were driven into the Danube by soldiers under the pretext that they were to board Austrian ships. They were not let on board, and so they were drowned. The exact number is not even known.

From time to time the peasants do some looting.

The situation is also bad for the Jews where making a living is concerned. Three per cent of them are artisans, the rest are storekeepers, and the educated men are almost invariably physicians.

The merchants suffer from lack of business. Old firms are collapsing. The bankruptcy lists are full of Jewish names, and, what's more, all Jewish bankruptcies are believed to be fraudulent and the ruined people are locked up. When they get out of jail, they are broken men and go begging.

Many of them emigrate, to Argentina, etc.! But frequently they come back.

(*Parbleu* [Aha]! They haven't got my homeland there yet.) The Jews in Rumania are a sturdy lot, says H. Fine, fine.

July 22

Pangloss: "the best of all possible worlds!" *

"Let us work without arguing," says Martin, "that's the only way of making life bearable." *

(Voltaire, *Candide*, end of Chapter XXX)

"Very well," says Candide, "but, most of all, let us cultivate our garden." *

(*Ibid.*)

July 22

Note on national psychology.

In the Taverne Royale there are several managers who are actually super-waiters. A clever arrangement! When one of these super-waiters, who does not wear a waiter's jacket, hands a plate to a guest, the latter feels flattered, honored. I have noticed this in my own case. In the same way, our emigrants, too, shall be given "courteous service." Jews are starved for *Koved* [honor], being a despised people; and by catering to it, one can lead them.

July 23

Prophylactic quinine!

Official distribution and administration while standing in line. The quinine must be taken daily in the presence of the health inspectors.

Greatest sanitary precautions in transit and on the other side.

Move very rapidly through fever regions. In such areas, have necessary work on railways, roads, and, later, swamp drainage (Maremma) done by natives who are used to the climate. Otherwise deaths will be puffed up and demoralize the people who, as it is, will be afraid of the floorless water and the unknown. Old prisoners don't like to leave prison. They have to be coaxed and all obstacles inside and outside them have to be cleared away.

* These three sentences are quoted in French by Herzl.

July 23

Blockheads must not be given any explanations!

My grandfather, Haschel Diamant, was a wise man. He used to say: Never give a *kush* [kiss] to a *miesse maad* [homely girl].

Such a warning may seem superfluous, for this would promise no pleasure. But the meaning is this: don't kiss a homely woman out of pity, or because you expect her to be faithful, for she will become presumptuous and then there will be no getting rid of her.

July 23

I have thought of preventing peddling through legal restrictions and police heckling (no voting rights, etc.). Only in the European states would this be something cruel, a pushing into the water like the Galatz pogrom. We, however, will not push a peddler into the water that way, but onto firm ground!

How is this to be attained? Through favoring the big stores (*à la* Louvre, Bon-Marché).

Principle: always destroy harmful elements by favoring their competitors!

The favoring of the Louvre stores will not be unconditional, of course. At the outset the entrepreneur will have to guarantee profit-sharing and old-age benefits as well as education for his employees' children (to the extent that the State has not made provisions for this).

Mass industry as well as mass trade must be handled along patriarchal lines.

The entrepreneur will be the patriarch.

To be considered whether such a stipulation should be specifically embodied in a law; or whether an indirect policy should be pursued in this, too, through honoring the patriarch in various ways.

Laws are easier to circumvent than customs.

Possibly a combination of both: a legal minimum of public

welfare (on account of profiteers and those devoid of a sense of honor) and an indirect policy, *pour encourager les efforts* [to encourage efforts].

July 23

To the bickerers, hatemongers, and grumblers:

In the next twenty years we shall have no time to fight among ourselves. That will come at a later date. For the present, let anyone who feels like fighting and has enough courage do battle against our enemies.

Wranglers should be declared public enemies. We shall deliver them up to the hatred of our people.

July 23

The capital city, our treasure-trove, will be in a location protected by mountains (fortresses on the tops), on a beautiful river, with forests nearby.

Take care that the site is protected from the wind, but not a sun bowl, guarded by mountains, but not too small.

Prevent the hypertrophic development of the capital through a belt of forests which must not be cut down. In addition, decentralization of educational institutions, etc.

July 23

In the process of transplantation, have careful consideration for all local customs.

*Salzstangel,** coffee, beer, customary meat, etc., are not indifferent matters.

Moses forgot to take along the flesh pots of Egypt. We shall remember them.

* Translator's note: A sort of breadstick, strongly flavored with salt and caraway seed.

July 23

The transplantation of the big department stores will immediately supply us with all necessary and not-so-necessary goods, which will make the cities habitable in a very short time.

July 23

Full autonomy for the communities in all parish-pump politics. Let the gabbers play parliament to their heart's content.

But only one Chamber of Deputies which cannot overthrow the government but only deny it particular resources. This will suffice for a public control.

One-third of this Chamber will be named by the ruler upon the recommendation of the government (a life-time appointment, for only nobility and property will be hereditary).

Another third will be elected by the learned academies, the universities, schools of art and technology, chambers of commerce, and trade associations.

The final third will be elected by the community councils (an election commission to examine authorizations), or perhaps by the provinces after a scrutiny of voting lists.

The ruler will name the government. It remains to be considered, however, how the ruler's arbitrariness may be kept in check. For, since the Chamber is not supposed to overthrow the government, a ruler could surround himself with straw men. Perhaps this three-fold composition of the Chamber will suffice to prevent the abuses of the Palais Bourbon, and the Chamber could be given the right to overthrow the government.

To be considered carefully and discussed with state jurists.

July 23

Will the Jews subject themselves to the predetermined Constitution?

Quite simple: whoever wants to be naturalized must take an oath to support this Constitution and submit to the laws. There will be no compulsion to become naturalized.

July 24

A peculiar letter came from Güdemann: he says he cannot travel, on account of a "stomach upset."

Is it possible that I again misunderstood his "good" letter? Could his fighting spirit, the kind that satisfied me, have been due to an indigestible *Pfefferkugel*? *

By the way, he has wired me that I shall receive a letter from him tomorrow. I will wait for that.

July 21

Beer was here.

Had a long discussion with him about "Beerite." It makes possible quick construction, replaces the plaster between bricks, and can even be used for cementing glass bricks, such as are now used in America. Such houses—iron construction, glass bricks—ought to be finished and habitable in two months. "Beerite" dries in two days, yet the houses look impressive faced with this material. "Beerite" will also be used for the statues of public gardens, and so on.

The genuine, monumental things will come later.

Beer also has ideas on the paving of streets.

July 24

I should like to have wood-block paving in the cities. We shall lay out our streets differently from the way the old cities do it. We shall make them hollow to begin with and put the necessary pipes, wires, etc. into the cavity. That way we shall save ourselves the trouble of tearing them up later.

July 24

Beer will come along on the expedition to take the land. On the boat we shall dress for dinner, just as we want to have elegance on the other side as soon as possible.

* A spicy baked dish.

The purpose of this: the Jews shall not get the impression that they are moving out into the desert.

No, *this* migration will take place in the mainstream of culture. We shall remain part of civilization while we are migrating.

After all, we don't want a Boer state, but a Venice.

July 24

In the Constitution, which is to have only the small elasticity of a rubber hose the thickness of an arm, care must be taken that the aristocracy does not degenerate into tyranny and presumption. The hereditary nobility is not our kind of aristocracy. Among us any great person can become an aristocrat. (Money is a good criterion if it has been established that it was acquired honestly.)

Another thing that is to be prevented is a policy of future conquest. New Judea shall reign only by the spirit.

July 25, in the evening

Received another lukewarm letter from Güdemann. I am answering him as follows:

My Dear Friend,

We shall stick to this form of address, if you don't mind. Its advantage, apart from the pleasure and the honor, is that I can tell you my opinion more clearly with all due respect. I shall not dwell on the contradiction between your letters of the 17th and the 23rd of this month. In one letter you are "bold as William Tell." The next time you are exaggeratedly timid. That will not do.

You don't want to "flirt" with me, do you, like a woman who charms and then withdraws?

Where the Jewish cause is concerned I am not to be trifled with.

To be sure, you cannot know what I have in mind.

Why do I not tell you, then? After all, if my idea is a sensible one, that is, simple and comprehensible, I ought to be able to express it in a few sentences. I can, too, dear doctor; I simply don't

want to. Because it is not just a matter of the idea itself, i.e., the logical end result which is and must be a universal idea if it is not to be regarded as the isolated thought of a madman or that of a genius, an idea centuries ahead of its time. I am probably not a madman and, alas, certainly not a genius. I am a man of my time who has both feet firmly on the ground; that is why I asked you—if you still recall—to bring a businessman with you to Caux. So it is not simply a question of the conclusion, but of the whole long chain of reasoning. It has taken me many weeks of extremely hard work to get this ethno-psychological, economic, juridical, and historical documentation down on paper. This I cannot crowd into a letter without mutilating it. After all, I want to make myself understood and not the reverse.

My local friend did not understand me. Was it my fault? Who knows? When I asked him, after he had given me his criticism, "Then what is your idea of a remedy?" he replied: "The Jews have to join the Socialist movement!" In my opinion, that would be as nonsensical as Socialism itself. He also thought that the anti-Semites would have to be killed, something that I should consider as unjust as it would be impracticable.

Do you still believe blindly that my friend is right in his attitude toward me?

He still remains my friend, just as you will remain my friend, I hope, even if if you don't understand me—just as all decent Jews are my friends.

But I will have nothing to do with the milksops, the shits, and the s.o.b.'s with or without money.

Please be assured that I greatly appreciate your truly friendly concern about my career. I can set your mind at ease. My career and my ability to provide for my family are not in danger. I think you are not judging my relationship to the *Neue Freie Presse* correctly. I can leave it whenever I please without doing myself harm. It is true that if I then looked for a position nearly as good on another paper, I would be in a bad way. But if I quit my job, I would become the head man on a newspaper, namely my own. That is the situation.

Incidentally, I have nothing of the sort in mind. I am just as amicably devoted to my publishers as they are to me, I hope. I have a deep affection especially for Bacher, although I have had few dealings with him. He is a real man!

To show you how little my plan will put me in opposition to the *N.Fr.Pr.*—its fairy-tale version, which I mentioned to you in my last letter, is to appear in the *N.Fr.Pr.* if the plan cannot be put into operation.

Does this set your mind at rest?

But it is no fairy-tale as yet, and neither you nor Meyer-Cohn can make it one. Nevertheless, I shall gladly confer with you, listen to your objections, and then see what I have to do.

You will evaluate my thoughts and I shall evaluate yours—that is the purpose of our meeting. It can take place wherever you wish—excepting Vienna and vicinity. This I specifically don't want.

Linz would be all right with me. But never have three strangers arrived there at the same time. In that capital of anti-Semitism we would attract too much attention. Wouldn't you rather designate the tourist center Salzburg as the place for our get-together? The difference in time and money is really trifling. Also, this would favor Meyer-Cohn a bit.

That is why I first thought of Zurich.

To be sure, I had another reason for wanting to meet with you two as early as the day after tomorrow. You see, the Jews of Berlin are at present doing something that doesn't please me. I had hoped to convince you and then have Meyer-Cohn take some immediate action. It is certainly tormenting not to be able to do anything about an error which one recognizes as such. But one error, one piece of stupidity, one act of negligence more or less, will not matter in the history of our people's sufferings.

You will have to be the one to extend the invitation to Meyer-Cohn to come to either Linz or Salzburg. I cannot do it. I am not acquainted with him and he may never have heard my name. You are definitely qualified to do it, and I am counting on you to act without delay. Have Bloch give you his address, under

whatever pretext. Bloch must not know about our meeting any more than anyone else. This conference must take place in an atmosphere of quiet.

I shall leave here on Saturday evening, and on Monday I shall be at Villa Fuchs, Aussee, Styria.

Don't hesitate, dear doctor. At the very least, you must be curious by now about what I may have to say.

Write to Meyer-Cohn immediately. When I say that I am not acquainted with him, what I mean is that I know nothing about him, don't know what he looks like, etc. Do not consider that odd; knowing a man provides guidance for a correct epistolary style. A letter is the summoning up of a certain will, and for this I need an approximate idea of what the possessor of this will is like, otherwise I grope in the dark and write a confused letter, i.e., one that is not suited to summoning up his will.

When I was preparing my memorandum to the German Kaiser, I very attentively studied various photographs of him, read his speeches critically, thoroughly examined his actions. Have no fear: when I address the memorandum to him, from the first moment I shall so grip him that he will not throw it into the wastepaper basket.

For I am not a babbler and I despise drivellers. Literature, to me, is only a form, a hieroglyphics with large characters, which serves me as these small and ordinary letters flowing from my pen serve me—to express my ideas. When I learned the big writing, the literary kind, I did not know of what use it would be to me, just as I did not know it when I learned how to write as a child. I know it now.

Leave it to ignoramuses and blockheads, then, to distrust a writer. There is no madness in creative writing itself. The important thing is the idea which the big writing puts on paper; if it is sound and clear, the only ridiculous elements will be the doubters. And a man's doubting can even make him a tragic figure, because in delaying or frustrating the relief of his brethren he will also delay or frustrate his own.

To stand by idly and watch when a house is on fire is certainly

more insane than to rush up with a modern fire engine. And that is what I want to do.

So immediately write Meyer-Cohn a beautiful letter like the one of the 17th, not of the 23rd. I hope that your indisposition has cleared up nicely by now. Should it be difficult for you at present to write Meyer-Cohn a letter setting forth the necessity for a trip to Salzburg (rather than Linz, as I have said), then send him my letters. Now as before, no one except Meyer-Cohn may read these letters, and he may read them only because I want to tell him everything, just as I have told you.

You ask whether I have childbed fever again. What faulty medical terminology! This fever one only has once, right after giving birth. I had it because I was so terribly overworked, writing down details for weeks from early morning until late at night in addition to my daily work, and then, in a state of exhaustion, putting all these details into an orderly sequence with iron-clad logical conclusions.

Then came the friend who absolutely failed to understand me.

Now all that is finished. The bleeding has been stopped. The uterus has resumed its normal position and its ordinary size. So there is no danger.

And do you know how I got over the attack of doubt? Again, by working; once again I worked hard all day, for the newspaper, as well as doing work of my own.

Farewell! In Aussee I shall soon be expecting an invitation to Salzburg (if worst comes to worst, to Linz) for the fifth, the sixth, or the seventh of August. Fabius delayed in the face of his enemies, but one doesn't play Cunctator toward one's friends.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
Th. Herzl.

July 26, in the afternoon

Just rode past Hirsch in the street. I am writing him, even though reluctantly. But it may be useful.

Dear Sir:

We just rode past each other in the street. From this I draw the brilliant conclusion that you are in town. I myself am leaving for Austria tomorrow evening. It may be some time before we shall be in the same place again. Would you like to become acquainted with my perfected plan? It goes without saying: without interrupting me again.

On the 6th of August I shall meet in Salzburg with two stalwart Jews, a Viennese and a Berliner. I want to submit to them my memorandum to the *roshe* before I send it off. I shall consult with these older people to see whether some things that could be harmful to the Jews should not be deleted.

If you want to be in on this, write me a line and I shall drop in on you for an hour or so before I leave.

If you don't, don't.

Respectfully yours,
Herzl.

July 27

Hirsch did not reply.

I am writing him the following farewell letter which I may mail in Basel tomorrow:

Dear Sir:

It is part of the Jewish misfortune that you refused to be enlightened.

I saw in you a useful tool for the important cause, *voilà pourquoi j'ai insisté outre mes habitudes* [this is why I insisted beyond my wont].

The legend in circulation about you is obviously false. You engage in the Jewish cause as a sport. Just as you make horses race, you make Jews migrate. And this is what I protest against most sharply. A Jew is not a plaything.

No, no, you are not interested in the cause. *Elle est bien bonne, et j'y ai cru un instant* [It is very nice and I believed it for a minute].

For that reason it was an excellent thing that I wrote you once more from Paris and that you did not honor me with a reply. Now any error is out of the question. Some jackass must have told you that I am only a pleasant dreamer, and you believed it. When men talk about serious business they do not use any polite phrases. Let this serve as an explanation if I have shocked you by the violent way I have expressed myself.

And so I beg to remain

Very respectfully yours,
Dr. Herzl.

July 27

And today I am leaving Paris!
One book of my life is ending.
A new one is beginning.
Of what kind?

July 29

On the way I changed my mind and did not mail the letter to Hirsch. Perhaps the man can still be included in the combination at some later date. I must subordinate my indignation and my self-love to the cause. Besides, they forwarded me a letter from him in which he makes excuses on account of his own departure. He says he would like to continue the discussion about it in late autumn. In late autumn! Finished!

July 29

Zell am See.

The curse must be taken off money.

July 29

Get the soil tilled by renting a farm for half the produce and giving the equipment on credit; after a short period (possibly three years) this rental will become ownership. The debt for the machinery will be liquidated. Later, we shall have a tax on

the land. Election of the ruler (for life).

Immediately after the ruler dies (or is rendered incapable by insanity or incompetence), within twenty-four hours each community will choose an elector. These electors must meet at the place of election within the time it takes to reach the capital from the remotest point in the country. The election is to take place in a sort of Versailles, so as to make it independent of public pressure.

The meetings of the legislature will be presided over by the President of the Chamber who will direct all preparations (military, etc.).

The electors will not be deputies, but their votes will count the same as the deputies' in the election of the ruler. Continue balloting around the clock, narrowing it down until one man has a two-thirds majority.

During the interregnum the Prime Minister will be responsible to the President of the Chamber.

Soldiers will be eligible for election only after they have been inactive for at least one year.

July 29

Zell am See.

In a bath-house. The walls full of anti-Semitic inscriptions. Many answered or crossed out by upset Jewish boys.

One reads as follows:

O Gott, schick doch den Moses wieder,
Auf dass er seine Stammesbrüder
Wegführe ins gelobte Land.
Ist dann die ganze Judensippe
Erst drinnen in des Meeres Mitte,
Dann, Herr, o mach die Klappe zu
Und alle Christen haben Ruh.

[O God, won't you send Moses again to lead the members of his tribe away into the Promised Land. Then, when the whole Jewish clan is right in the middle of the sea, O close the lid, Lord, and all Christians will have peace.]

August 2

Aussee.

In the last few days a frequent exchange of telegrams with Güdemann.

Meyer-Cohn has been in Vienna. Our rendezvous was supposed to take place at Salzburg within the next few days. Güdemann shows a lot of zeal and willingness. I think I have the right helper in him.

Unfortunately he has not been able to get Meyer-Cohn for our meeting, because he has to go to Posen "on account of a distribution of shares."

I hope that is not the Argentinian one!

I am answering Güdemann as follows:

Dear Friend,

I wouldn't have a sound conception of the stress and strain of real life if I expected that everything will and could go the way I want it to right away.

The only thing that can discourage me is the stupidity, cowardice, and meanness of my fellow Jews. And I want to help even the intellectually and morally deficient ones.

But now, unless my eyes deceive me, I have already found a stalwart ally, although you don't even know what I want. Just have confidence in me, my dear, honored friend! You will see soon enough to what a noble and exalted cause I am summoning you.

When I received your wire yesterday, saying that Meyer-Cohn is not coming and therefore you do not want to come either, I was, to be sure, a bit vexed, although not too much so. My annoyance was directed at the regrettable fact that a helper on whom I had already counted was dropping out.

Then I went out. On the street I overheard people talking about a small, everyday incident: there had just been a scene on the Promenade in which someone had yelled "Dirty Jew." Such a scene apparently occurs in a thousand places in the world every day. You know this as well as I do.

And you can imagine with what scornful bitterness I note this sort of thing, because my closely guarded idea contains the remedy. Nevertheless, this idea will not be got out of me until the right moment which I am awaiting with all necessary coolness and firmness.

However, your letter which arrived today again holds out to me the prospect that we need not give up Meyer-Cohn. Now I make you a new proposal which I ask you to pass on to M.-C. I owe it to my self-respect not to write him before he has written me. For, after all, my last letters to you were indirectly addressed to him too.

You as well as M.-C. are completely on the wrong track if you think that I want to direct a request for protection to the German Kaiser. All misconceptions of this kind are due to the fact that you would like to guess the things that I am minded to tell only orally and with a comprehensive explanation.

Patience! Be patient, but do not tarry, honored friend.

Since M.-C. is ready to counsel with us, but faces obstacles, we must meet him half-way. My suggestion is that we make another rendezvous with him. It could be in Zurich, but need not be. In Munich, Frankfort, as far as I am concerned, any place and any time—but certainly within the next two weeks. You already know what I intend to initiate here in Aussee if I cannot get any Jewish helpers. It will not be my fault if people let me proceed by myself and make mistakes which could have been prevented by consultation. The totality of my plan is right—that is my profound conviction.

I long ago gave up thinking of Salo.

Please send me M.-C.'s article in the *Wochenschrift*. It will be useful for me to try to recognize the make-up of his mind from it.

Expecting to hear from you soon and with cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
Th. H.

August 4

Spoke with a Viennese lawyer.

He said: "If you don't attend any election rallies you don't notice anything."

The people are especially enraged against the Liberals, he said. They cheer Lueger and Friebeis (the latter is the district councillor who is now replacing the suspended municipal councillor).

I explained to the attorney that if this temporary suspension of the Constitution can be repeated once or twice more without a fight, it will lead to the complete scrapping of the Constitution, with a subsequent change, or, rather, the formation of a new Constitution from which the Jews will be left out.

Then I talked to two physicians from Pest who found it wonderful the way Hungary treated its Jews.

I explained to them the enormous mistake which the Jews of Hungary make by acquiring real estate. They already own more than half the immovable property. In the long run the people cannot possibly put up with such a conquest by the *makk-hetes zsidó* [low class Jew]. Only through a terrorizing force of arms can an identifiable minority, which is alien to the people and not famous historically like the old aristocracy, retain possession of all privileges.

It is common knowledge that only recently the Jews have been the opposite of an honored aristocracy.

The liberal government, which is apparently based on election promises and coalitions, can be swept away by a *coup de main,* and then overnight Hungary will have anti-Semitism in its most virulent form.

August 4

Kohn the cabinet-maker in Aussee!

Last year I was glad when I saw the Jewish wood-carver in the house across the street. I regarded that as the "solution."

This year I have returned. Kohn has enlarged his house, added a wooden veranda, has summer tenants, no longer works him-

self. In five years he will be the richest man in town and hated for his wealth.

This is how hatred is produced by our intelligence.

August 5

Received a letter lightly tinged with irony from Güdemann. I am answering him:

Dear Friend:

You are, of course, free to regard me as an operetta general. To me your remark proves only that I was right in the first place to consider correspondence as inappropriate. Today, by the way, I am following your advice and writing M.-C. directly, asking him whether he is willing to meet with me in Munich or somewhere else. When the two of us have arranged a get-together, I shall ask you by wire whether you want to participate in it. If you then exclude yourself, I shall regret it, and possibly so will you, later.

M.-C.'s article is a good one. But what use is all the philosophizing? In this matter the watchword is—*primum vivere* [first live]! *deinde* [then], if it is absolutely necessary, *philosophari* [philosophize] is all right with me too.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Th. H.

Letter to Doctor Heinrich Meyer-Cohn of August 5:

Dear Sir:

Dr. Güdemann has written me about you and told you about me. I believe you are also acquainted with the letters that I have written him. Therefore I can be brief. Would you like to meet with me somewhere within the next two weeks? I leave it to you to determine the place. It would mean a great deal to me to have Dr. Güdemann participate in our discussion. As I can tell from his letters, it is hard to get him to take a long trip. But he could perhaps be induced to go to Munich. For the present I

must ask you to believe that I have really serious things to say. From your willingness to make the sacrifice of a small trip for the Jewish cause I shall recognize that you are the right man in whom to confide my thoughts and plans *avant la lettre* [before writing them down].

What my intentions are I shall tell you only in person, or not at all. Idle chatter in letters is no more in my line than the spoken kind. It would be useless to ask me to give you a hint in advance. I shall only clear up your mistaken notion which Güdemann pointed out to me: I am not considering a request for protection. I am seeking and finding the solution within ourselves. For this I need suitable Jews. If you are one, fine! If you aren't, you aren't!

I have had your article in the *Wochenschrift* sent to me. May I, now that I am addressing you directly, be permitted a judgement? Your article is excellent and sensible—but philosophizing won't lure a pig out of the clover. Fix the time and place, then; take into consideration the fact that we need Güdemann. As soon as I hear from you, I shall communicate with Güdemann by telegram and try to get him there.

With respectful greetings,

Yours sincerely,
Dr. Th. H.

August 6

I am just reading Bloch's *Wochenschrift*.

He is engaging in a theological tussle with the anti-Semites, medieval style, like that rabbi with the Capuchin monk.

". . . that both of them stink!" *

Of course, an out-and-out Jewish paper is needed.

But it would have to be a modern one.

Bloch could be used for Galicia, at any rate. He is acquainted with the local atmosphere and would know how to talk to the people.

* Translator's Note: This is the last line in Heinrich Heine's poem "Disputation."

The miscellaneous news column in his paper is ghastly: There are persecutions like that every week, every day!

August 6

Spoke with old Simon, the president of the Vienna Jewish Community. My words visibly inspired him. Of course I told him only the negative things, and that the rich Jews must be destroyed if they lead lives of avarice, epicureanism, and vanity, while the poor are being persecuted.

August 7

Received a letter from Meyer-Cohn. The letter is a good one. I am wiring him:

Thanks for letter. I wrote you the day before yesterday. Please do your utmost to arrange a meeting soon, anywhere.

Let us communicate about this by telegram.

Regards,
Herzl.

August 10

Yesterday received a letter from Güdemann in which he excuses himself for the ironic tone of his next-to-last letter.

No word from Meyer-Cohn.

I am writing him as follows:

Dear Sir:

I was very pleased with your letter which arrived on August 7. But unfortunately I did not receive the notification which I asked you to send me by telegram. Permit me therefore to tell you one final time what it is all about.

To the extent that I can give information in writing I have already given it to you directly and through Dr. Güdemann indirectly. I should like to submit my plan to Jews of integrity; that means that I am ready to listen to sensible advice concerning

the expansion or limitation of my plans. I shall probably not find two men like you and Güdemann so easily. I cannot spend much time looking, either. Certain qualities of character and intellect must be there, and these I may presuppose in you two. But it is not enough that you wish to meet with me; it must be soon, too. It is true, nothing in the Jewish cause, which has been dragged out for so many centuries, would seem to justify my haste, and that might even give you pause. But I have practical reasons for hurrying. Didn't Dr. Güdemann tell you that here in Aussee I want to try to become acquainted with Imperial Chancellor Hohenlohe through Chlumecky, the President of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, and thus gain access to the Kaiser? And should I find this impossible, I will immediately start on the literary elaboration of my plan.

Upon Güdemann's provisional advice I first wanted, and still want, to confide in you two in all modesty. After all, you have as much at stake in the matter as I, and you are my natural friends and advisors. You must also consider that I would not dare idly to put you to the trouble of a trip. This means that I have serious and important things to say. Do not let me go on alone. I should do so reluctantly, but I should do it finally. Consider that I shall need some time to get the matter rolling with and through Chlumecky, and that I must put the remaining twenty days of my stay in Aussee to the best possible use.

Oblige me by telegraphing me your reply soon. Pick a time and a place for our meeting, with regard for Dr. Güdemann who is not so mobile. It would be downright painful to me if I were disappointed in my expectation of being able to go hand in hand with you.

With respectful greetings,

Yours very sincerely,
Dr. Th. H.

August 10

Talked with Dr. F. of Berlin. He is for baptism. He wants to make the sacrifice for the sake of his son. Tsk, tsk. I explained to

him that there are other low-down ways in which one can make it easier for one's son to get ahead.

He will apparently be baptized as soon as his rich father-in-law is dead. The only thing he forgets is that if five thousand like him become baptized, the watchword will simply be changed to "Dirty Converts"!

August 13

In the Kurpark I talked again with old Simon and two other elderly Jews. I outlined all my premises for them, seemingly without premeditation, but naturally not my conclusion. Again I was able to notice that I have the power to stir people. These are only old men, slow-moving and made apathetic by their wealth. And yet I can feel their souls emitting sparks when I strike on them.

The young men, to whom I want to give a whole future, I shall of course carry by storm.

In the afternoon Meyer-Cohn's letter arrived.

He wants to be in Munich on the 17th of this month. I am wiring Güdemann. The difficulty: the 17th is a Saturday. The Rabbi will not be able to come, or can plead official duties if he does not feel like it. However, if he says no, I shall summon him with the greatest urgency—or drop him for good.

August 14

My good Mom likes to tell how Albert Spitzer passed away. One day his housekeeper asked him after dinner, "What shall we cook for tomorrow?"

He replied vigorously, "Rump steak!"

That was his last word. He fell over and died.

In her sovereign way, my Mom derives from this the meaning of a life that ends with a cry of "Rump steak!"

I shall make use of this anecdote in Munich.

August 14

I see only one difficulty in it all: how to get the landlubbers out to sea.

Program for Munich: First I shall tell them the history of my plan, then call on them to differentiate any details which do not appeal to them from the scheme as a whole. I shall advise them in advance of my conclusion and shall explain to them the mistake I made with Hirsch. In presenting the matter to him I proceeded from the State—i.e., I only started, and stopped in time, because I noticed that he was not following me. To these men I shall present it as a business transaction—they must not misunderstand me in the other direction and take me for an "entrepreneur."

Tell them, too, how I want to use a different approach in presenting this same plan to the German Kaiser, stressing the "mounting of the self-[defense?]." *

August 14

Güdemann has wired me his acceptance. He will leave for Munich on Friday morning. He would like me to arrive there at the same time as he, i.e., Friday evening. But I don't want to do this. Meyer-Cohn isn't arriving until Saturday and won't be available for a discussion before Saturday afternoon. I want to avoid talking to Güdemann before that, and so I shall not arrive in Munich until Saturday forenoon. They ought to be together first, wait for me; and Güdemann especially should no longer be tired from the trip, but rested and alert.

The hard part of my presentation will be to lead them over gradually from their accustomed conceptions to mine without their having the feeling that they are losing touch with reality.

Munich, August 18

Actually, I might as well give up keeping this record of daily action, for there is no action.

* Translator's Note: The phrase is incomplete in the original.

I arrived here yesterday morning. In the hotel lobby I ran into Güdemann who looked fresh and cheerful with his gray beard and ruddy cheeks.

We went to see Meyer-Cohn who was washing up. From the very first moment I knew that he was not the right man. A little Berlin Jew by his outward appearance, and with a spirit to match. While he finished his toilet, he spun us a long yarn about "parliamentary" doings in the Berlin Jewish community. Trivialities; but his unassuming manner of presentation makes up for this.

And just as I found him during that first quarter-hour and described him to Güdemann the moment we left the room, so M.-C. proved himself to be throughout the day. He has few convictions, and he clings to them tenaciously, but expresses them with disarming modesty. He is a mediocre intellect, does not think that anyone could understand anything better than he does; however, he believes everyone else, including myself, to be as capable as he is.

Afterwards, I went to the synagogue, where I was supposed to meet Güdemann. The services were over when I arrived. Güdemann showed me the interior of the beautiful synagogue. The *shames* [beadle] or *shabbes goy*, an elderly man in blue military tunic, tall and of shrivelling corpulence, bore a great resemblance to Bismarck. It was a curious touch to have a Bismarck figure walking behind us with the keys, while the rabbi was showing me through the temple. The *goy* [gentile] did not know that he looked like Bismarck; the rabbi had no idea that he was doing something symbolic in showing me the beauty of a temple. I alone was aware of these and other things.

I said nothing that morning concerning the project itself. For the most part I let Güdemann do the talking; he did not dream that he would call me "Moses" before the day was over.

We met for luncheon in the Jewish Jochsberger's Restaurant where I felt very much at home. The proprietor knew Güdemann and set us up in a separate room. Later on he discovered, with Jewish acumen, that we were conferring about the Jewish

cause, and saw to it that we remained undisturbed. This is the sort of human material we possess in our people. They divine what one would have to hammer into other people's heads. They carry it out with intelligence and devotion.

At table the subject came up quite naturally. Güdemann had already won his way to my heart during the forenoon. More and more I found in him a fine, open-minded, splendid human being. Naturally, our conversation had a theological and philosophical flavor. I incidentally mentioned my views on the Deity. I want to bring up my children with a belief in what might be called the historical God. To me, "God" is a beautiful, dear old word which I want to retain. It is a wonderful abbreviation for conceptions that might be beyond the grasp of a childlike or limited intellect. By "God" I understand the Will to Good! The omnipresent, infinite, omnipotent, eternal Will to Good, which does not immediately prevail everywhere but is always victorious in the end. For which Evil, too, is but a means. How and why, for example, does the Will to Good permit epidemics to exist? Because epidemics cause musty old cities to be torn down and new, bright, healthful cities to come into being, with inhabitants who draw a freer breath.

Thus, anti-Semitism, too, probably contains the divine Will to Good, because it forces us to close ranks, unites us through pressure, and through our unity will make us free.

My conception of God, is, after all, Spinozistic and also resembles the natural philosophy of the Monists. But I think of Spinoza's "substance" as something inert, so to speak, and that incomprehensible universal ether of the Monists seems too intangible and too vague to me. But I can conceive of an omnipresent will, for I see it at work in the physical world. I see it as I can see the functioning of a muscle. The world is the body and God is the functioning of it. The ultimate purpose I do not and need not know; for me it is enough that it is something higher than our present condition. This I can again express with old words, and I gladly do so. *Eritis sicut dei, scientes bonum et malum* [Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil].

In the course of our table-talk something unexpected happened: Meyer-Cohn revealed himself as an adherent of the idea of Zion. This pleased me very much.

After lunch I brought the manuscript of my Address to the Rothschilds from the hotel and started reading it to them in the empty dining room at Jochsberger's. Unfortunately Meyer-Cohn had made a business appointment for four o'clock so I knew from the outset that I would not be able to finish. The session was not to be resumed until evening. In other respects, too, I was reading under unfavorable conditions.

Meyer-Cohn carped in "parliamentary" fashion at every little detail that bothered him. As a result, I lost my temper for a moment while rebutting these "interpellations."

In spite of this, the effect was considerable. I saw it in Güdemann's shining eyes.

I had to break off at page thirteen because of M.-C.'s engagement. However, Güdemann, the "anti-Zionist," was already won over.

He said: "If you are right, all my views up to now fall to pieces.

"But yet I find myself wishing that you are right. Hitherto I have believed that we are not a nation, that is, more than a nation. I thought that we have the historic mission to be exponents of universalism among the nations and therefore are more than a people identified with a specific area."

I answered: "There is nothing to prevent us from being and remaining the exponents of one humanity on our own home soil as well. To achieve this purpose, we need not actually continue to reside among the nations who hate and despise us. If we wanted to realize this universalist idea of a humanity without boundaries under our present circumstances, we would have to combat the idea of patriotism. However, as far as we can foresee, this idea will prove stronger than we are."

At six o'clock we met again, in my little hotel room. Because there were only two chairs, I sat on my bed and continued my reading. Meyer-Cohn went on carping at the ideas that he considered Utopian. Güdemann was once more carried away. Even

then I did not get to the end, but by half past eight the gist of the idea had been unfolded. We were about to leave for supper when Güdemann said: "You remind me of Moses."

I laughingly rejected the thought, and I was completely sincere about it. Now as before I consider the whole thing to be a simple idea, a skillful and rational combination which, to be sure, operates with large masses. Purely as an idea, my plan is not a great thing. "Two times two is four" is, in abstract thought, as great as "two times two trillions is four trillions."

Güdemann further said: "I am quite dazed. I feel like someone who has been asked to come and hear some news, and when he arrives, there is placed before him not a piece of information, but two beautiful big horses."

This simile pleased me greatly, for it made me realize the plastic force of my idea.

Back at Jochsberger's I read the concluding section. The reinstallation of a nobility displeased both of them. On the other hand, they saw poetic beauty in the yellow ribbon as a mark of Jewish honor. Accordingly, I shall drop the idea of a nobility.

Güdemann also objected to the final apostrophe, and, naturally, so did Meyer-Cohn.

We came to the conclusion that the Address must not reach the Rothschilds, who are mean, despicable egotists. The idea must be carried straight to the people, and in the form of a novel.

Perhaps, so we thought, the stimulus will take effect and lead to the creation of a great movement.

Of course, I am of the opinion that I would spoil the plan by making it public, but I have to comply. I can't carry it out all by myself. I must believe Güdemann and M.-Cohn when they tell me that the "big Jews" will have nothing to do with it.

I took Güdemann to the station. At parting he said with sober enthusiasm: "Remain as you are! Perhaps you are the one called of God."

We kissed each other good-bye. There was a strange gleam in his beautiful eyes when, from the compartment window, he once more took my hand and gave it a firm squeeze.

August 19, Munich

Novel, Chapter I.

On Christmas Day, 1899, Moritz Frühlingsfeld, the hero, receives a letter from Berlin from Heinrich.

He makes himself comfortable and reads it.

It is the farewell letter written by the suicide.

A profound shock.

Chapter II.

The unwed girl. The ruined stock-trader's family with the father who failed to "provide a husband" for his daughter and tries to make it up to her by a thousand little kindnesses.

This is where Moritz goes to overcome the first shock. He guesses that the forgotten girl loved Heinrich. She will later die, well-bred and silent.

Chapter III.

Departure on the trip to forget; on the advice of his friends (or parents) Moritz must travel in order to "get rid" of the dead man.

He has taken other trips before, but never one like this. He used to have eyes for beautiful women, adventures, and scenery. Now he sees everything with new eyes, through Heinrich's ghost, as it were.

We are in no hurry to die!

This is how the idea comes into being!

August 21

Letter to Meyer-Cohn:

Dear Sir:

I deeply regret not having seen you again before your departure. So I am putting in writing the final conclusion from our meeting, which may not have been in vain. We are obviously antitheses. But I believe that we can pay each other no higher tribute than by admitting this frankly and becoming friends in spite of it. My idea was yours as well. I hope that you will not give it up just because I have demonstrated my way to realize it. That would be an odd outcome.

I believe that we must first and foremost be Jews; only later, "over there," will it be all right for us to split up into aristocrats and democrats. In the first twenty years of our movement, such divisions must be dormant. Later they will probably be useful, representing the free play of forces. In this there will also appear the Will to Good, by which, as you know, I mean "God." The presumption of the aristocrats and the despondency of the democrats can cancel each other out, though amidst struggles. But, above all, we must stick together.

I am setting a good example right away by modestly subordinating my idea to your counsel and that of our honored friend Güdemann.

Should you feel impelled to reply to these lines, which may also be "Utopian," please don't do so before the 22nd of the month. On that date I shall again be at Villa Fuchs, Aussee.

Greetings in friendship from

Yours sincerely,
Dr. Herzl.

Letter to Güdemann:

Dear Friend:

Our great cause, which we discussed in Munich, naturally continues to work in my mind, as it probably does in yours, and perhaps even in that of our third colleague M.-C. To many of the objections I have now found the answers which did not immediately occur to me.

Above all, I can now say why it is no Utopia.

M.-C.'s definition of a Utopia was quite wrong. The hallmark of a Utopia is not the details of the future presented as actualities. Every minister of finance uses estimates for the future in working out his budget, and he uses not only those which he constructs from the average of previous years or from data derived from other times and other countries, but also figures for which there is no precedent, as, for example, when a new tax is introduced. Only someone who has never seen a budget does not know this. But will anyone call a draft of a fiscal law Utopian, even if he

knows that it will never be possible to stick to the estimate very closely?

The only valid thing about M.-C.'s objections would be, at most, that I gave too much *graphic* detail. And yet I had omitted from the version which I read to you countless features contained in my draft for it. I explained this in the Address itself by saying repeatedly, "You would otherwise take my plan for a Utopia."

What, then, differentiates a plan from a Utopia? I shall now tell you in precise language: the vitality which is inherent in a plan and not in a Utopia, a vitality which need not be recognizable to everyone and yet may be there.

There have been plenty of Utopias before and after Thomas More, but no rational person ever thought of putting them into practice. They are entertaining, but not stirring.

On the other hand, look at the plan called "The Unification of Germany." Even in St. Paul's Church it seemed only a dream. And yet, from the inscrutable depths of the national psyche there came in response to it an impulse as mysterious and undeniable as life itself.

And out of what was this unification created? Out of ribbons, flags, songs, speeches, and, finally, singular struggles. Do not underestimate Bismarck! He saw that the people and the princes could not be induced to make even small sacrifices for the cause all those songs and orations were about. So he exacted *great* sacrifices from them, forced them to wage wars. And those princes, who could never have been assembled in any German city to elect an emperor, them he led to a small provincial town, where there was a half-forgotten royal castle. And there they did his bidding. A nation drowsy in peacetime jubilantly hailed unification in wartime.

There is no need to attempt a rational explanation for this. It is a fact! So, too, I cannot explain life and its force; I can only state that it exists.

As I noticed in Munich, you think in images. This fact, in addition to others, only endears you to me further. You used an expression in Munich which touched and delighted me. You said,

"I feel like someone who has been called to be given some news, and when he arrives, there is placed before him a pair of beautiful horses."

Why didn't you say, "He is shown a piece of machinery"?

Because you had the impression of something alive!

And that's what it is. In my plan there is life. I shall prove it to you by referring to Hertzka's *Freeland*. I had known this book only from hearsay as a Utopia. After your departure I immediately looked for it in a bookstore. I had forgotten to ask you whether it was also about Jews. And I was worried for that reason. Not for my own sake, as a writer who is afraid of having come too late. (*Peream ego* [Let my ego perish]!) No—rather because then I should have to fear being unable to accomplish anything either, because the plan would already have had currency in the world without success. *Freeland* was not obtainable in Munich, but a more recent publication of Hertzka was: *A Journey to Freeland* (*Eine Reise nach Freiland,* Reclam's Universal Library).

This book gave me sufficient information, too. It is quite an ingenious fantasy, as remote from life as the equatorial mountain on which "Freeland" is located.

You will understand the following comparison:

Freeland is a complicated piece of machinery with many cogs and wheels; but I find in it no proof that it can be set in motion.

As against this, my plan calls for the utilization of a driving force that actually exists.

What is this force? The distress of the Jews!

Who dares deny that this force exists?

Another known quantity is the steam power which is generated by boiling water in a tea-kettle and then lifts the kettle lid. Such a tea-kettle phenomenon are the Zion experiments and a hundred other organized efforts to "combat anti-Semitism."

But I say that this force is strong enough to run a great machine and transport human beings. The machine may have whatever form one pleases.

I am right—although I may not prevail.

But our force grows with the pressure that is exerted upon us. I believe there are already enough sensible people to understand this simple truth.

In Munich I spent the day after your departure with Spitzer, the confidential clerk of the Paris Rothschild. For years I have been asking him, "When are the Rothschilds going to liquidate?"

He had always laughed at this. This time he asked me, "Who told you that this is being planned? Because it is a fact! Only the date is still uncertain."

(You will not breathe a word about this news, if only for our own sake.)

I answered Spitzer: "I know everything that is a logical conclusion from known premises." Naturally, that was all I told him.

Now you will recognize what this means to my plan!

Mere liquidation would be idiotic suicide. I want to utilize the self-destruction of this enormous credit figure for our historic purpose. I want to stay his hand, saying, "Stop! Use your suicide for a world-historic task! And in so doing, get rich again as you never have been before!"

This is complicated in execution, but quite simple in thought.

You said, "It was *narrishkayt* [foolishness] to address that vague letter to Albert Rothschild."

Yes, but how was I to know that he is such a *parakh* [bastard].

Bigger men than this show-off associated with me in Paris. When I visited the Prime Minister or Foreign Minister, he then left his calling card at my place, and things of that sort. When I wrote to the former President of the Republic, Casimir-Périer, he gave me an immediate and courteous reply.

Therefore, the fact that this Jew-boy is vilely arrogant does not prove folly on my part.

For the rest, our agreement still stands. I shall take no further steps without first consulting with you. As a starter I shall discuss with you the manner in which I am to present the matter to Bacher.

After thorough deliberation, I find that Bacher is the necessary man now.

I shall ask him to give me an entire Sunday for the discussion of a highly important matter, and explain everything to him. Then let him decide whether it calls for action or for novel-writing.

If I persuade him to act, he will assemble for us a group of men, himself included, who have enough authority and power to put the plan into effect.

If he thinks it's a novel, it is going to be one.

Of course, for him as well as for everyone to whom I pose the question it is a rather uncomfortably great responsibility.

But to participate in this historic project would be a tremendous honor for anyone. And without risk there is no honor.

You can see the power of my idea from the simple fact that there is no evading it once I have expressed it. By saying Yes or No a man commits himself most heavily.

Do I need to tell you how dear you have become to me in Munich?

You have noticed it, felt it.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
Herzl.

September 20,
Vienna

Since my last entry a great number of little things have happened which, with a peculiar aversion for writing, I allowed to go by unrecorded. I now intend to add them in a workmanlike fashion, although without the freshness of the actual moment, a freshness I had meant to preserve for a later remembrance when I opened this book.

From Aussee I went to Vienna at the beginning of September. In the course of my very first talk with Bacher, which took place on the day of my arrival, I realized that he would be completely unreceptive to my ideas—in fact, might fight them tooth and nail. Thereupon I immediately gave our conversation a different turn and continued it on a theoretical plane.

Bacher considers the anti-Semitic movement ephemeral, though "disagreeable."

When I called his attention to the fact that all our young intellectuals are being turned into proletarians, he admitted that it was a "calamity," but said that this proletariat would have to struggle through or go under like any other proletariat.

In a somewhat bad mood, I then went to lunch with two of my colleagues, Oppenheim and Dr. Ehrlich. Naturally, the Jewish Question was again our topic of conversation. They grasped my general conception better than Bacher who, as they said, associated mostly with Gentiles—through his wife and her relatives. They also shared my concern about the immediate future.

Afterwards I drove out to Baden where I a number of times met with Güdemann.

He had grown a bit lukewarm since Munich, but I put his enthusiasm back on its feet.

At Güdemann's I once nailed an elderly rabbi named Fleissig against the wall with my arguments. That old gentleman wears his trousers tucked in his boots and a long frock-coat which is a shame-faced caftan; and his thinking, which is narrow in a shrewd way, is equally antiquated. This sort of Jew performs, inside the cage of his world outlook, the thousand-leagued journeys of a squirrel on its wheel.

His sons are well-known chess players. And thus we have countless heads full of shrewdness which is hidebound and expended to no purpose.

I agreed with Güdemann to present the matter to Dr. Ehrlich as a journalist specializing in financial affairs.

One Sunday I went to Vöslau to see Ehrlich, and after I had sworn him to secrecy, I brought him here.

For two hours before and two hours after dinner we sat in a little summer house on which the hot sun beat down, and I read to him the "Address to the Family Council."

The result: He was gripped, shaken, did not consider me crazy at all, and actually had no objections from the point of view of finance and economics. The objections he did make only showed

me that he took my outline completely seriously. For example, he said he was against the stock exchange monopoly.

In the end he gave me the positive answer which I had desired and in just the way I had foreseen it.

I asked him to answer yes or no to the question whether Bacher and Benedikt, one or both, might be won over for the cause.

Ehrlich thought not.

Who else in Vienna might be interested in it? Ehrlich didn't know of any outstanding and prominent Jew.

He thinks that the project could cause great danger for the Jews, that is, emigration could give rise to persecution.

But this very apprehension on the part of Ehrlich shows me how right I am in the major points. For, if I can manage to make the problem an acute one, this is the only effective instrument of power at my disposal, and it is a terrifying one. That is why, for the time being, I must not make it into a piece of writing, but treat it as action.

Ehrlich finally asked me to stop, saying that the discussion had been too much of a strain on him.

He said he was my man and was ready to go along with kith and kin.

* * *

This is what I told Güdemann the following day. To me Ehrlich's judgment was gratifying and important even though he had thought the immediate realization of my plan through Bacher and Benedikt quite improbable.

Meanwhile, Güdemann had been visited by a Paris member of the *Alliance Israélite*. About this man, Leven by name, Güdemann told me wonderful things; what a concerned and also devoted Jew he was. He was just the man to whom my project ought to be presented; he could then work in Paris for its advancement.

Unfortunately Leven had left town after participating in a session of the Viennese *Alliance Israélite* (which has nothing to do with the one in Paris).

I sent him a telegram in Güdemann's name: "One of my

friends wishes to speak to you on an urgent matter and is ready to follow you to Salzburg."

On the next day came an official wire saying that the addressee could not be located in Salzburg.

We had already forgotten the Leven incident when a week ago Güdemann received a reply from Leven to say that he was expecting Güdemann's friend in Salzburg or Munich.

Güdemann came to see me to the Herzogshof Hotel in a state of great excitement and said that his wife who knew about the matter and was enthusiastic about it was equally excited. She took it as a good omen that today, exactly four weeks after Güdeman's departure, I was going to Munich again and was again stopping at the Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten.

Actually, I was only going as far as Salzburg.

I immediately recognized Leven's exact type: a temperament slow to set in motion, but a well-meaning person; a hater of novelties and a man hardly capable of changing his views or learning afresh. Here my experience with Hirsch repeats itself. Those who have already made experiments with the Jews, Zion and the like, are hard to turn in a new direction.

Leven completely fails to understand the politico-economic aspects of my plan.

His notions of political economy are still quite rudimentary.

He has no idea of how the Jews who emigrated would make a living. He thinks that they are at present living at the expense of the "host nations"—which is a considerable piece of nonsense, easy to reduce *ad absurdum*. After all, economic life is not just a matter of some things that circulate; rather, new goods are produced. I maintain that we produce more than our "hosts," and would produce infinitely more if we were permitted to get rich.

Nevertheless, the talk with Leven was not useless either. He named to me Grand Rabbi Zadoc Kahn of Paris as the next man to turn to.

Zadoc, he said, was an ardent Zionist and shared many of my ideas, which were by no means original ones.

This I liked best of the things Leven said, and I told him:

"But I don't want to be an innovator. The larger the number of people who share my universal idea, the better I shall like it."

Leven thought that especially in Russia I would find many adherents. In Odessa, for example, there had lived a man named Pinsker who had fought for the same cause, namely, the regaining of a Jewish national home. Unfortunately, Pinsker was already dead. His writings are said to be worthwhile. Shall read them as soon as I have time.

Another Jew in England, Colonel Goldsmith, was also an enthusiastic Zionist and had wanted to charter ships for the reconquest of Palestine.

I will keep the Colonel in mind. All this is a confirmation of my thinking. We have the most wonderful human material that can be imagined.

Leven did not listen to a reading of the "Address to the Family Council" in its entirety. When he showed signs of impatience, I stopped reading and presented the matter to him in the form of answers to his objections.

Thus many a detail probably went by the board, but I think I did familiarize him with the main features. Of course, he has absolutely no understanding of the economic part, and in it lies the core of the whole matter.

Still, I believe that I have won him over, too, to the extent that such a refractory personality can be won over to a cause that calls for enthusiasm.

I then traveled back.

* * *

In Vienna, the City Council elections took place on the day before Erev Rosh Hashanah. All the mandates were won by the anti-Semites. The mood among the Jews is one of despair. The Christians have been badly stirred up.

The movement is not really a noisy one. For me, who am used to the clamor of popular agitation in Paris, things are even much too quiet. I find this calm more sinister. Yet one sees looks of hatred everywhere, even if one does not seek them in people's

eyes with the watchful fear of a man suffering from a persecution mania.

On election day I was outside the polls in the Leopoldstadt, taking a brief look at some of the hatred and the anger at close range.

Toward evening I went to the Landstrasse district. In front of the polling place a silent, tense crowd. Suddenly Dr. Lueger came out to the square. Enthusiastic cheers; women waved white kerchiefs from the windows. The police held the crowd back. A man next to me said with tender warmth but in a quiet tone of voice: "That is our *Führer* [leader]!"

Actually, these words showed me more than all the declamation and abuse how deeply anti-Semitism is rooted in the hearts of these people.

September 20,
Vienna

Dr. Glogau, Director of the Press Bureau, has just been to see me and has offered me the editorship of a new daily.

"Under certain circumstances I may be willing to accept," I told him.

October 15, Vienna

Various steps forward and backward.

Spoke to Güdemann a few times. I keep finding his ardor cooled and get him steamed up again each time. He cannot be induced to make any effort, being one of the many who will go along when everybody goes. No courage to lead the way.

The negotiations about the newspaper continue. I can accept the editorship only if my independence is assured.

Spoke to Professor Singer who gave me the impression even on his first visit at Baden that he intends to start a daily.

I definitely need a newspaper for the cause.

Singer is ready in principle to start a paper with me. I explained to him the laying of the foundation through advertise-

ments—the cellar, so to speak—as well as the Jewish idea—the tower.

He will go along with the Jewish cause up to a certain point. As for the complete evacuation of the present domiciles, he considers it neither desirable nor possible.

This would be no obstacle to our reaching an understanding.

But he wants a strong opposition paper. That would run counter to my purpose. I wish to be independent but moderate, otherwise the government will give me trouble that may endanger the whole Jewish cause.

Therefore I must not work with Singer either. Incidentally, if I understand him correctly, all he is interested in is a representative's seat from Lower Austria.

October 18

Last night I had a three-hour conversation with Dessauer, the bank director—and won him over.

He thinks it is possible to finance the migration of the Jews through the medium bankers. The Rothschilds cannot be counted on, he says.

He would like to start the *Society* with only four million pounds and keep later issues of shares in reserve. Nor should the entire territory be acquired immediately. He would like to start small.

I said to him: Then I'd rather not do it at all. A gradual infiltration of Jews—no matter where—soon causes anti-Semitism. Then there is bound to come a moment when further immigration is stopped, and thus our entire work will be destroyed.

It is different if we declare our independence from the start. Then the influx of Jews will be greatly desired by the neighboring states whose commerce we shall enrich.

Dessauer finds that it would be "a nice thing" and "good business." I believe all Jews will be quick to recognize that—in that way the State will be founded. D. also thinks it would have to be presented to the Rothschilds only as a business proposition, not as a national idea.

Remarkable: Like everyone else so far, Dessauer too said: "You can count on me, but I doubt that you will find anyone else in Vienna." And yet it makes sense to everyone I tell it to.

I noticed how Dessauer's eyes began to gleam. I arouse enthusiasm in everyone whom I tell about the Jewish cause.

October 19

Spoke with Dessauer once more. In the meantime he had become lukewarm.

Finished.

October 20

Today Benedikt's column "Stock Exchange Week" was excellent, against the big Jews who are unenterprising and narrow-minded. Entirely in my spirit.

Suddenly my decision was made: Win Benedikt for the cause! I went to him right away and immediately plunged *medias in res* [right into it].

He immediately understood me so well that he made a wry face.

While talking we walked as far as Mauer—a three-hours' walking tour over autumnal fields.

I said that I would like best to do it in and with the *Neue Freie Presse.*

He: "You're confronting us with an enormous problem. The entire paper would take on a different complexion. Until now we have been considered as a Jewish paper but have never admitted it. Now we are suddenly supposed to let down all our guards which have been protecting us."

I: "You don't need any more guards. The moment my idea is made public the entire Jewish Question will be solved honestly. After all, we can stay in those places where people are satisfied with our good citizenship and loyalty to the fatherland. Where they don't want us we shall move away. We are saying that we want to be Austrians. In the election the majority of non-Jewish

citizens—no, all of them—declare that they do not recognize us as Austro-Germans (Russians, Prussians, Frenchmen, Rumanians, etc.). All right, we shall move away; but over there, too, we shall only be Austrians (Russians, etc.). We shall no more give up our acquired nationalities than we shall give up our acquired property."

He made various objections that were already familiar to me, though on a higher level than those of the Jews with whom I had previously spoken. I had an answer for everything.

He definitely took the matter seriously, certainly didn't consider me crazy, as my first listener, poor Schiff, had done in Paris. He recognized what was old about my plan, i.e., a universal idea, and what was new, i.e., a promise of victory. But he thinks that the governments' immediate reply would be an export prohibition and impediments to emigration. But that is exactly why I am founding the *Society* which will be in a position to negotiate with the governments, offer them compensations, etc.

He said I should make the publishers a proposal as to my ideas about implementing the plan.

I: "It could take two forms. Either you found a smaller paper for me in addition to the *Neue Freie Presse,* in which I may elaborate on my idea. Or you give me a Sunday edition with 'The Solution of the Jewish Question,' by Dr. Theodor Herzl, on the front page. I shall draw excerpts from my outline which will fill six or nine columns. Then the details, questions and answers—for I shall invite all of Jewry to contribute, and it will do so—will appear in a new column, 'The Jewish Question,' which I shall edit.

"Never has a paper contained anything more interesting. The responsibility will be mine alone. You can preface my outline with a disclaimer on the part of the paper."

He: "No, that would be cowardly. If we publish it, we shall accept joint responsibility with you. Your idea is a powerful machine gun, but it could also backfire."

I: "One mustn't be timid. Incidentally, everyone will be able to choose his place: in front of the machine gun, or in back of

it." We walked and talked until we were tired. Benedikt is going to let Bacher in on the secret. Then I shall read my Address to the Rothschilds to both of them next week.

Benedikt would like the matter to get into the *Neue Freie Presse* from the outside in some way—perhaps through the fictitious founding of an organization before which I could give this address. I am against it. I need a newspaper for it to begin with—that is, if I cannot do things "aristocratically" through a Rothschild syndicate.

I won't get involved in organizational clap-trap.

* * *

This walk to Mauer was an historic one; I said so to Benedikt on the ride back.

I cannot conceal it from myself that it marked a decisive turning point for me as well. I have set myself in motion. Everything up to now has only been dreams and talk. Action has begun because I shall have the *Neue Freie Presse* either with me or against me.

* * *

I shall be the Parnell of the Jews.

October 27

Today Dr. Glogau was here and an hour later he brought Herr v. Kozmian, Count Badeni's confidential secretary, to see me. They made me a formal offer to take over the editorship of a big new government paper.

In view of my Jewish project I cannot simply decline this offer as I certainly would have done before—prior to the idea! An extremely favorable unexpected chance for the execution of my plan is opening up. Once I am close to Count Badeni, I can confidentially develop my idea to him. After all, it is as friendly to Gentiles as it is to Jews, as fruitful for the conserved and conservative state as it is for the one yet to be founded. I could bring

Count Badeni the *ideé maitresse* [outstanding idea] of his term of government!

Badeni already seems to have a high opinion of me, as I can tell from the hints dropped by Kozmian, a fine old man.

According to Kozmian, Badeni's government by no means wants to be anti-Liberal if it is not forced to be (I take this to mean: if they go along with him), but one never knows. *Il ne s'en ira pas* [he won't abandon them], Kozmian said finally.

I answered: "I could go along with the Count as long as it is compatible with my convictions—*et puis, je m'en irais* [and then I would part company with him]."

We agreed that I should inform the publishers Bacher and Benedikt of the offer the very same day—*tecto et ficto nomine* [under a hidden and disguised name]. For, out of a sense of propriety I do not want to confront them with a *fait accompli*. But I explained to the two people who had made me the offer that I was not making this notification in order to get any compensatory financial advantages for myself.

Glogau did not quite understand what I would really be notifying them of. After all, my notification would make sense only if I wanted to receive financial compensation. But Kozmian understood, or said he did, that I was doing it out of moral considerations.

This is in fact one of my reasons behind which, to be sure, a greater moral consideration is concealed, the consideration for my idea.

And this is how this delicate question of conscience shapes up for me:

I shall prove my gratitude to the publishers of the *Neue Freie Presse* by not simply going to work for Count Badeni (whom I like very much) in order to realize the Jewish idea with his aid. I shall first offer my idea to them, bringing them fame and fortune, as I see it, even at the great risk that I shall thereby carry out my idea more slowly or not at all. If they do not understand me, I shall be free—in fact duty-bound—to break away from them.

Kozmian, Glogau, and I agreed that I should announce my decision within 24 hours.

I immediately drove to Benedikt, who was not at home, and wrote to Bacher requesting an appointment for that evening.

In the afternoon I went to Benedikt and explained to him the matter whose *sine qua non*—the Jewish cause—he is already acquainted with.

He found the situation difficult, complex, and the decision an extremely weighty one for the *Neue Freie Presse*.

I had prefaced my remarks with a few facts which I kept emphasizing strongly, namely, that I did not want any personal advantage for myself, and that I would resolutely decline any financial compensation—a raise in pay or the like—even if I were offered it at this time.

I am conducting the Jewish cause in a completely impersonal manner. It is up to the *Neue Freie Presse* to decide whether or not it wishes to aid me in its realization. I need some authority in the eyes of the world which I want to sweep along with my idea. Out of gratitude to the *Neue Freie Presse,* which made my career possible even though it cannot take full credit for it, I should like best to work with my present friends. But I am conducting the politics of the Jews and cannot let personal considerations induce me to give up my idea.

Benedikt's mind was again working in its full brilliance. "Thinking out loud" and without expecting me to answer him, he discussed the form that the newspaper involved could take. He immediately mentioned the old *Presse* which he had heard was to be reorganized. Then he spoke about the possibility of a "Jewish paper" and of a rival paper of the *Neue Freie Presse* with a large founding capital. In this way he gave me advice without asking me any questions.

In the final analysis, he thought, it was a personal problem. Did I want to continue on my smooth course as a distinguished writer on the *Neue Freie Presse,* easily, comfortably, leaving the office at seven with not a care in the world? Or did I want to

ruin my life the way he and Bacher had done—with neither a day nor a night to call my own?

I said: "I am not an easygoing person. I have got twenty more years in which to set the world on fire. I would never do it in order to make money. But I have my ideal"

Benedikt said finally: "Personally, I am in basic agreement with your idea. Whether our paper can be the vehicle for it I cannot decide. I don't dare to. For us your idea is a bombshell. I believe you should first try to found a *société d'études* [study commission] in Paris or in London. We shall give you a leave of absence for that purpose and exert our influence on your behalf. I don't know whether we shall become its journalistic representatives in the foreseeable future or ever, and I doubt if we can promise it to you. Someday there may be serious anti-Semitic riots—murder, killings, plundering; then we may be forced to make use of your idea anyway. In any case, it provides an issue behind which we can jump and thus save ourselves. But do you want us to tell you that we shall do it and thereby mislead you, so that you will reproach us for it later?"

Then I went to Bacher, but he had to leave for the party conference of the United Left. I was only able to tell him in haste that I had an offer and that Benedikt already knew the details. Bacher was, or acted, more disconcerted than Benedikt. We arranged a meeting for tomorrow.

Then I wrote Glogau a line asking him for a twenty-four hours' postponement. They will suspect that I am negotiating for compensation, after all. Painful as this suspicion of money is to me, there is nothing I can do about it.

October 28

A good night's sleep, sleeping on it.

Today is an even bigger day than yesterday. I am facing an enormous decision—and so is the Jewish cause. That also goes for the *Neue Freie Presse*.

They will understand me. *Superos movebo* [I shall move the heavens]!

Actually, the battle of the Jews between me and the powerful Jews has already begun.

At first I thought that I would have to confront the Rothschilds with the dilemma. But I shall have to fight the first battle against the *Neue Freie Presse*.

* * *

In the evening:

The battle has been fought and lost—by whom?

From five to eight p.m. I read the Address to the Rothschilds to Bacher in his apartment.

At least I achieved this: the man who a few weeks ago had refused me *a limine* [outright] now listened to me—and how!

He, the nay-sayer, had changed completely too. He found the idea great and staggering. But he said that he could not make a split-second decision on such an extremely vital question for the newspaper.

He pointed out to me what I would lose if I left the *Neue Freie Presse*.

They really don't need me, but they did create the post of *feuilleton* editor when I did not wish to stay in Paris.

He found my Jewish idea generous—but hardly feasible. The *Neue Freie Presse* would be risking too much. The Jews might not respond to it—and what then?

I pointed out to him that the *Neue Freie Presse* would not be able to evade this problem. Sooner or later it would have to show its colors.

"Well," he said, "for twenty years we didn't print anything about the Social democracy either."

Actually, this was the most remarkable thing he said.

From that moment on it has been clear that I must not expect the *Neue Freie Presse* to do anything for the cause.

What the *Neue Freie Presse* was reproached with as short-sightedness—its prolonged hushing-up of anti-Semitism*—was its policy. I said: "In the end you will not be able to keep silent about

* Translator's Note: Probably a slip for "Socialist movement."

this matter any more than you were able to hush up anti-Semitism!"

We were already in the street walking toward the editorial offices when I said that. He muttered, as though talking to himself: "It's a helluva thing."

I answered: "Yes, it's a hell of an idea. There is no escaping from it today. Whether you say Yes or No, you make an awful commitment."

Thereupon he said: "It is a big thing, and I can understand why a decent man would want to risk his life for it. But I doubt if you are going to find many more such Herzls."

The upshot: they cannot bring themselves to take that bold step. I, for my part, cannot allow myself and my idea to be stopped from forging ahead. Therefore, I shall have no other course but to part company with them.

Bacher had found the Address to the R's interesting, rather than exhaustive, a political appeal à la Lassalle. He said he knew that the cause was something enormous and that he might be turning down a lot of success and glory.

• • •

October 29

Kozmian and Glogau came to see me first thing in the morning. They congratulated me on my—imminent—decision.

I said that I would first have to speak with Count Badeni before deciding whether to accept the editorship.

• • •

In the evening:

Everything in doubt again. I had made the condition that the paper would have to be turned over to me in a year if the publishing company did not wish to run it any longer.

What I had in mind was that I would then have the paper for my Jewish cause unless I had previously succeeded in winning over Count Badeni for my idea—or if I had attained the requisite authority with the big Jews.

But the Press Chief, Privy Councillor Freiberg, won't go along with this. If the paper goes badly, he will claim it for the government.

This would have the additional drawback that I would be dependent on the Press Bureau. But I wish to work with Badeni exclusively, not with his privy councillors. After all, the personal contact with Badeni—i.e., its value to the Jewish cause—is the very reason why I wanted to run the government paper in the first place.

This is what I replied to Kozmian too. If I cannot always deal directly with Badeni if the paper is successful, and keep it for myself if it is unsuccessful, I won't have any part of it.

October 30

In the morning Kozmian came to fetch me for my audience with Badeni.

He asked: "Are we going to Badeni?"

I said: "No—unless my condition is met."

He compromised: "Come along anyway; I shall introduce you to the Prime Minister not as editor-in-chief but only as the former Paris correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*."

So we drove to the Ministry. It was my first time in the palace of an Austrian minister. Rooms in a grand style, but bare and cold. On the staircase we made a comparison with the French government palaces.

"*Ça manque de tapis* [there are no carpets]," I said to Kozmian. Through such jests I tried to keep up a good front for the decisive first meeting with a man through whom I want to help the Jews.

We were admitted right after the Excellencies. The other people in the antechamber looked up when they noticed our precedence.

Court air!

Badeni hurried up to meet us, gave me a very lively and vigorous greeting. Evidently a smart, energetic person.

He made me many compliments. He had already heard of the difficulty that had arisen; and since he mentioned the new paper, I spoke about it as well.

I said: "*Ce ne sont pas des considérations pécuniaires qui peuvent me décider à accepter la direction du journal* [It is not financial considerations which can decide me to accept the editorship of the paper]."

We spoke only in French.

Badeni considered it understandable that I did not want to be dependent on his privy councillors. He begged me not to distrust Freiberg, not to let myself be stirred up against him. Of course, there would be no need for me to go to the Press Bureau, but I would send my men *aux informations* [for information]. But if he (Badeni) sent Freiberg or Schill to me, I should not receive them coolly.

This I promised. But I said that I wished to deal only with him directly.

"I think I shall be able to champion your present policies, Your Excellency, and if I go along with you, *je vous serai un partisan resolu et sincere* [I shall be your resolute and sincere supporter]. It may be that from a certain point on I shall not be able to go along any farther; then I shall tell you so candidly and go my way. But if I am still with you by the end of your term of government—which is a long way off, I hope—I shall not leave you then."

Several times I mentioned the end of his government, which visibly disconcerted him, but since he had presumably never heard such talk from any journalist, perhaps not from anyone, this must have given him some respect for me.

Right from the start I wanted him to get the right impression of me: that I was a *partisan* [supporter] and not a *laquai* [lackey], as I had already told Bourgoing in my first interview.

I am conducting the politics of the Jews, today still unrecognized. What I am concluding today is not a semi-official hiring contract—which is what many will, unfortunately, take it for—but an alliance.

Badeni said he thought of our relationship as a permanent one; he would see to it that the publishing company offered me a secure position.

To my expressed desire that I be allowed to call on him at any time, *comme un ambassadeur* [like an ambassador], he said, "*Non seulement je le permets, mais j'y tiens* [I not only permit it, I insist on it]."

We also talked about the conditions under which I would sever my connections with the *Neue Freie Presse*. I made it clear from the start that I always wanted to remember my old friends and would not carry on any injurious polemics against them—unless I was attacked first.

Badeni said he himself hoped that no opposition between us and the *Neue Freie Presse* would arise.

Come to think of it, that was a highly important statement. It means that he wants to govern in cooperation with the German Liberals.

To be sure, he also said several times, "*Je ne ficherai pas le camp* [I shall not quit]."

Thus there was an air of confidence about the whole conversation. While we were talking, my cigar went out a few times. Each time Badeni lit a fresh match for me—a detail which made me think, smiling inwardly: What would the small Jews of my acquaintance, and even the biggest ones, say to that?

Badeni regards the matter as settled.

* * *

An hour later I was in the office.

Bacher sent for me: "Well, how does your matter stand?"

"I could still refuse," I answered. But he said nothing more.

Even now I would still prefer it if the *Neue Freie Presse* took up my Jewish idea, now more than ever. I now have access to Badeni; the external advantages I care nothing about; and if I now gained the prestige of the *Neue Freie Presse* for my cause, it would surely be victorious!

In the evening I shall speak with Bacher once more and pre-

sent the alternatives sharply: I am ready to renounce all the advantages I am offered if you promise me to publicize my solution of the Jewish question within six months. I demand nothing of you, no compensation, no personal advantage!

(It should be noted that they cut my salary when I moved to Vienna and denied me the expected contribution to my moving expenses.)

Benedikt seems to be angry with me; I noticed this when I passed him. He understands the matter completely! Kozmian also told me that Benedikt was furious. Kozmian has this from a third party.

* * *

In the afternoon, when I was in the office, Benedikt again had an interview with this third party. In the evening, when Kozmian and I met at the house of Baron Bourgoing, he told me that my superiors are now afraid of my competition. They evidently suspect that in domestic Austrian politics I shall not deviate too far from their point of view.

In the conference at Bourgoing's house I developed the whole plan of the newspaper! I was going to retain all the old staff members of the *Presse*. Among them are two who made base attacks on me in earlier times, I said, "*Je ne peux pas les renvoyer—ce sont mes ennemis personnels* [I cannot dismiss them, they are my personal enemies]." They laughed.

But, at bottom, all evening I longed to remain with the *Neue Freie Presse*. An ingredient in this is obviously my cowardice in the face of the *qu'en dira-t-on* [what will people say], the turned-up noses of those who would probably like to change places with me and will vent their envy in the form of disparagement.

Yet in the conference I gave the best suggestions for the production of a good, lively paper. If, contrary to expectations, I should return to the fold of the *Neue Freie Presse*, these suggestions will have been my payment for the opportunity which this offer has been.

October 31

Kozmian was supposed to send me word today on what Benedikt yesterday told the go-between about me.

By eleven o'clock I had not received anything. It is possible that the delay of this message is due to some intrigue. I shall get to the bottom of this. If the *Neue Freie Presse* hatches some plot to prevent my being hired, this will be the *casus belli* [cause for war] for me.

Now I am writing to Dr. Bacher:

Dear Dr. Bacher:

With your permission I do not intend to come to the office today, or as long as the decision is still pending. It is too embarrassing a situation for me. For tomorrow you have, in any case, the *feuilleton* about Heine, unless something more timely arrived today. On Saturday there is no *feuilleton*, and for Sunday there probably is a Wittmann piece on hand. The contributions to date are in good shape.

But if you want to talk to me I shall be at your disposal this afternoon from 3 to 5 or this evening from 6 to 10. Let me repeat once more that I shall stay with you if you want me to, at my present salary and in my present position. I am still ready to refuse all the external advantages offered to me—out of those moral considerations with which you are acquainted.

Today I can still decline the offer.

With cordial regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Herzl.

November 1

By yesterday evening there was no reply from Bacher. The thought of making an enemy of the man whom I admire despite his pig-headedness has been very disagreeable to me and has grown more unbearable by the hour. Added to this is the possi-

bility that I might not even be helping the Jewish cause with my officiousness.

Out of sorts, I attended a conference at Baron Bourgoing's house where problems of typeface, heading, and newsprint of the new paper were discussed with the manager of the printing plant. I made my best suggestions, but I felt more and more clearly that these were not my kind of people and that I could not work with them.

When I left the conference, I was deeply disquieted inwardly. It occurred to me to seek Güdemann's advice although I had been angry with him for several days. He had "paid his respects" to Count Badeni, as I happened to have found out. He had gone to see Badeni without notifying me, thus actually demonstrating that he did not take me or my leadership seriously. At Badeni's he had tearfully implored him for protection; and finally he had been so overcome by emotion that he asked the Count for permission to bless him.

Nevertheless, I wanted to hear his views. Güdemann was not at home. From there I drove straight to Bacher who had also gone out. But half an hour later I ran into him on a street in the Leopoldstadt. We walked on together and had a heart-to-heart talk.

I told him that giving up his friendship would be unbearable to me.

He was pleased, and, as a friend, he advised me against the newspaper experiment. He said that I had a great future with the *Neue Freie Presse*, but, above all, I would have much more of a chance to implement my idea there than I had through Badeni.

We finally agreed that, if the formation of the *Society* proved impossible, I was to publish a pamphlet which the *Neue Freie Presse* would review.

Besides, he will give me the satisfaction of writing me a letter which I can show to Badeni and in which he declares on his word of honor that I neither demanded nor received financial compensation of any kind for remaining on the staff.

On parting he said to me, "It would have hurt me deeply if you had forsaken us."

November 3

At noon, called on Badeni. This time I had to wait in the antechamber somewhat longer. Gold-braided gentlemen, nervous frock-coated deputations, an old colonel with a petition. Everybody gently clears his throat, draws a deep breath, so as to be in good voice when he faces His Mightiness.

Through it all I had a distinct feeling that I was not made for an antechamber nor for a privy councillor's gold-braided collar.

I was the only civilian there without a frock-coat. Then everybody looked up in astonishment when I was nevertheless admitted ahead of the colonel and the privy councillors who had arrived before me.

The Count again greeted me very amiably: "Well, doctor, what are you bringing me?"

I spoke a few words of regret (actually, it now occurs to me, I did not thank him kindly enough for the honor he had intended for me), and gave him Bacher's letter.

Then we talked politics—the issue of the day: the confirmation of Lueger's election.

Badeni was mildly, almost imperceptibly, put out by my refusal and immediately treated me with caution, as an opponent. Personally, he said, he would be disposed not to confirm Lueger. "I don't like him—most of all, because he is a demagogue. Unfortunately, the Lueger question has been blown up into a difficult problem for me. I wish it had been solved before I took office. It would be helpful if the aura of prestige that surrounds me were not weakened by this sort of thing. As it is, so many indiscretions have already been committed in this affair on all sides that no matter what happens it will appear as though I were yielding to pressure. This is detrimental to my prestige. I cannot decide in the matter all by myself, anyway. I must consult my colleagues; many factors must be taken into consideration,

especially the interests of the state and the will of the emperor."

I replied boldly: "I believe Lueger's election as mayor must be validated. If you fail to do it the first time, you can never confirm him again, and if you fail to confirm him the third time, the Dragoons will ride."

The Count smiled: "Oh?!" with a *goguenard* [quizzical] expression. I then substantiated my views and took leave of him. He said: "Whenever you care to come and see me, I shall always be very grateful."

But I suspect that the next time I pay him a call he will not have time for me.

* * *

That evening I related the whole affair to Güdemann, who keenly regretted that I had declined the offer. He thought it would have been nice if I had had "the ear of the Prime Minister."

I got angry at his poltroonery and told him: "You are a Jew who is protected—I am a Jew who protects. Obviously you cannot understand me."

I explained to him what an attainment it was that the *Neue Freie Presse* was taking an interest in the cause, even though in a guarded manner, and that I considered this important enough to put aside my own personal interests, which would have been better served in Badeni's employ.

This again seemed to make some sense to him—though for how long I cannot say. I have already wasted too much time on him. It was our last long conversation together. Of a man he has only the beard and the voice. He implored me over and over again to leave the rabbis out of the whole business, for they command no respect.

But what most enraged me against him was his initial refusal to give me a letter of recommendation to Zadoc Kahn in the event that I should go to Paris next week.

Only when I told him that I did not need his introduction and would get along without it did he consent.

This conversation depressed me greatly.

In conclusion I said to him: "It is hopeless. You, to whom I have spoken longest and most frequently about the matter, you keep deserting me. I am sorry to say that you still don't understand what it is all about. We are now standing at Donau-Eschingen, at the first trickle of the river. But I tell you it will yet be the Danube!"

November 5

Yesterday evening some very bad moments. I went to the office again. No one saw anything noteworthy in it—that is, in my rejection of the offer. Rather, I had the feeling that I had lost favor with my colleagues.

It is true that I rejected the government offer on account of the Jewish cause, just as I would have accepted it for that reason.

But what are the prospects of the *Neue Freie Presse*'s assisting me in its implementation? It would be terrible if I had been under an illusion about this and could more easily have gained prestige in the eyes of the Jews in Badeni's employ.

Bacher and Benedikt received me with pronounced cordiality when I appeared in the office. But Benedikt immediately excused himself for lacking the time to discuss the *société d'études,* [study commission] and Bacher only asked when I would supply a *feuilleton* again.

Güdemann gave me something to think about; the project *desinit in piscem* [ends up as a fish tail].* If the *Neue Freie Presse* disposes of my pamphlet with a notice in the "domestic" section, I shall be greatly harmed. I hope they will scrupulously and completely fulfill the promise they have made me. Otherwise I would have to take it as a *casus belli* [cause for war].

* * *

Spoke with Arthur Schnitzler and briefly explained the matter to him.

* Translator's Note: A phrase from Horace's *Ars Poetica.*

When I said: It is a renaissance as a finishing touch to this classical century of inventions in communications—he was enthusiastic. I promised him that he would become the director of our theatre.

* * *

Had supper again in the company of Jews at Tonello's.

The same speeches as those of a week ago. The boycotting of theaters praised as a saving device. This petty agitating is degenerating into busybodying clubmanship. Yet to me it is important as a symptom. I am making the acquaintance of some usable agitators: Ruzicka, Billitzer the hatmaker (a crude popular orator), Kopstein, Pollak the wine-merchant, Neumann the attorney, Dr. Kalman, etc.

Funny that they should all regard it as a rather extreme course of action when they go to a minister to complain.

There was also a speech by attorney Ellbogen, the "celebrated orator." He is in favor of founding a "Liberal People's Party" which is presumably supposed to send him to the Chamber of Deputies. He considers the situation of the Jews serious but not hopeless—"otherwise we should have no other course but to proclaim the nationhood of the Jews and to seek a territorial basis." Ellbogen can also be used for agitation.

Dr. Bloch made a clever reply to him, saying that Ellbogen's "Liberals" would be only the Jews all over again. To work with the Socialist Movement would be no help against anti-Semitism. Evidence of this was Germany where despite Marx, Lassalle, and more recently Singer, anti-Semitism had originated and grown strong.

Afterwards I introduced myself to him. He was very pleasantly surprised to find me in that place.

November 5

Today Dr. Ehrlich came to my office at the newspaper and said: "I heard that we have got you back."

I told him the course of events. He made a serious face. He thinks the publishers will not keep their promise.

I started to boil and said: "If they break their word to me, the pillars of this house are going to collapse."

I went to Benedikt right away; later Bacher also came there. I demanded the promised "personal support" which, I said, must consist in a meeting of prominent Jews to take place the following Sunday at Bacher's home or at mine. I would give a speech (my Address to the Rothschilds with the elimination of the Rothschilds from the text), whereupon those assembled would have to place at my disposal their connections in Paris, London, and Berlin. In those places, I shall then found the *"société d'études,"* which does not require one centime as capital, or, rather, get assurances of its founding which must follow immediately upon the publication of my pamphlet.

Benedikt said halfheartedly that he did not know any suitable persons among the big bankers here. But he said he would give me a recommendation to (with pathos) "Privy Councillor of Commerce Goldberger," in Berlin.

I replied: "I have known this Goldberger for eight years, so I don't need your recommendation."

Then he recommended Moritz Leinkauf to me.

I said: "He is my cousin's husband!"

In short, his suggestions were completely worthless or superfluous. I am still loath to believe that he is doing it out of perfidy. That would be monstrous.

Bacher kept silent.

I told them: "I don't need any agitators at the moment. That will come later. At present I need only the interest of the financial circles. But actually I am not dependent on anyone. I am simply notifying the people before I burst the dam."

I think they both sensed the threat. Nevertheless I took Benedikt's advice and immediately drove to Leinkauf with whom I shall have a talk in the afternoon.

• • •

Spoke with Leinkauf in the afternoon. We sat in the consultation room of the monumental Fruit Exchange.

Leinkauf regretted that I had not asked his advice before declining Badeni's offer. He would have strongly advised me to accept it.

Incidentally, Badeni should be handled with care. Leinkauf told me the following story. When Badeni was still governor of Galicia, a farm crisis broke out in that region. Because of a crop failure the farmers found it impossible to feed their cattle. A farm-aid project was initiated. Supplies of feed were to be bought and distributed among the needy. Badeni came to Vienna, sent for the grain dealer Wetzler (of the firm of Wetzler and Abeles), and invited him to put in a bid. Wetzler did so. Then Badeni sent for him again and said: "I don't believe that you can make this delivery. According to my calculations you would have to charge about thirty per cent more to stay in business."

Wetzler got the point, took his first bid back from the Count, and put in a second one which was that much higher.

This the Count took back with him to Lvov and there the contract was given to some business associates—of whom B. himself is said to have been one—for a price much higher than Wetzler's first bid and somewhat lower than his second one.

Then I spent two hours giving Leinkauf my outline of the Jewish project.

Leinkauf was definitely against it. He thinks the project is not feasible—and very dangerous at the same time. All namby-pamby arguments. I explained to him: Either my pamphlet will cause no reaction; then there is no danger. Or it will have the reaction that I expect; then the matter will be feasible.

• • •

In the evening I reported to Bacher on this conversation. I said: "Leinkauf cannot understand the matter. He has a landlubber's mind; but one has to live by the sea in order to comprehend my plan." I showed Leinkauf his own Fruit Exchange and illustrated it this way: The grain trade had its rudimentary

focal point in Vienna in the Café Stierböck. You created an organ for the need, the Fruit Exchange on the Schottenring, and then this facility organized the trade and expanded it so greatly that now they have that palatial building on Taborstrasse. For this is how it happens in economic life: first comes the need, then the organ, then the trade. The need must be recognized, the organ must be created—the trade then comes by itself if the need has been a genuine one. Surely, no one will deny that in the case of the Jews there is a need which has grown into dire necessity. The organ will be the *Society*. First the small Study Commission; then, when it has convinced itself that the mood is there, the big one.

That seemed to make sense to Bacher. He promised me to speak with David Gutmann and to tell him of my impending visit. Gutmann was a fanatical Jew, he said, although he did not live by the sea either.

* * *

Bacher joked: "The Jews will listen to you more peevishly than the Gentiles. You will become an honorary anti-Semite!"

November 6

A deeply discouraging day. Community Councillor Stern and others came to the office. They are all people who expect salvation to come from the government and who go on bended knee to the ministers. Therefore, they would have believed in me if I had become Badeni's journalistic right-hand man. And so now I have no authority with them.

* * *

In the evening I was with Professor Singer and told him everything.

He raised my spirits again, saying I had done the right thing!

If I had accepted a semi-official position I would have disgraced myself and the cause.

November 7

Met Dr. Schwitzer in the street and took him into my confidence.

He is against my plan for the loftiest reasons. He does not want nations, but human beings.

I said to him: "*Primum vivere, deinde philosophari* [First live, then philosophize]. Over there I shall build you a splendid ivory tower where you can pursue the loftiest thoughts untroubled by barbarians."

He said that in addition to the misery of the Jews there were many other kinds of misery.

I said: "For the time being I can worry only about my people. Incidentally, with the seven-hour day and other social easements and innovations, we shall give a great example to the world.

"It is a matter of drawing the right conclusions from the wonderful technical achievements of this century. The electric light was not invented in order to illuminate the drawing rooms of a few rich snobs. It was invented so that with its aid we might solve the Jewish Question."

* * *

Bacher told me that he had spoken with David Gutmann and prepared him for my visit. I immediately wrote to Gutmann and asked him to set a date.

Gutmann's reply had a comical element. He gave me an appointment for Sunday and signed his letter "Most respectfully yours," which sounds a bit condescending. Unless this complimentary close is indicative of commercial man's lack of refinement, it reveals that the man is not going to understand me. Yet I don't want to be too lazy. Perhaps he will get scared. But I am not likely to stir up the good man who signs himself "Most respectfully yours."

November 9

Spoke with David Gutmann "and Son" yesterday. The old man was a bit condescending at first but I cured him of that by

crossing my legs and very nonchalantly leaning back in my armchair. He listened to me with growing seriousness.

The young fellow wanted to joke about "the Jewish State and the Jewish *balmachomes.*" I lit into him: "Don't make any foolish jokes! Anyone who makes such jokes will live to regret it. The jokesters will be stepped on by this movement and crushed underfoot."

Frightened, he stopped his witticisms. His father finally declared that he would have to give such a big matter a lot of thought. He also said that I should speak to the Rothschilds.

At any rate, the big Jews have been informed; this much has been accomplished. Because obviously David Gutmann is going to talk about it to Albert Rothschild and to Hirsch.

Unfortunately I forgot to say how I propose to liquidate Gutmann's coal business.

The mines can either be bought by the Austrian state or acquired by the *Society*. In the latter event the purchase price could consist partly of landed property over there, partly of *Society* shares and cash. A third possibility would be the founding of a "Gutmann Joint-Stock Company" whose stock would be quoted in our State as well. A fourth possibility: continue to operate them in the present way, except that henceforth the owners would be foreigners.

November 10

Spoke yesterday with Güdemann. He gave me the letter of introduction to Zadoc Kahn. I am sending it to Schiff whom I am telling about the great events of the past months. Schiff is to transmit the letter to Zadoc.

• • •

Bacher is dampening my spirits again with his objections. To get away from it all, I plan to go to Paris on Wednesday.

• • •

Many Jews are foolishly jubilant over the non-confirmation of Lueger's election to the mayoralty. As though Lueger were tantamount to anti-Semitism. I believe, on the contrary, that the movement against the Jews will grow rapidly now.

The force of events will urge what I wanted to bring about by my constructive idea.

Some other anti-Semite will wind up as mayor of Vienna in Lueger's place. Lueger, however, will step up his agitation. All the anti-Semites are already closing their ranks against Badeni. Count Kielmannsegg, the governor of Lower Austria, who is not hostile to the Jews, will probably be overthrown in the near future.

Yesterday there even circulated the anti-Semitic rumor that Count Badeni had resigned. If he stays, the Dragoons are going to ride, as I told him.

They are already yelling in the streets: "Down with Badeni!"

I believe that the non-confirmation of Lueger was a fatal mistake which will cause serious crises. Badeni underestimated the strength of the anti-Semitic current.

Prince Lichtenstein yelled "lie" at the Prime Minister in an open session of Parliament. The anti-Semitic papers talk about Badeni in an insolent tone that is unheard of in Austria.

• • •

Wrote to Stiassny, the Construction Councillor. Tomorrow I shall read him my Address to the Jews. He has connections with zealous Jewish political agitators everywhere.

• • •

Ferment in Turkey. Should the Oriental question be broached and solved by a partition of Turkey, at the European Congress we could possibly get a piece of neutral land (like Belgium, Switzerland) for ourselves.

• • •

Yesterday in our literary section we published a few posthumous letters of Lassalle.

I spoke to Bacher about it after he had tried to tone me down.

"What do you suppose Lassalle would be today if he were alive?" I asked.

Bacher grinned: "Probably a Prussian Privy Councillor."

But I said: "He would be the leader of the Jews; of course I don't mean the Lassalle of the age he would be today, but the man with the strength he had then."

November 11

Have been to see Güdemann. He asked me to come to an election meeting intended to raise campaign funds for Bloch's candidacy in Kolomea. I said that I did not wish to appear in public before I had developed my project. I don't want to make a speech if I cannot present the conclusion. But I shall write a letter to Güdemann which he is to read to the meeting. I shall say that I am contributing fifty guilders, although on a number of points I do not approve of Bloch's stand. At a very conservative estimate there are 200 Jews in Vienna who can contribute an equal amount much more easily. Then the campaign money would be raised.

Rabbi Fleissig was at Güdemann's. The latter put his hand on my shoulder and said admiringly: "He is a wonderful fellow!"

Güdemann told me that David Gutmann had blabbed about my plan. I was furious and immediately wrote to Ludwig Gutmann:

Dear Dr. Gutmann:

Because I have had no sign of life from you since our discussion of last Friday, I assume that my plan does not make sense to you two.

By way of precaution, however, I must remind you of something that I may not have stressed sufficiently—namely, that what I told you was strictly confidential. I cannot empower you to tell anyone about it unless you first get my consent in each individual case. A careless treatment of the project could create

dangers for the Jews which would necessarily affect you in the most serious way as well.

For this reason I have complete trust in the discretion of two men of honor who do not share my views but know well that they owe me absolute silence.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Dr. Th. Herzl.

* * *

I had asked Bloch to meet me at Stiassny's home in the afternoon.

Bloch had hoped that I had come on account of his election campaign. I noticed his disappointment when I only—*excusez du peu!* [is that all?]—read the Solution of the Jewish question.

Stiassny was full of enthusiasm.

Bloch left before I had finished reading, saying he had to go home because he was leaving for Kolomea tomorrow. He also had many objections to my plan.

As he left he asked me only to speak with David Gutmann—about money! Nevertheless, I am writing the following letter to Güdemann in support of Bloch's candidacy; it is to be read at the rally:

Dear Dr. Güdemann:

I cannot take part in the discussion because I have to leave town. Dr. Bloch's election seems to me to be necessary. I am saying this with the explicit reservation that my political views differ from those of Dr. Bloch, but he has always been a stalwart champion of the Jewish cause in Parliament. We owe him a debt of gratitude for that, even though we may not be in agreement with him on some, indeed many, points. They can kill us one by one, but if we stick together, never!

I am contributing fifty guilders to the campaign fund. If two hundred Viennese Jews give an equal amount, the essentials will be assured. When I speak of but two hundred Jews of better-

than-average means, I am underestimating the financial power of Viennese Jewry as well as overestimating my own. I should prefer doing without the very highest of the high-and-mighty to whom the plight of the Jews evidently still does not come closely enough home.

With respectful greetings,

Yours sincerely,
Dr. Th. H.

Paris, November 16

Conversation with Chief Rabbi Zadoc Kahn. I read the Address to him. On the train to Paris I had already eliminated all references to the Rothschilds from it.

Zadoc Kahn seemed to listen to my two-hour reading with interest.

Afterwards he also professed himself to be a Zionist. But he said that a Frenchman's "patriotism" also had its claims.

Yes, a man has to choose between Zion and France.

Zadoc Kahn is of the breed of *little* Jews. I shall be surprised if I get any serious help from him. Actually, we exchanged only a few words after I had finished reading, because he had to leave for the synagogue. We made an appointment to meet again tomorrow; my Salzburg acquaintance, Leven, is to join us. I don't expect much from the meeting.

Paris, November 17

Talked with Nordau.

His was the second case of understanding me in a flash. The first was Benedikt. But Nordau comprehended me as an adherent, Benedikt, for the time being, as an opponent.

Nordau will, I believe, go with me through thick and thin. He was my easiest conquest and possibly the most valuable to date. He would make a good president of our Academy or Minister of Education.

He recommended me to the *Maccabean Club* of London,

which I first heard mentioned by him. But this club is quite plainly the ideal instrument for my needs: artists, writers, Jewish intellectuals of all kinds compose its membership. The name of the club itself really tells enough. Colonel Goldsmid is said to be a member, also Mocatta, who has likewise been mentioned to me several times.

Nordau is giving me an introduction to the Maccabean, Israel Zangwill, who is a writer.

I asked Nordau to come to London with me. He promised to come later if I needed him.

• • •

In the afternoon at Zadoc Kahn's home.

My Salzburg acquaintance, Leven, was there—listless, tepid, and sluggish as he had been in Salzburg. From his objections I could tell that he had not comprehended my plan either on that occasion or on this one.

Later, a few other Jews showed up. I suspect that they had been asked to come by Zadoc: Derenbourg, Feinberg, and a young rabbi who is Zadoc's son-in-law.

One by one I had to trot out all my arguments again. Not a single new note in the discussion.

For the present, the French Jews apparently will not have anything to do with the matter. They are still too well off.

I turned on Leven in no uncertain terms. "I must be very infelicitous in my use of language. For, things which I have explained to you twice are still unintelligible."

When he emphasized his French nationality, I said: "What? Don't you and I belong to the same nation? Why did you wince when Lueger was elected? Why did I suffer when Captain Dreyfus was accused of high treason?"

At parting I said to him: "You and your kind will never go along with me!"

The young rabbi said: "I will go with you!"

Derenbourg, in dismay, kept silent. As a German Jew (Dernburg) he obviously attaches great value to his French nationality.

I explained to them that by founding the Jewish State I would be giving them an even greater possibility of becoming naturalized Frenchmen.

To Feinberg, who seems to be in Hirsch's employ, I said that the existing colonization societies would have to subordinate themselves to our cause.

"Wherever we find opposition," I said, "we shall break it!"

Zadoc said soothingly: "But no one is offering you any opposition yet."

Zadoc's attitude satisfied me completely this time. He even seems to be favorably disposed to my plan.

But I recognized the impression I had made on him most clearly of all when the door opened for a second and an elderly lady—presumably Zadoc's wife—peered in through the crack with curiosity. This moment revealed to me what he must have told people about me.

November 18

In the afternoon with Zadoc Kahn again. His mood had changed. From his remarks I could tell that he had presented my idea to several people and had everywhere met with rebuff.

The French Jews' attitude toward the matter is a hostile one. I didn't expect anything different. They are doing too well here to think of a change.

"All this," I said to Zadoc, "is in my plan. The first families will be the last ones to join with us. Let them only beware of three things: First, lest Jews in other parts of the world find out how enviable the situation of the Jews in France is, for this would bring about a harmful mass influx of Israelites into France. Second, lest they become too brilliant Frenchmen, advance too rapidly in the social scale, acquire too much visible power in the form of wealth or respected positions; in a word, let them take care not to rise in the world. And third, let them completely cease troubling themselves about the Jews of other countries. Such concern would only betray their solidarity to the Christians,

but the other Jews would reject them. For these friendly experiments in colonization have not only a genial but also a malign aspect: they are supposed to check or divert the influx of Jews into France. However, anyone who does not declare himself ready to join the migrating Jews has no right to assign them places in various parts of the world. 'Israelite Frenchmen'—if there are such—are therefore no Jews in our eyes and our cause is none of their business."

Later on there came a college professor named Becker, a great chauvinist. *"Il n'est question que d'un grand project* [it's nothing more than a big scheme]," he said as soon as he had entered. It seems that Parisian Jewry has been very busy discussing the matter since my arrival.

This Becker is a typical Jew from the Latin Quarter. A sort of Brunetière translated into Hebrew. He reeks of books and conventional patriotism. With great glibness he started to "refute" me. He also trotted out that satirical anecdote about what things would be like in the Jewish State. Two Jews meet: *"Qu'est-ce que tu fais ici* [What do you do here]?"—*"Je vends des lorgnettes. Et toi* [I sell opera glasses. And you]?"—*"Je vends aussi des lorgnettes* [I sell opera glasses, too]."

To this masterly argument I replied quite calmly: *"Monsieur, ni vous ni moi nous ne vendons des lorgnettes* [Sir, neither you nor I sell opera glasses]."

Afterwards he apologized for having told this joke, and in the further course of the conversation he admitted that the Jewish State would be a great *académie* [academy].

Through questions and answers I familiarized him with the plan and gradually forced him to the wall, using only the arguments from my "Address to the Jews."

His eyes grew bigger and bigger behind his spectacles, and finally he fell completely silent.

November 19

Nordau, so it seems, is completely won over to the cause.

My discussions with him concern reservations of the highest

type. "Are the Jews still anthropologically fit for nationhood?" and the like.

Time will tell.

Nordau thinks that the plan will need three hundred years for its realization.

I believe, thirty—provided that the idea catches on.

Nordau recommends that while in London I should contact *Ha-maggid* and the *Jewish Chronicle*. I am to arrange for my pamphlet to be translated into Yiddish, also into Hebrew, for the Russians.

The campaign's center of gravity is shifted to London.

London, November 21

Visit to Israel Zangwill, the writer. He lives in Kilburn, N. W. A drive in the fog through endless streets. Arrived a bit out of sorts. The house is rather shabby. In his book-lined study Zangwill sits before an enormous writing table with his back to the fireplace. Also close to the fire, his brother, reading. Both give one the impression of shivering southerners who have been cast up on the shores of Ultima Thule. Israel Zangwill is of the long-nosed Negroid type, with very woolly deep-black hair, parted in the middle; his clean-shaven face displays the steely haughtiness of an honest ambitious man who has made his way after bitter struggles. The disorder in his room and on his desk leads me to infer that he is an internalized person. I have not read any of his writings, but I think I know him. He must bestow all the care that is lacking in his outward appearance on his style.

Our conversation is laborious. We speak in French, his command of which is inadequate. I don't even know whether he understands me. Still, we agree on major points. He, too, is in favor of our territorial independence.

However, his point of view is a racial one—which I cannot accept if I so much as look at him and at myself. All I am saying is: We are an historical unit, a nation with anthropological diversities. This also suffices for the Jewish State. No nation has uniformity of race.

We soon get down to practical points. He gives me the names of several suitable men:

Colonel Goldsmid, the painter Solomon, Rabbi Singer, Mocatta, Abrahams, Montefiore, Lucien Wolf, Joseph Jacobs, N.S. Joseph, and, of course, Chief Rabbi Adler.

I shall meet these men next Sunday at the banquet of the Maccabeans and arrange a conference for Monday at which I shall present my plan.

Colonel Goldsmid—for me the most important—is stationed at Cardiff with his regiment.

Zangwill is asking him by telegram to come here. Otherwise I shall have to go to Cardiff to see him.

London, November 22

Rode about all day.

Called on Chief Rabbi Adler. He received me like an old acquaintance. He was in a hurry. Would I come and dine with him tomorrow at his other home in the City. In all haste he counseled me against the Maccabeans, saying they were young people without influence. I would be better advised to speak with Lord Rothschild and others. He gave me an introduction to Sir Samuel Montagu, M.P.

I went to call on Montagu in the City. A busy day at the office. Montague sandwiched me in between two brokers. He invited me to have lunch at his home on Sunday. We could then talk. But he immediately drew my attention to his age, saying that he was no longer fit for any big undertaking.

Then to Rabbi Singer. He, too, was in a hurry; I accompanied him to the beautiful synagogue in Bayswater. A few words about my purpose: I wanted to start a worldwide discussion of the Jewish Question.

He smiled: *"You are ambitious."* *

I said: "That is really the least fantastic aspect of my plan."

He made an appointment with me for Sunday—"to tea."

* In English in the original.

My pet thought about the transitional phase: Am I not like a highclass Jewish "scholar" who travels about and is invited to free meals by rabbis and rich people?

Upon Singer's advice I wrote to Claude Montefiore at Brighton, asking him to come here on Sunday.

Goldsmid has telegraphed Zangwill that he cannot come.

November 23

In the evening with the Chief Rabbi at his other house, in the City. He has two houses, and always stays in the one in the City from Friday to Sunday.

So I drove up to Finsbury Square. I knocked on the door for quite a while. I only heard soft whispering behind it. At length the door opened on a dimly lit hall and I made out a surprising scene: a bevy of young girls who had waited in silence, as though afraid, and now withdrew into the semi-darkness. I thought the Rabbi was holding Sabbath School. He told me afterwards that his daughter was giving a "young girls' tea party," with an amateur show, a musicale, and recitations.

Later on, Mr. Joseph, Adler's brother-in-law, came to dinner to meet me.

Everything British, with old Jewish touches breaking through. Here I had a strong feeling that Jewish ways need not be ludicrous, as they are among us in Austria, where the heart has gone out of our practices.

And so I put on my top hat after the meal, like the others, and listened to the Rabbi's after-dinner blessing.

Of course, I had told the Chief Rabbi, as I had told Zadoc Kahn and Güdemann, that I was not obeying any religious impulse in my project. But I shall certainly honor the faith of my fathers, at least as much as I would honor other faiths.

After dinner we men sat by ourselves, and later on we were joined by Elkan Adler, an attorney and the Chief Rabbi's brother.

I expounded my project.

The Chief Rabbi said that this was the idea of *Daniel Deronda.*

I said: "I wouldn't even want the idea to be a new one. It is 2,000 years old. The only novelty is the method by which I launch the idea and later organize the *Society* and finally the State. That is to say, not I myself, for I shall withdraw from the execution of the project, which must be something impersonal. I am merely creating the instrumentality which is to direct the operation."

Mr. Joseph, a likable, completely anglicized, slow-thinking and prolix old man, an architect by profession, presented the familiar objections. The Jews are not suitable human material; the experience of the Anglo-Russian emigration committees has been distressing; the people are unwilling to work, etc.

I explained to him that this was due to the faultiness of the experiments made thus far. The experiments were bad, the material is good.

The stupid charity, I said, is to blame for everything. Charity must cease, then the *shnorrers* [beggars] will disappear. The existing Jewish relief committees must subordinate themselves to us —or they will be dissolved.

The Chief Rabbi said: "We shall submit your plan to the Anglo-Russian committee, and they will decide whether they will participate in your project."

I replied: "Of course this committee would take up the matter, but I am not submitting it to them. You can't make me yield to majorities. Whoever goes along with me is welcome. I am first turning to notable Jews who have made a name for themselves by their past efforts, but I do not need them. It will only please me if respected people join with me. But I am not dependent on them."

Elkan Adler has been to Palestine, and he would like us to settle in that country. We would have an enormous hinterland over there.

During all this talk, we were drinking a light claret produced in a Zion colony.

November 24

Lunched at the home of Sir Samuel Montagu, M.P. A house of English elegance, in grand style. Sir Samuel a splendid old chap, the best Jew I have met thus far. At table he presides over his family—which is actually unfriendly, or merely wellbred—with the air of a good-natured patriarch.

Kosher food, served by three liveried footmen.

After lunch, in the smoking room, I expounded my case. I gradually roused him to enthusiasm. He confessed to me—in confidence—that he felt himself to be more an Israelite than an Englishman. He said he would settle in Palestine with his whole family. He has in mind a Greater Palestine rather than the old one.

He will hear nothing of Argentina.

He is ready to join our committee as soon as one of the Great Powers takes the matter seriously.

I am to send him my pamphlet before its final publication.

• • •

In the evening with the "Maccabeans."

Skimpy dinner, but good reception.

Everyone welcomes me cordially.

The club members include mostly educated Jews. A strapping officer, Captain Nathan, who at one time was supposed to go to Vienna as a military attaché, but was rejected because of his Jewishness.

After dinner Zangwill calls on me with a mildly satirical introduction.

I give my talk extemporaneously and in three parts. The first two in German. Reverend Singer takes notes as I speak and after each part gives an English resumé of what I have said.

The third part I deliver in French.

My speech gets applause. They confer together in undertones and unanimously elect me as an honorary member.

Then follow the objections, which I refute.

The most important of these: English patriotism.

* * *

November 25, at Cardiff

With Colonel Goldsmid.

When I arrived at the station I was met by the Colonel, in uniform. Medium height, small black mustache, anglicized Jewish face, with kind, intelligent, dark eyes.

A small dog-cart was waiting outside the station. The Colonel had his horse and rode on it either in front or in back of the wagon. We exchanged a few words as we rode through Cardiff to his house, "The Elms."

He said to me with a cheerful expression: "We shall work for the liberation of Israel."

Then he told me that he was Commandant of Cardiff and the surrounding district, and showed and explained to me the sights of the city.

Mrs. Goldsmid awaited us at "The Elms"—a lean, refined Englishwoman, with her two young daughters, Rahel and Carmel. An English welcome, which makes you feel at once like an old acquaintance.

In the afternoon I read my plan to the Colonel. He doesn't understand much German; the exposition dragged a little.

But he said: *"That is the idea of my life."* *

He cannot undertake leadership in the project, for it is something political, and as an officer he is not allowed to engage in active politics.

But if the movement got started, he said, he would leave the British and enter the Jewish service. Only, instead of "Jews" he would prefer to say "Israelites," because Israel embraces all the tribes.

He showed me the flag of the Hovevei Zion, with the symbols of the twelve tribes. In contrast, I unfurled my white flag with its seven stars.

* In English in the original.

In spite of that, we understood, we understand, each other. He is a wonderful person.

After dinner, while the ladies and the other English colonel in the party were in the drawing room, I went to the smoking room with Goldsmid. And then came the remarkable story.

"I am Daniel Deronda," he said. "I was born a Christian. My father and mother were baptized Jews. When I found out about this, as a young man in India, I decided to return to the ancestral fold. While I was serving as a lieutenant, I went over to Judaism. My family was indignant at this. My present wife was also a Christian of Jewish descent. I eloped with her, and we had a civil marriage in Scotland, to begin with. Then she had to become a Jewess, and we were married in a synagogue. I am an orthodox Jew. This has not done me any harm in England. My children Rahel and Carmel have had a strict religious upbringing and learned Hebrew at an early age."

That, and his tales of South America, sounded like a novel. Because he has worked for Hirsch in Argentina and knows the local conditions, his advice is worth heeding: that only Palestine can be considered.

The pious Christians of England would help us if we went to Palestine. For they expect the coming of the Messiah after the Jews have returned home.

With Goldsmid, I suddenly find myself in another world.

He wants to deliver the Holy Sepulchre to the Christians stone by stone: part of it to Moscow, another part to Rome!

Like Montagu, he too thinks of a Greater Palestine.

A good idea of his is to hit landed property with a graduated tax. Henry George!

* * *

The Viennese pianist Rosenthal happened to be in Cardiff. I wrote him to come to "The Elms." He came after his concert.

Rahel and Carmel listened in graceful poses. Truly, another world. In my mind's eye I could already see the aristocratic Jewesses of the coming era. Exquisite creatures with an oriental

touch, gentle and dreamy. And as a piece of bric-a-brac there lay on the drawing room table a Torah scroll in a silver case.

November 26, Cardiff

Goodbye to Colonel Goldsmid. I have already taken him to my heart, like a brother.

November 26, London

Evening at the Rev. Singer's.

I had asked Asher Myers of the *Jewish Chronicle*, Dr. Hirsch, the secretary of the Hovevei Zion, and the painter Solomon to meet me there.

The gentlemen were already waiting when I arrived.

The conference degenerated into a theologizing discussion. Asher Myers asked: *"What is your relation to the Bible?"* *

I said: "I am a freethinker, and our principle will be: Let everyone seek salvation in his own way."

Hirsch asked whether I accepted the flag of the Hovevei Zion.

I countered with my national-social flag: white field, seven stars. The Zion flag can serve those who want it as a Temple banner.

In the end I did not succeed in creating the Center I had had in mind. Singer would like to participate, but the intolerant Asher Myers told him: "You can't do that."

Singer thought that the matter must first be submitted to the prominent Jews: Lord Rothschild, Mocatta, Montefiore, etc.

I answered: "You can't make me yield to majorities. This is the cause of the poor Jews, not of the rich ones. The protest of the latter is null, void, and worthless. Nevertheless, I should like to have the project carried out by a committee, because it must be conducted in an impersonal way."

Asher Myers said: "No, you are the man to conduct it. You must be the martyr to this idea. The orthodox Jews will join with you, but consider you a bad Jew. And besides, the Jews will not want to go to Argentina, but to Palestine."

* In English in the original.

He asked me for a resumé of my pamphlet for the *Jewish Chronicle,* and I promised him one.

As I was leaving, Solomon consoled me. He believed that the Study Commission I desired would be created within the Maccabean Club. His brother-in-law Bentwich, he said, was filled with enthusiasm. The club would devote several Sundays in succession to a consideration of my pamphlet.

Good enough.

Paris, November 28

Rev. Singer accompanied me to the Charing Cross station. So as to be able to talk with him a while longer, I left at eleven o'clock instead of ten.

I shall send the pamphlet and the letters to him. For the time being he is my chief representative in London. He does seem to be very devoted to the cause.

He was remarkably attentive during that final hour.

Then a good crossing, but I was ill when I arrived in Paris. Nordau diagnoses it as bronchial catarrh. I must see to it that I get home and finish the pamphlet.

"A prophet must have sound lungs," says Nordau.

"With such a winter coat a man isn't a prophet," I replied in amusement.

Nordau is more reserved now than he was before my departure for London.

He will participate in the project "within the limits of possibility."

• • •

By contrast, Beer the sculptor was immediately heart and soul for the idea at my first intimation of it. He came in the evening, when I took my catarrh to bed, and drew up plans: to make the desert arable, import humus soil into Palestine from Africa, plant forests, etc.

Beer will be an excellent helper; I knew it from the start.

Farewell visit to Zadoc Kahn.

November 29

He was very amiable again, saying that he considered my solution the only one, and why didn't I speak with Salomon Reinach. I said that I was too tired now. Actually, I don't expect a thing from the French Jews.

Zadoc said I should send my pamphlet to Edmond Rothschild.

I: "Wouldn't dream of it."

* * *

Vienna, December 15

In international dealings there is neither justice nor humaneness. The absence of these two elements—so one could say jestingly—makes the Jewish Question an international one.

December 15

Mimicry on the part of the Jews.

In this we mainly lost our good qualities, because such national mimicry usually produces only bad ones.

December 24

I was just lighting the Christmas tree for my children when Güdemann arrived. He seemed upset by the "Christian" custom. Well, I will not let myself be pressured! But I don't mind if they call it the Hanukah tree—or the winter solstice.

* * *

The Jewish publisher Cronbach in Berlin will not hear of my offer to bring out my pamphlet. He says that it runs counter to his views. I consoled myself when I noticed from the envelope of his letter that he publishes a hairdressers' journal and the like.

Then I wrote to Duncker & Humblot, who will not have anything to do with it, either.

Publish it under my own imprint, then? If the pamphlet sells, I would look like a businessman!

* * *

January 18, 1896

Schidrowitz telegraphed today from London that my preliminary article, "The Solution of the Jewish Question," has appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle*. The first step into the public arena.

January 19

Signed a contract with the publisher Breitenstein.

He was enthusiastic when I read him a few passages from the text which I finished at last after long toil.

I have changed the title—to *Der Judenstaat* [*The Jewish State*].

I now have the sense of relief that comes from the completion of a job.

Success I do not expect.

I am returning calmly to my literary projects. First of all I shall rework the *Ghetto* play.

January 22

The first manifestation of support, from a London book dealer, P. Michaelis, who places at my disposal his "devotion and energy."

January 23

The second is from Rabbi A. Kaminka in Prague, who calls on me to form a national Jewish party in Austria.

I am answering him that for the present I think I ought to refrain from any personal political agitation.

January 25

Dr. Lieben, Secretary of the local Jewish Community, came to the office. I spoke with him in Bacher's room. Lieben has received an inquiry from London as to whether I was the author

of that Utopia in the *Jewish Chronicle.* He had replied that he thought not, "for I know him as a sensible person."

In the course of our talk he brought up, one by one, the familiar, basic objections.

When I stated that I was a nationalist Jew, he said: "That's what you make yourself believe."

I did not take any further trouble with him.

January 27

Güdemann has read the first proofs and writes me full of enthusiasm. He believes that the tract will strike like a bombshell and work wonders. Chief Rabbi Adler has written him that he considers the matter impractical and at the same time, dangerous. The Chief Rabbi has too good a position to find my project to his liking. None of these things irritate me.

February 1

The pamphlet is ready in final proofs.

At the office they already have wind of it.

Oppenheim has read the *Jewish Chronicle* article and derides "the Jewish Jules Verne." He sees in it "material" for a humorous weekly *entrefilet* [sketch].

In line with my basic idea about the transitional phase I recognize in him the scoffer in the street who laughs at the prophet or people's spokesman.

I said to him, naturally in a polite tone of voice: "The man who makes jokes about it I shall make jokes about in return—and I can make wicked jokes."

He replied: "The wickedest joke of all is your making the matter public. If that article in the *Chronicle* appears in German, the anti-Semites will raise a hullaballoo over it. Yes, that would suit them just fine."

Another colleague (from the *Economist*) remarked that he and his fiancée had read the *Chronicle* and decided not to join the movement. I disposed of him with a smile.

For the rest, I already see clearly what opposition I shall encounter, and from what quarters. Journalists making fun of the whole thing are the most immediate danger now. *Il faudra leur montrer, que j'ai l'épaule terrible* [I will have to show them that I can be tough too].

This is the way I believe matters will go: If the thing catches on, they will content themselves with sullen envy.

If the explosion is only an *explosion de rire* [explosion of laughter], then I shall be marked down for a fool. This is the sacrifice—apart from the sacrifices which I can only surmise now, probably much greater ones—that I am quite deliberately making for the Jewish cause. I am being "taken seriously," I have already been offered the editorship of a newspaper; other offers of this kind, far better ones even, would again be made. My job in itself is good enough and would improve every day. I believe that I am endangering my own job—because, in spite of the pledge Bacher made me that time, I shall probably find myself in conflict with my editors. It will take a lot of diplomatic skill on my part to postpone this conflict as long as possible. Even now I feel that regardless of my able work I am making them uncomfortable. Perhaps things will change if my pamphlet is a success—the kind that does not result in the "hullaballoo" that Oppenheim talked about. But if I fare badly, I think they will leave me in the lurch and perhaps compel me, through the nature of their polemic against my pamphlet, to leave the staff as a matter of self-respect.

February 2

Bloch, the former deputy in Parliament, came with a letter from Güdemann and asked me to let him have a few chapters from my pamphlet for publication in his *Österreichische Wochenschrift*. Güdemann is enthusiastic and writes: "Your colleagues ought to place wreaths upon your brow."

Bloch seems to have confidence in the cause. I need professional

politicians like Bloch. The only thing is that he believes the project to be dependent on the participation of the Rothschilds. I believed that too in the beginning, but I no longer do. Bloch thinks it is out of the question that people will take the whole thing as a joke, and says that I worry too much about this point. Well, I believe that the first impression will determine at least the speed of the development.

February 2

In the afternoon met Güdemann in the Prater. He said: "I was just thinking of you. You have no idea what a great thing you have done."

He was quite enthusiastic and expects an enormous reaction.

Gloomy atmosphere at the office. Talked with Bacher. He has many grave and great misgivings. The chief danger: my saying that we cannot assimilate. The anti-Semites will seize upon this, just as they will in general pick out of my text any "plums" that they can use and keep quoting them. There is something similar in Levysohn's letter which arrived today and in which he announces that he will fight me vigorously. He says that I was right in shifting the ground of the discussion; but this shift works to our disadvantage.

While I was talking to Bacher, Goldbaum came in. Strangely enough—and as I immediately recognized, with malicious intent—he handed me a protest from a would-be contributor to our literary page who complained that a manuscript of his had not received any attention. It was just as if he wanted to weaken further my position on the staff, which he already considered shaken.

His conversation, too, was full of barbed allusions. He spoke about the Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand and Count Goluchowski who was about to be deposed because his innovations were causing embarrassment and he constituted a menace.

When we were leaving he handed me the page proofs of my pamphlet which had been loaned to him and said: "You have moved me but not convinced me."

After these cordial-sounding words I was ready to believe that in my nervousness I had misinterpreted his behavior in Bacher's room.

But when I came home I saw that in two places he had not even cut the pages of my pamphlet.

Once more, before leaving, I went to Bacher's room. Benedikt came in and made as if to go out again when he saw me. I asked him whether he had read my pamphlet. He replied: "I cannot dwell on trifling fault-finding here and there in the text. One has to take the whole thing or leave it alone."

His voice dropped when he spoke the words "leave it alone." That was all. Still, a downright dramatic touch. Storm clouds hovered over this brief conversation. We had understood each other—and, as though nothing serious or momentous were under discussion, we passed on to indifferent matters, spoke about the Easter number, to which Lemaître was to be requested to contribute an article, and the like.

February 3

At night.

I have sized up Benedikt correctly. This evening he came to my room and asked—*he* asked *me!*—if he could have a talk with me. He wanted to discuss the matter with me "not as the *Neue Freie Presse*, but as an individual." I was to take no decisive action before our talk, nothing that could not later be undone.

I said: "I shall not bring the pamphlet out before then, but I cannot stop the printing of it. Later changes would entail expense."

He answered: "Money can take care of that."

I don't know if I understood him correctly. Does he want to offer me money to desist from publication?

In any case, my answer tomorrow or the next day—whenever this momentous encounter takes place—is determined in advance. I shall, I must tell him: My honor is pledged. Even if I wanted to, I could no longer backtrack. My idea has been ex-

pressed in the *Jewish Chronicle* article. It no longer belongs to me. If I kept silent, if I withheld the pamphlet which I have promised publicly, it would appear that I had sold myself to the rich Jews who oppose my plan.—I shall go along with small alterations that he may desire, but make him pay the printing costs involved. Such payment must *in eventum* [for the future] furnish the proof that I may need some day.

But how right I was when I told my parents this afternoon that I was already in the thick of the fight.

Yes, I believe that the hardest battle is now taking place. There is in it an almost pantomimic silence, a dramatic climax with little talk, but every word is a tragic action.

The *Neue Freie Presse* is wrestling with me, the boss with his employee. He has all the strength of his superior position; I have justice on my side.

If I am driven into a corner, there is one utmost concession I can make: waive my claim to the promised article, which was to be my entire compensation for declining that editorship.

February 3

Was at the printing office and talked with the managers, the Hollinek brothers. Both are presumably anti-Semites. They greeted me with sincere cordiality. They liked my pamphlet. One of them said: It was necessary that a man stand up and undertake the task of mediation.

February 4

Lay awake for hours during the night, reflecting about the situation at the *Neue Freie Presse*. There is no doubt that I am in the thick of the battle. Bacher said yesterday: "You are burning your bridges behind you!"

When I speak with Benedikt I must make him understand what faces them if they do not keep their promise to me.

If he forces me to leave the paper, I must immediately have another paper at my disposal. If worst comes to worst, I shall

write another pamphlet telling dispassionately of all happenings.

In this campaign I have long been prepared for the first battle. I only marched straight ahead. Suddenly, a small skirmish that does not look like anything. Just a few shots back and forth.

And yet I already know that the big battle, perhaps the decisive one, has begun.

I must remain hard and firm, agree to no procrastination, accept no more promises. Ehrlich's words are in my mind: "They will not keep their promise to you."

I am staking a lot, my entire position—but so is the *Neue Freie Presse!*

February 4

My publisher Breitenstein wants to have a first printing of only 3,000 copies. He has no confidence as yet in its commercial success!

February 4

Showdown discussion with Benedikt.

He said: (1) No individual has the right to take upon himself the tremendous moral responsibility of setting this avalanche in motion and endangering so many interests. (2) We shall no longer have our present fatherland and not yet have the Jewish State. (3) The pamphlet is not yet ripe for publication.

He said there was a personal danger for myself in that I was risking my established prestige. By doing this I was also harming the paper, for among its assets was my literary reputation. Furthermore, I was in direct opposition to several principles of the *Neue Freie Presse*. He wants me to refrain from publication.

I answered: "My honor is pledged. I have already published the idea in the *Jewish Chronicle*. It no longer belongs to me, but to the Jews. If I kept silent now, I would endanger my reputation all the more."

He begged me to think it over once more. At least I should postpone the publication for a few months. He himself would help me do the necessary re-writing. I asked: "When?"

He answered: "In the summer—when I take my vacation."

I merely laughed to myself.

He threatened me in no uncertain terms, although he expressly conceded my right to publish the pamphlet. He forcefully warned me "as a friend," "as an experienced journalist." He "strongly advised," he "urgently desired." He said: "You are really not an Austrian at all, but a Hungarian."

I replied: "I am an Austrian citizen."

He told me some tale, dragged in by the ears, with the point that it was his habit to "swing with my fists when something gets too much for me to take."

He mentioned in passing that he had many young friends in literary circles (which implied the threat that I could easily be replaced as literary editor).

He tickled my vanity: "It is not a matter of indifference if Dr. Theodor Herzl publishes such a piece of writing. You are one of our most outstanding collaborators, an integral part of the *Neue Freie Presse*. If you do publish the pamphlet, at least you should not put your name to it."

I said: "That would be cowardice, and, what's more, needless cowardice."

In the end, he asked me to think it over for another 24 hours. Presumably I am supposed to be racked by deep psychic struggles.

* * *

In the evening I went to Bloch and then took him along to Güdemann. I told them everything.

At first Güdemann believed that I wanted his consent to retreat, and consequently counseled me to do what two excellent men like Bacher and Benedikt advised me.

But I put my problem on the right plane. Desisting from publication was out of the question, I said. I am not a little boy who backs out of something at the last moment. I shall follow this through. I said it was only a question of the following. Bloch wants to publish in his weekly a translation of my article in the

Jewish Chronicle. I gave him the original manuscript and he had it set in type. I cannot step on Benedikt's toes, must not supply him with the *casus belli* [cause for war] which he would welcome. I do not want, then, to create a *fait accompli* in Vienna before I am acquainted with all his reservations.

Therefore I am withdrawing my manuscript from Bloch—of course, I could not prevent him from printing the translation of my article which Professor Kaufmann has sent him.

This is how we finally left things. Bloch is going to return my manuscript but will publish Kaufmann's translation on his own.

Now, however, Güdemann said that I was right in not retreating. Finally, he went so far as to remark that Benedikt was behaving like a rather petty businessman. When they were afraid that I might found a rival newspaper, they promised to support my pamphlet; now, they actually want to stop me from publishing it.

February 5

Saw Benedikt, but had no talk with him—i.e., we spoke only about ordinary political affairs of the day.

In the evening Bacher came to my room, was very affable, but talked about all sorts of other things.

He was waiting for me to bring up the subject of the pamphlet. But all I talked about was contemporary French literature.

February 6

Alexander Scharf called on me. He had heard from Bloch that I had written a magnificent pamphlet. He would like to get it ahead of the dailies, because his weekly, published on Monday, takes a long time to produce. I was unable to give him permission to reprint anything from it, in view of what was happening at the office.

But we got to talking, and I answered his objections with arguments from the pamphlet. For the objections he made were only the expected ones.

After the first half hour, he compared me to Hertzka, the author of *Freeland,* and reminded me of the story about the lunatic in the asylum who said: "Look at that poor fool; he thinks he's the emperor of Russia, when *I* am."

After another half hour, he compared me to Christ.

He said I was the second Christ who would do the Jews grievous harm.

Amused, I rejected both comparisons, and said: "I am, quite simply, a modern and, at the same time, natural and unaffected person. I am doing the whole thing without any nonsense or fanciful gestures. I can even contemplate with equanimity the possibility that my enterprise will come to nothing."

He: "This merely shows me that you are a *hokhem* [clever person]. At first people will certainly make a laughing-stock of you. The Jewish-owned papers will call you the Mahdi of the Pelikangasse."

"Just let them," I laughed.

Finally he said: "If I didn't know that you can't be bought, and if I were Rothschild, I would offer you five million to suppress the pamphlet. Or I would assassinate you. For you will do the Jews terrible harm.

"Incidentally, I shall read your pamphlet with care; and if you convince me, I shall honestly acknowledge that I am on your side."

I lent him the pamphlet on his word of honor that he would not publish anything from it without my authorization.

Then I tried to make him understand that my tract was not a danger to the Jews, but a boon. I used the simile of a U-tube. Relief for all Jewry begins with an outward flow. In the arm marked "Jewish State," the level gradually rises, while it sinks in the arm representing the places where Jews now reside. No one is ruined; on the contrary, the foundations of new wealth are laid. And through the progressive improvement of the standing of the Jews who emigrate, the situation of those who remain behind improves.

• • •

In the evening I met Dessauer, the bank director, and strolled with him through the wintry, snow-covered Stadtpark.

Dessauer sees no danger but only benefits in my publication. He thinks that a new and better tone will be introduced into the Jewish Question. Nor does he see any danger to the *Neue Freie Presse* from my tract. He thinks it odd of the *Neue Freie Presse* to believe that it is not regarded as a Jewish paper. For the rest, its publishers should not even take a stand themselves, but simply have my pamphlet reviewed by some Heidelberg professor.

Then we spoke of future developments. Dessauer had a nice idea. He said it would be interesting to see the Jewish State a hundred or two hundred years from now. To see what had come out of my idea. He thinks it quite as likely that the Jewish State will come into being during our lifetime as that it will not be established until decades after our death. In fifty years' time, he believes, the Jewish State will already be in existence. He thinks it will be a great state, for, as the case of England proves, the strength of a state does not depend on the number of its citizens, but on their intelligence.

We did a bit of dreaming about the future achievements of the Jewish people for the welfare of mankind.

* * *

February 7

Bloch's weekly is out and the issue does not contain the Kaufmann translation. At the same time there comes a letter from Bloch in which he excuses himself for not publishing it by saying that he found the translation unsatisfactory; he preferred waiting another week in order to be able to publish my original.

Actually, he has left me in the lurch. He is evidently afraid of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

That, too, is all right with me. This, like everything else so far, just goes to show again that I have no support whatever, that I have to do everything myself.

And Scharf told me yesterday that Bloch had boasted of having assisted me in the writing of the pamphlet.

And yet every line, every word, is my own work.

February 8

In the Diet of Lower Austria, Deputy von Pacher yesterday demanded that anyone who is demonstrably of Jewish ancestry might be deprived of his civic rights.

* * *

My good friend, the Rev. Singer, writes me from London that my scheme has scarcely been discussed in public, but in all the more lively fashion in private. He himself has spoken of it from the pulpit. But on the whole, it still does not come closely enough home to English Jews, for anti-Semitism there is not calamitous.

* * *

In the Berlin monthly *Zion* there is a friendly review of my *Chronicle* article from the pen of Dr. J. Holzmann. However, he is against a language federalism.

I am writing him that we should not conjure up any differences among ourselves at this time, but save wrangling for later.

February 9

Met Bloch who told me that in response to my article reproduced in *Zion* a delegation of students had called on me while I was out. They also wished to invite me to Güdemann's lecture in the *Lesehalle*. I went there with Bloch. On the way he told me that Scharf had been to Güdemann to request G. to prevail upon me as well as my father not to publish my treatise. Scharf also said that the community would hold it very much against Güdemann if he failed to dissuade me.

I said: "I shall give Güdemann a letter to the effect that he made every effort to dissuade me from my purpose."

This only goes to show again that no one helps me, in fact, that everyone tries to hinder me—the very people who will undoubtedly claim later, if success comes, that they were my collaborators.

As for those who tremble for their possessions—Scharf owns several houses in Vienna—I shall simply tell them this: "If you want to cover yourselves against possible losses, simply subscribe for shares in the *Jewish Company*. What you lose here through the moving out of your Jewish tenants, you will gain over there by their moving in. The U-tube! By the same amount that you sink here, you will rise there. And besides, you can have the same houses again on the other side. The *Company* will build them for you."

• • •

In the *Jüdische Akademische Lesehalle* I was greeted with enthusiasm. When the chairman welcomed the guests, my name received the longest and most tempestuous applause—which, if my eyes did not deceive me, may have piqued one or another among the guests of honor.

After Güdemann's lecture, a few of the young people came up to me, and I spoke extemporaneously for an hour. There were some hundred of them—many erect figures, all eyes sparkling with intelligence. They stood crowded together and listened with mounting enthusiasm. A great success—as I had expected. I had long ago pictured the entire scene just as it happened. As I drove away, they stood in the street and shouted after me through the night a loud, many-voiced "*Prosit* [Cheers]!"

February 9

One of the students in my audience yesterday, Carl Pollak, came to see me, because he had to "give vent to my enthusiasm."

He said that right after my speech a few people who had hitherto been lukewarm declared that they would get behind the national idea.

February 10

Read today the pamphlet entitled *Auto-Emancipation* which Bloch gave me.

An astounding correspondence in the critical part, a great similarity in the constructive one.

A pity that I did not read this work before my own pamphlet was printed. On the other hand, it is a good thing that I didn't know it—or perhaps I would have abandoned my own undertaking.

At the first opportunity I shall speak about it in public, and possibly write an article about it in *Zion*.

February 14

Days of excitement, full of palpitations and shortness of breath.

Talked with Ludassy today. The *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* should lead it off. After a quarter of an hour he got the point. He asked: "Shall I review it as a friend or a critic? In the latter case, I may draw blood."

To which I said: "*Hanc veniam damus petimusque vicissim* [we pardon and ask for pardon in turn]." Whoever whacks me, I shall whack in return. *Je ne me laisserai pas faire* [I won't stand for it]. I'll fight hard. But those who go with me will all become famous figures in history."

He said: "I will go with you."

• • •

My 500 copies came this evening. When I had the bundle carted to my room, I was terribly shaken. This package of pamphlets constitutes the decision in tangible form. My life may now take a new turn.

Then I went to the office. I recalled the fisherman on the "*Seewiesen*" at the Alt-Aussee Lake who said: "The most remarkable thing is a man's never giving up hope."

February 15

My good papa comes and tells me that the pamphlet is already on display in Breitenstein's window.

Will there be a fight at the office today?

* * *

Spoke again with Ludassy. He is already dropping off. He has changed his mind. He "must write the way my readers want it." There was "a difference between what a writer of *feuilletons* says and what an editorial writer says."

When I replied that I believed the masses would share my views, he remarked: "I shall always be able to wheel round."

That's all right, too.

Afterwards went to see Szeps. He seemed to understand the matter, but he too has nothing but misgivings. "A newspaper must not be original," he said. "Newspapers cannot propagate new ideas."

He wants to think it over.

Meanwhile, the pamphlet has appeared in the bookstores. For me, the die is cast.

February 15

At this point my good father is my only standby. All those with whom I have conferred on the subject up to now are cautiously keeping in the background, watching events, biding their time. At my side I feel no one but my dear old dad. He stands firm as a rock.

Oppenheim made some jokes last night at the office. He wants to have my pamphlet bound. "If you are *meshugge* [crazy], have yourself bound," he said, after I had given him a copy at his own request.

I must be prepared for this sort of thing. The grown-up street urchins will be on my heels. But a man who is to carry the day in thirty years has to be considered crazy for the first two weeks.

At the Stock Exchange, too, there is supposed to have been a

lot of discussion of the pamphlet yesterday. If anything, the mood seems to be hostile to me.

February 16

Dr. S. R. Landau came to see me. I believe I have in him a devoted and capable supporter.

He seems to be an ardent enthusiast, with the main fault of that type of person: intolerant zeal.

But a good, stalwart man. Properly controlled, such energies can work wonders.

February 17

Not a single local paper has expressed itself yet. Still, the pamphlet begins to be a known quantity. Acquaintances ask me: "Is that pamphlet people are talking about by you? Is it a joke or something meant to be serious?"

I answer: "Deadly serious! Of course, anyone who undertakes a thing of this kind must expect that at first the street urchins will run after him. And there is such a thing as grown-up street urchins."

February 18

If nothing happens at the office today, I shall send the following letter to Badeni:

Your Excellency:

When I last had the honor of being received by you, I took the egregious liberty of steering the conversation to the pending problem of the day.

That happened to be—at the end of October—the Lueger question. I noticed your consternation, Excellency, when I said: If you do not confirm his election, you will be endorsing Jew-hatred as a whole.

The reason I said that was the pamphlet which I herewith beg to put in Your Excellency's hands and which was already finished

at that time. I wanted to impress myself on your memory by a little short-term prophecy, so that you might later read my political treatise with some attention.

This pamphlet will presumably cause a certain commotion: laughter, outcries, wails, abuse, misunderstanding, stupidities, baseness.

I face all these things with the utmost composure. *Les chiens aboient—la caravane passe* [The dogs bark, the caravan passes].

But I would want Your Excellency to read my political treatise, which is of great practical interest to you, before it is distorted by wild discussion. To read it with your own unprejudiced eyes. You will then notice that I have only touched lightly upon many matters that are of the highest importance . . . (interrupted).

February 18, evening

At noon the university lecturer Feilbogen called on me at the office and said he had to talk to me about the pamphlet—"It is the most significant thing that Zionist literature has produced to date," etc.—paeans of praise.

In the afternoon he came to my house and opened the conversation by asking whether my pamphlet was meant to be taken seriously or whether it was not a satirical presentation of Zionism.

I was quite taken aback and answered: "I am too old for such Alcibiadic jests."

Then, for hours on end, he split hairs, harping on this, carping on that.

I was so sickened by it all that I was unable to go on writing the letter to Badeni, and, in fact, didn't feel like doing anything any more.

In the evening, however, I heard at the office that the *Deutsche Zeitung* (anti-Semitic) is going to publish an editorial on the subject tomorrow. Presumably abuse. But important in any case, because of the attitude the other papers will take in reply.

Now I again feel like writing to Badeni.

* * *

(Continuation of letter to Badeni).

Every state has a rightful claim on its Jews—what is to become of these claims? This is one of the many politically delicate points which I barely touched upon in my tract. I am prepared to give Your Excellency quite detailed and perhaps satisfactory explanations on this as well as all other points.

I believe the Jewish State to be a world necessity—and that is why it will come into being.

Anyone who issues such a call will, first of all, have the street urchins running after him with amusement—and there are also grown-up street urchins. As for the masses, they will look up and perhaps join in the laughter, but in any case they will not understand immediately. And part of the masses is a certain section of the press, on both sides, which has an ear cocked for the confused babble of the public and allows itself to be led by everybody and his brother, instead of leading them.

These words of yours, Excellency, caused me at that time to consider your offer which I later had to decline so regretfully when an appeal to my sense of gratitude was made. I would have wanted you first to get to know me as a dependable person through closer association, and at some later date I should have liked to be able to point to this way out from the calamitous situation of the Jews. Today's editorial in the *Deutsche Zeitung* is quite naive and self-contradictory; the writer simply fails to understand my pamphlet, because he does not understand the conditions of modern life. What I am proposing is actually no more than the *regulation* of the Jewish Question, and certainly not the emigration of all the Jews. Least of all can and will it entail the economic weakening of the countries which are at present anti-Semitic.

However, through the same door which I am trying to push open for the poor masses of Jews, a Christian statesman who seizes the idea aright will enter world history. I will not even emphasize the fact that immediate, direct political advantages are also bound up with it.

Should Your Excellency wish to become acquainted with all

these trains of thought, on which my pamphlet is silent, I beg you to summon me to a secret audience—perhaps some evening or other.

No one would ever learn of our conversation through me.

I am Your Excellency's most respectful and obedient servant,

Dr. Th. Herzl

(Mailed on the evening of February 19).

* * *

February 19

Old Heit, a dealer in textiles and property owner on the Franz-Josefsquai, was here and invited me to attend a lecture at the hitherto anti-Zionist "Union."

He said that up to half an hour before reading my pamphlet he had thought it quite impossible that he could ever get interested in a thing of this sort. But I had converted him completely, and he was prepared to sell his real estate, even at a loss, and go overseas.

February 20

Wilhelm of the *Fremdenblatt* informs me in a "humorous" letter that I am rumored to have become "*meshugge* [crazy]." Is that true, he asks.

February 21

Yesterday a students' party at the *Kadimah*. The students gave me a great ovation. I had to make a speech, and the speech was temperate—and mediocre. I didn't want to arouse any beery enthusiasm, urged them to study hard, and warned them against unhealthy fanaticism. We might never get to Zion, so we must strive for a Zion within us.

Attorney Ellbogen came from another meeting and told us that Dr. Feilbogen had made an excellent speech there in *support* of my idea.

Dr. Landau proposed to me the founding of a weekly paper for the movement. That suits me, and I shall look into it. This weekly will become my organ. Landau had another good idea. Newlinsky, the publisher of the *Correspondance de l'Est*, is a friend of the Sultan's. He might be able to procure for us a status of sovereignty—for *baksheesh* [gratuity].

I am also thinking of Kozmian. I shall send Landau to him and try to interest him in the matter.

February 23

At the Concordia Club yesterday Government Councillor Hahn from the Correspondence Bureau tried to make fun of me: "What do you want to be in your Jewish State? Prime Minister or President of the Chamber of Deputies?"

I answered: "Anyone who undertakes the sort of thing I am undertaking must naturally be prepared that at first the street urchins will be on his heels."

Whereupon he crept away sadly.

* * *

At the Volkstheater I spoke with many journalists. My pamphlet is the talk of the town. Some people smile or laugh at me, but in general, the earnest tone of conviction about my treatise appears to have made an impression.

Hermann Bahr told me he was going to write against me, because people cannot do without the Jews. *Pas mal* [not bad]!

February 23

Dr. Landau was here. I asked him to speak to Kozmian so that I might personally discuss the matter with him. Landau thinks that I neglected agriculture in the Jewish State. The answer is simply that we shall have agricultural cooperative societies and agricultural small industrialists, both with credit for machinery from the *Jewish Company*.

We then got on the subject of the language. Landau, like many

Zionists, is in favor of Hebrew. I think the main language must gain acceptance without constraint. If we found a neo-Hebrew state it will be only a New Greece. But if we do not close ourselves off in a linguistic ghetto, the whole world will be ours.

In Vienna they are making jokes about me.

Julius Bauer says: "It's all right with me if we go to Palestine. But I want a republic with a Grand Herzl* at its head."

February 26

In the *Westungarischer Grenzbote* there is an editorial on my book by the anti-Semitic deputy Simonyi. He refers to me in a chivalrous manner.

February 27

The *Daily Chronicle* publishes interviews with the painter Holman Hunt and Sir Samuel Montagu about *The Jewish State.*

Holman Hunt claims priority on the idea, because he had written a letter to an English Jew before my article appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle.*

Montagu thinks that one might offer the Sultan two million pounds for Palestine.

* * *

Neumann of the *Fremdenblatt* writes me that in financial circles the most extravagant praise and blame are being heaped on my book. I knew that it would leave no one indifferent.

* * *

Kosmian came to the office to see Bacher. I ran into him in the anteroom. Landau had called on him. But even before that he had heard about my pamphlet—possibly from Badeni. Kosmian said: "*Il parait que c'est très excentrique* [It seems that it is very eccentric]." I replied: "*C'est un dérivatif* [That's irrelevant]."

* Translator's Note: *Grossherzl*, a pun on *Grossherzog*, the German word for "Grand Duke."

February 28

Yesterday's election to the Vienna City Council again proves me right. Since September the anti-Semitic vote has again increased enormously. Big majorities everywhere, even in the "strongholds" of liberalism: the Innere Stadt and the Leopoldstadt.

Our editorial today is quite resigned.

* * *

Received from Nordau an enthusiastic letter which fills me with pride. He thinks that my *Jewish State* is a "great accomplishment," a "revelation."

March 1

Ludassy attacks me in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. "Zionism is madness born of desperation. Away with such chimeras!"

One of his staff humorists makes a little derisive quip about the "Maccabees of Flight."

* * *

In the *Zeit* Professor Gomperz makes an attack on Zionism, using as a "point of departure" my book—which he says he has not read.

The Zionists Birnbaum, Jacob Kohn, and Landau paid me a joint visit and wrangled among themselves.

Kohn is against Landau, *Kadimah* against *Gamalah*.

Birnbaum wants the agitation to be confined to scholarly weeklies, Landau wants to agitate everywhere, Kohn only in Vienna.

It is downright disheartening to observe their rank hostility toward one another.

Birnbaum is unmistakably jealous of me. What the baser sort of Jews express in vulgar or sneering language, namely, that I am out for personal gain, is what I catch in the intimations of this cultured, refined person.

The predicted rancor, from within and from without, is already here.

I regard Birnbaum as envious, vain, and dogmatic. I hear he had already turned away from Zionism and gone over to Socialism when my appearance led him back to Zion again.

* * *

March 2

Hermann Bahr came to see me. He tells me that the Jews of the higher intellectual circles, who in Old Vienna formed the literary salons, the circle around Bauernfeld, and the Grillparzer cult, are horrified at me.

That was to be expected.

* * *

One Professor Schneidewin in Hamlin writes me that my *Jewish State* has convinced him that the solution he had presented in a pamphlet was wrong. At the same time he sends me this 162-page booklet which embodies the standpoint of the "better" anti-Semites.

March 3

A fashion-goods dealer at Semlin, S. Waizenkorn, writes me that all the Semlin Jews are ready to emigrate, bag and baggage, as soon as the *Jewish Company* is founded.

March 4

My warmest adherent so far is—the Pressburg anti-Semite Ivan von Simonyi, who bombards me with flattering editorials and sends me two copies of each.

* * *

Dr. Birnbaum today wrote me a letter in which he bemoans his financial straits. I gave him twenty guilders, which I record

here, because I am certain that he is hostile to me and will grow more so.*

In conversation with me, he disparaged Landau. In the evening, at the meeting called by Landau, he made a socialistic speech, and from Landau's report I gather that it contained a barb against a discussion of my pamphlet, which was on the agenda.

These are rather discouraging observations.

Landau further writes that Birnbaum wants to become the Socialist leader in Palestine. We haven't got the country yet, and they already want to tear it apart.

March 6

The vilest attack so far has appeared in the *Münchner Allgemeine Zeitung,* by A. Bettelheim. He calls my tract "the founding prospectus of a Jewish Switzerland." The contents are reproduced by splicing heterogeneous quotations together.

March 7

Bacher is charming to me now. This is attracting attention in the office and apparently makes people well disposed toward me.

* * *

In the Berlin *Allgemeine Israelitische Wochenschrift,* Klausner (of the *Börsen-Courier*) pounces on me and "pans" my book roughly in the foul-mouthed tone of Berlin theater hyenas turning thumbs down on a premiere performance.

The editor of this weekly invites me to answer as sharply as I please. I am not going to answer at all.

March 7

The local Zionists want to stage rallies in support of my tract.

* Translator's Note: This last sentence was crossed out by Herzl.

March 9

The Berlin association "Young Israel" invites me to give a public lecture before a big audience. Rejected this, as well as similar invitations.

March 10

The newspaper *Ha-am* in Kolomea places itself at my disposal.

An enthusiastic letter from Dr. Bierer, Sofia. The Chief Rabbi there considers me the Messiah. This Passover, a lecture on my publication will be given in Bulgarian and Spanish before a large audience.

• • •

The Rev. William H. Hechler, chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna, called on me.

A likeable, sensitive man with the long grey beard of a prophet. He waxed enthusiastic over my solution. He, too, regards my movement as a "prophetic crisis"—one he foretold two years ago. For he had calculated in accordance with a prophecy dating from Omar's reign (637-638) that after 42 prophetical months, that is, 1260 years, Palestine would be restored to the Jews. This would make it 1897-1898.

When he had read my book, he immediately hurried to Ambassador Monson and told him: the fore-ordained movement is here!

Hechler declares my movement to be a "Biblical" one, even though I proceed rationally in all points.

He wants to place my tract in the hands of some German princes. He used to be a tutor in the household of the Grand Duke of Baden, he knows the German Kaiser and thinks he can get me an audience.

March 14

Great excitement at the University of Vienna.

The "Aryan" duelling associations have decided that they will

no longer give satisfaction to Jews with any weapon, on the grounds that all Jews are devoid of honor and are cowards.

My young friend Pollak and another Jew have challenged two anti-Semites who happen to be reserve officers; and when they refused to fight, the two Jews reported the matter to the General Command. There they were referred to the District Command.

A great deal depends on this decision—namely, the future position of Jews in the Austrian army.

I got Benedikt, whose son is now at the University, and Bacher, all steamed up about the matter.

March 15

Benedikt publishes in the *Economist* a peremptory appeal to the rich not to let the Jewish battle be fought out by the poor and the young alone.

With the exception of my conclusion, Benedikt stands in this article completely on the ground of my political treatise.

March 16

Yesterday, Sunday afternoon, I visited the Rev. Hechler. Next to Colonel Goldsmid, he is the most unusual person I have met in this movement so far. He lives on the fourth floor; his windows overlook the Schillerplatz. Even while I was going up the stairs I heard the sound of an organ. The room which I entered was lined with books on every side, floor to ceiling.

Nothing but Bibles.

A window of the very bright room was open, letting in the cool spring air, and Mr. Hechler showed me his Biblical treasures. Then he spread out before me his chart of comparative history, and finally a map of Palestine. It is a large military staff map in four sheets which, when laid out, covered the entire floor.

"We have prepared the ground for you!" Hechler said triumphantly.

He showed me where, according to his calculations, our new Temple must be located: in Bethel! Because that is the center of

the country. He also showed me models of the ancient Temple: "We have prepared the ground for you."

At this point we were interrupted by the visit of two English ladies to whom he also showed his Bibles, souvenirs, maps, etc.

After the boring interruption he sang and played for me on the organ a Zionist song of his composition. From the woman who gives me English lessons I had heard that Hechler was a hypocrite.* But I take him for a naive visionary with a collector's quirks. However, there is something charming about his naive enthusiasm, and I particularly felt it when he sang his song to me.

Afterwards we came to the heart of the matter. I told him: I have got to establish direct contact, a contact that is discernible on the outside, with a responsible or non-responsible statesman —that is, with a minister of state or a prince. Then the Jews will believe in me, then they will follow me. The most suitable man would be the German Kaiser. I must be given help if I am to carry out the task. Up to now I have had nothing but obstacles to combat, and they have been sapping my strength.

Hechler immediately declared that he was ready to go to Berlin and speak with the Court Chaplain as well as with Prince Günther and Prince Heinrich. Would I be willing to give him the travel expenses?

Of course I promised them to him at once. They will come to a few hundred guilders, certainly a considerable sacrifice in my circumstances. But I am willing to risk it on the prospect of speaking with the Kaiser.

At the same time I fully realize that Hechler, whom I don't know yet, may only be a penniless clergyman who likes to travel, and that he may come back with the word: it was impossible to get to the Kaiser.

But even if he is granted an audience, I have no idea of how he will strike these princely families. Actually, here is a major enigma in my path. My previous experience tells me that highly

* Translator's Note: One of the occasional puns in the *Diaries*. The German word for "hypocrite" is "Heuchler."

placed persons do not reason any more broadly or see any more clearly than do the rest of us. It is therefore quite as likely that the German princes will laugh at this old tutor for his collector's quirks as that they will go along with his naive fancies. The question now is this: when he comes to Berlin, will they pat him on the shoulder ironically and say, "Hechler, old man, don't let the Jew get you all steamed up?" Or will he stir them? In any case, I shall take the precaution of impressing upon him that he must not say he "came at Herzl's behest."

He is an improbable figure when looked at through the quizzical eyes of a Viennese Jewish journalist. But I have to imagine that those who are antithetical to us in every way view him quite differently. So I am sending him to Berlin with the mental reservation that I am not his dupe if he merely wants to take a trip at my expense.

To be sure, I think I detect from certain signs that he is a believer in the prophets. He said, for example, "I have only one scruple: namely, that we must not contribute anything to the fulfilment of the prophecy. But even this scruple is dispelled, for you began your work without me and would complete it without me."

On the other hand, if he only faked these signs which have made me believe in him, he will all the more be a fine instrument for my purposes.

He considers our departure for Jerusalem to be quite imminent, and showed me the coat pocket in which he will carry his big map of Palestine when we shall be riding around the Holy Land together. That was his most ingenuous and most convincing touch yesterday.

* * *

In the evening I heard from Leo, my wife's brother-in-law, all the snide gossip current among the Jews of his circle, who cannot understand "why he has undertaken this thing in view of his position, and without needing to."

I answered him with a few words which Professor Leon Kellner said to me the other day: "There are Jews who live on Jewry, and those who live for Jewry."

Which will not prevent these same Jews who now make sport of my Quixotism from calling me, in envy, a shrewd speculator afterwards, when success has come.

This people must be educated—and by our example.

* * *

In Vienna people are saying that the students' conflict over satisfaction may be attributed to my pamphlet.

* * *

An editorial in last Thursday's issue of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* about my pamphlet caused a stir here, and of course a much greater one in Berlin, I imagine.

March 17

Yesterday Heinrich Steiner, the editor of the *Wiener Mode*, came to see me. He impresses me as a good, capable, resolute man with definite convictions. He offered me his services. I gave him my ideas about how the necessary publicity should be organized in the beginning. I told him to buy the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* or Szeps' *Tageblatt* and turn it into a Zionist paper; I would assist him behind the scenes. In this way I could immediately give our first associates in Vienna (Landau, Birnbaum, J. Kohn, etc.) their earliest rewards by procuring good positions for them.

I spent two hours and a half talking to Steiner, and when I spoke some powerful closing words to him on the street, he answered in a voice choked with emotion: "What I am feeling now is a lot for me."

March 17

Letter to Martin Fürth, Secretary of the Prince in Sofia:

Dear Friend:

I have to write you again even before I have your reply to my letter. By wiring for the Congress catalogue (which goes off to you today), you brought yourself to my attention at the exact moment when I discovered a bit of meanness which you could advise or help me in combating.

The perfidy with which certain Jews in Vienna attack me because of my pamphlet defies description. At first they tried to make me out a madman. After this lovely expedient had failed and the attitude of respected "Christian" papers—notably an editorial in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—forced people to take me and my plan quite seriously, there were other dirty tricks. Yesterday I was informed that the following lie was disseminated from a certain journalistic nest where the shabbiest among my opponents are based: They say that I published my pamphlet only "in order to get even with Baron Hirsch for rejecting (my) application for the post of general manager of his Jewish colonies."

At the same time someone told me that this lie was supplied to the journalistic nest by a person close to the local *Alliance Israélite.*

I would be very pleased if someone had the courage to publish this slander in a tangible form, because then I could take a few of those rascals by the ears and pin them down. Unfortunately I shall have to wait some time for that, because at present they are giving me the "silent treatment" in Vienna. The result of this silence is that my project is being discussed steadily and excitedly among *all* classes and circles in Vienna. But this also gives the vulgarities of my opponents underground publicity, and I have to think about a remedy.

What do you think? Can this mendacious statement be traceable to the circle around Baron Hirsch? If the answer is yes, what person do you consider capable of it? Hirsch himself I regard as

a ruthless man but not one who will strike any low blows. Maybe you could provoke him into making a declaration in which he gives the true state of affairs, namely, that I did not apply to him for anything, but, using the same arguments that are contained in my pamphlet, merely tried to convince him in an interview and in several letters that his efforts to date have been misguided.

He could make such a declaration in a few lines in a letter addressed to you. You will know best in what way you can ask him to do this. If he is the grandiosely constructed fellow that I take him to be, although I now have no use for him and may later pit myself against him sharply, he will *loyalement* [loyally] confirm the truth immediately if you write him a few lines about my righteous indignation.

As for the little curs that are now yelping at me, I shall break their necks with kicks. *J'ai fait du chemin* [I have made some headway] since we discussed the Jewish Question around the *Cirque d'Été*. It won't be long before you will hear something very, very surprising. But one must keep one's mouth tight shut about a *bonne surprise* [good surprise]. That is what I am doing.

Please let me know quickly to what extent I can count on you, for you can imagine that I am not going to take this rotten attack lying down. If this method does not work, another will.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
Th. Herzl.

March 17

Dr. Beck, my parents' old family physician, has examined me and diagnosed a heart ailment caused by excitement.

He cannot understand why I concern myself with the Jewish cause, and among the Jews he associates with, no one understands it either.

March 26

Breitenstein the publisher tells me that Güdemann has declined to give a lecture on my *Jewish State*. My standpoint, he

says, is political, whereas his is religious. From his point of view he must disapprove of my attempts to anticipate Providence.

In other words: he does not dare; he no longer finds it opportune; he is afraid of the rich Jews who are against it.

Earlier he was supposed to write an article about the subject in Bloch's *Wochenschrift.*

* * *

The "Sion" society of Sofia sends me an enthusiastic resolution in which I am proclaimed the Leader.

Met Dessauer the bank director in the street. He is ready to finance the newspaper I need. I require a million guilders for the paper. With this paper I shall subdue the other sheets and the refractory Jews of high finance.

But Dessauer has his moods. A week from now he will plead some fatigue or other. In any case, my next step must be to put our publicity campaign on a sound foundation.

March 29

Seder of the Jewish student association Unitas. Friedmann, a lecturer at the University, explained the history of this festival which, after all, is our most beautiful and most meaningful one. I sat next to him. Later he spoke briefly with me in private, reminded me of Sabbatai Zvi, "who enchanted all people," and winked in a way that seemed to say that I ought to become such a Sabbatai. Or did he mean that I already was one?

March 30

My strange adherent, the Pressburg anti-Semite Ivan von Simonyi, came to see me. A sexagenarian, a mercurial, loquacious man with an astonishing amount of sympathy for the Jews. His conversation is a mixture of the sensible and the nonsensical; he believes in the ritual murder lie, but along with it has the brightest, most modern ideas. Loves me!

April 3

The three Marmorek brothers announce their adherence to my movement with a certain flourish of solemnity. The Parisian Marmorek, of the Pasteur Institute, called on me at the office with his younger brother, the lawyer, in order to declare "in our own name and in that of our brother, the architect" that they are joining in with me and are enthusiastic about it.

April 5

Dr. Schnirer and Dr. Kokesch, of the Vienna "Zion" society, brought me a resolution to the effect that I should continue my work confident of the Zionists' support. Schnirer wants to have an appeal circulated among Jewish intellectuals all over the world. A committee of 15-20 people is to be formed here, each of whom is to send the appeal to three or four of his friends in other cities. In this way thousands of signatures are to be collected. This would give me a substantial backing.

April 7

During the last few days, several conferences with Steiner and Dessauer for the purpose of financing the needed daily paper. A wretched job.

April 9

Dr. Beer-Hofmann has the following idea for an "initial institution": a great medical school, to which all Asia will stream and where, at the same time, the improvement of sanitation in the Orient will be developed. He also has a design for a monumental fountain: Moses Striking Water from the Rock.

April 10

A "free-lance scholar" by the name of Carl Bleicher called on me. At first I took him for a *shnorrer* [beggar] who was out for modest donations for a book. But he would not accept anything

from me and placed himself at my disposal as a propagandist. I am recording this because it is a sign of the way the poor have been moved. This old man, who lives on donations of guilders and ten-kreuzer pieces, opened his purse, showed me what he had, and refused my donation. This is the most important difference between my effectiveness and that of Baron Hirsch. They beg from him but do not love him. I am loved by the beggars. That is why I am stronger.

April 13

Dr. Alfred Stern, the "liberal" Community Councillor, came to see me in the office today and unmistakably tried to get closer to me. He said it was nice that someone was championing the Jewish cause and speaking the way I was speaking. I said to him: "Join us and I shall guarantee you popularity. Make this public declaration: I, Alfred Stern, whom you have known as a quiet person, am joining the Zionist movement!—That will have a great effect. Hundreds will follow your example."

He replied: "I think so too. Personally, I would have no objections. But I would be taking on the responsibility for hundreds and thousands."

I countered: "Our party will soon relieve you of this responsibility. When you run for office again, the organized Zionists will come to your election rallies."

This gave him pause for a bit.

April 14

The English clergyman Hechler came to me in the afternoon in a state of great excitement. He had been to the *Burg,* where the German Kaiser arrived today, and spoke to Dryander, the General Superintendent, and another gentleman from the Kaiser's retinue. He strolled through the city with them for two hours and told them the contents of my pamphlet, which greatly surprised them.

He told them the time had come *"to fulfill prophecy."* *

* In English in the original.

Now he wants me to join him tomorrow morning on a trip to Karlsruhe to see the Grand Duke; this is where the German Kaiser is going tomorrow evening. We would beat him there by half a day. It was Hechler's idea to call on the Grand Duke first thing, tell him what it was all about, and say that he had brought me to Karlsruhe against my will, so that I might give the gentlemen further information.

I declined to go along, because it would make me look like an adventurer. If then Their Highnesses did not feel inclined to admit me, I would be standing in the street in an undignified posture. I told him to go there by himself, and if they wanted to speak to me, I would immediately follow a wired invitation.

Hechler asked me for my photograph in order to show it to the gentlemen; he apparently thinks that they would picture me as a "shabby Jew." I promised to give him a photo tomorrow. Strange that I should just have had my picture taken—something that had not occurred to me in years—for my father's birthday today.

Then I went to the opera, sat in a box diagonally across from the imperial box, and all evening studied the motions of the German Kaiser. He sat there stiffly, sometimes bent affably to our Emperor, laughed heartily a number of times, and in general was not unconcerned about the impression he was making on the audience. At one time he explained something to our Emperor and underlined it with firm, vigorous, small gestures with his right hand, while his left hand rested permanently on the hilt of his sword.

I came home at eleven o'clock. Hechler had been sitting in the hall for an hour waiting for me. He wants to leave for Karlsruhe at seven in the morning.

He sat with me until half-past twelve making gentle conversation. His refrain: *fulfill prophecy!**

He firmly believes in it.

* In English in the original.

April 15

Hechler left as scheduled this morning. I went to his place to inquire about it; that is how improbable it still seemed to me, despite everything.

April 15

In the evening, at the offices of the *Wiener Mode* with Steiner and Colbert. The latter is well qualified to secure the financial backing for my newspaper. He outlined a clever plan which involves the expansion of his present enterprise by adding a paper factory and by incorporating the paper which I am to direct with limited liability.

April 16

Hechler wires me from Karlsruhe:

Everyone enthusiastic. Must stay through Sunday. Please hold yourself in readiness. Hechler.

April 17

The invitation to come to Karlsruhe has not arrived yet. I am beginning to believe that Hechler is creating illusions for himself.

April 17

The most stalwart people so far have been the Zionists in Sofia. Today there arrived a resolution which was passed in the synagogue of Sofia under the chairmanship of the Grand Rabbi.

Six hundred signatures. Enthusiastic words.

April 18

From two sources I hear that Privy Councillor Baron Erb, a former Section Head in the Ministry of the Interior, is greatly interested in *The Jewish State* and would like to have a talk with me.

• • •

Agliardi, the Papal Nuncio, spoke with my colleague Münz some time ago and told him he was prepared to receive me. Unfortunately I did not go to him right away. Now he has been called to Rome by the Pope and is supposed to represent him at the coronation of the Czar. If I had spoken with the Nuncio and won him over, the matter would immediately have been brought before the Pope and the Czar; their consent is necessary because of the Holy Sepulchre.

* * *

No word from Hechler. I now explain it to myself this way: with his telegram Hechler wanted to let me down easy about the failure of his mission. But since, in any case, he will have brought my pamphlet to the attention of the Grand Duke and perhaps even to that of the Kaiser, his travelling expenses are worth it to me. I shall give them to him without making a face, because that way I shall make all the more certain of his good services in the future.

April 18

Hechler wires from Karlsruhe:

Second conversation with H. M. and H. R. H.* yesterday excellent. Must wait some more. Hechler.

April 21

Heard nothing more from Hechler. Meanwhile the Kaiser has left Karlsruhe and gone to Coburg.

Wrote to Nordau and gave him the diplomatic assignment of putting out feelers toward Hirsch. If Hirsch hands over a few million, we can give the project a tremendous resonance and can spread some of the money around for *baksheesh* [gratuities] in Turkey.

* Translator's Note: The initials stand for His Majesty (i.e. the German Kaiser) and His Royal Highness (i.e. the Grand Duke of Baden).

April 21, afternoon

I began the letter to Nordau yesterday and finished it today.

Between yesterday and today Baron Hirsch died on an estate in Hungary.

I learned of it an hour after I had mailed the letter to Nordau. So I had to recall this letter by telegram. But what a strange coincidence. The pamphlet has been finished for months. I gave it to everyone except Hirsch. The moment I decide to do so, he dies. His participation could have helped our cause to success tremendously fast.

In any case, his death is a loss to the Jewish cause. Among the rich Jews he was the only one who wanted to do something big for the poor. Perhaps I did not know how to handle him properly. Perhaps I ought to have written that letter to Nordau two weeks ago.

It seems to me as though our cause has grown poorer this day. For I still kept thinking of winning Hirsch over to the plan.

* * *

Hechler telegraphs from Karlsruhe:

Third conversation yesterday. Fourth today, four o'clock. Hard work to make my wish prevail. Nevertheless, all goes well. Hechler Zirkel 2.

April 21, at night

I had intended to go to Pest tomorrow morning. Late this evening I received Hechler's call to come to Karlsruhe.

A curious day. Hirsch dies, and I make contact with princes.

Now begins a new book of the Jewish cause. After my return I shall add Hechler's last two telegrams to this full notebook.

Book Three

Begun April 22, 1896

On the way to Karlsruhe

April 22

A sunny Spring day. Today at seven I wanted to take the boat to Pest. And now I am sitting in a compartment of the Orient Express, going to Karlsruhe.

I am writing these pages in pencil and in shaky handwriting directly into the diary which I am holding on my knees, because later I shall probably have no time to make a clean copy. If I did not have a chance to do this when the Jewish cause was only in its beginnings, what will it be like in the future when we pass from the dream into the reality! For now it may be presumed that every day there will be interesting events, even if I should never get to the point of founding the State.

The fact that the Grand Duke has sent for me is the plainest evidence that he—and consequently also the Kaiser, who was with him three days ago—takes the matter seriously. And this fact is the most momentous, the most improbable. If it is true, it will affect the world like a thunder-clap and will be the "success" which Bierer is praying for in Sofia.

* * *

A delightful day, a lovely one. A flush of green on the beckoning meadows. On a wooden hill the trees are divided, giving the appearance of a broad hair-parting. Through them one can see as a delicate background the pale Spring sky—and at this moment my thoughts turn to the dead Baron Hirsch.

The living are right. I am right—as long as I am alive.

The Jews have lost Hirsch, but they have me.

And after me they will have someone else. Progress must go on.

A Vienna morning paper said in its obituary today: Hirsch was unable to help the poor because he was rich. This was the general idea—and it is right. I am tackling the same task differently, and, I believe, better and more forcefully, because I am not using money but an idea.

* * *

Before my departure I received another telegram from Hechler:

Cannot possibly remain here till Saturday. Conference with H. R. H. set for Thursday for both of us. Must I really return with mission half accomplished? . . . I must leave tomorrow if you cannot come by Thursday noon. Hechler.

He had interpreted my yesterday's message that I was leaving for Pest as a reply to his second telegram of yesterday, which it was not. It is a good thing that he thought it necessary to urge me again. But today, beaming with joy, he will report to the Grand Duke that I am coming after all.

* * *

I really don't know much about the Grand Duke: only that he is an old man and was a friend of Friedrich. At present he seems to have Wilhelm's ear, too. Therefore, a great deal depends on this conference and on the impression I make upon him.

Yet I must not become dizzy on these heights. I shall think of death and be earnest.

I shall be cool, calm, firm, modest but determined, and speak the same way.

April 23, Karlsruhe

I arrived here at eleven last night. Hechler met me at the station and took me to the Hotel Germania, which had been "recommended by the Grand Duke."

We sat in the dining-room for an hour. I drank Bavarian beer, Hechler milk.

He told me what had happened. The Grand Duke had received him immediately upon his arrival, but first wanted to wait for his privy-councillor's report on my *Jewish State*.

Hechler showed the Grand Duke the "prophetic tables" which seemed to make an impression.

When the Kaiser arrived, the Grand Duke immediately informed him of the matter. Hechler was invited to the reception,

and to the surprise of the court-assembly the Kaiser addressed him with the jocular words: "Hechler, I hear you want to become a minister of the Jewish State."

Contrary to etiquette, Hechler replied in English, whereupon the Kaiser continued in English: "Isn't Rothschild behind this?"

Naturally, Hechler answered in the negative. And with that the "conversation" seems to have been at an end.

So far, then, the results have been rather meager.

On the other hand, Hechler had better luck with the Grand Duke. There he was received a number of times. The Grand Duke spoke of the late Prince Ludwig, whose tutor Hechler had been, and wept freely. Hechler comforted him and read him a psalm in which Zion is mentioned.

Then the Grand Duke was open to further conversation. His main misgiving was that his action might be misinterpreted if he went along with my plan. People would assume that he wanted to drive the Jews out of his country. Also, my status as a journalist gave him pause. Hechler guaranteed that nothing would get into the papers.

At that point the Grand Duke asked what he could actually do for the cause.

Hechler said: "It was Your Royal Highness who, first among the German princes at Versailles, proclaimed King Wilhelm emperor. What if you were to participate in the second great founding of a state in this century, too! For the Jews will become a *grande nation* [great nation]."

This made an impression on the Grand Duke, and he consented to Hechler's calling me here, in order that I might expound the matter to him.

I am to come to a private audience at four o'clock this afternoon.

I accompanied Hechler to his quarters through the clean, deserted streets of this nice capital. Now and then, night owls, coming from a tavern, raised a loud and cheerful shout.

A pleasant provincialism revealed itself to my eyes in these night scenes and in Hechler's stories. The sentinel in front of the

castle gate listened complacently while Hechler told me where the apartments of the Grand Duke and of the Grand Duchess were located and where he himself had once lived. Nostalgically he pointed to the elegant windows. I accompanied him to his door. He is staying in one of the outlying court buildings.

* * *

My task this afternoon will be to get the Grand Duke to recommend me to the Kaiser for an audience, and also to interest the Grand Duke of Hesse, the Czar's father-in-law, in the cause. Then the latter might talk about it in St. Petersburg, when he attends the coronation of the Czar.

* * *

Walked and rode about with Hechler. We viewed the mausoleum of Prince Ludwig, which is just being completed. With a solemn beauty this red sandstone chapel stands in the charming hunting forest next to the Wolfsgraben, where young Ludwig used to play.

I had Hechler give me details about the grand-ducal family, so as to know with whom I would be talking.

I also took a good look at the photographs of the Grand Duke which are displayed in the shop windows. Looks like a well-meaning, commonplace person.

Hechler told me further that the Grand Duke had seemed concerned lest the departure of the Jews might also involve an enormous exodus of money.

I shall accordingly reassure him on this point.

* * *

Hechler related how Napoleon I came to Karlsruhe one day and forced the Margrave Karl to marry his step-daughter on the spot—otherwise his days as a ruler would be over. The margrave complied and in return was made a grand duke.

* * *

The lay-out of the city of Karlsruhe is enchanting. Everything radiates from the castle. Behind the castle, a park and beautiful forests. In front, the peaceful town.

April 23

Lunched with Hechler. He had brought his decorations along and was more excited than I was. I did not change my clothes until after lunch, half an hour before the audience. Hechler asked me if I did not want to wear tails. I said no, for too formal an attire on such an occasion can also be tactless. The Grand Duke wishes to speak with me, as it were, *incognito*. So I wore my trusty Prince Albert. Externals increase in importance the higher one climbs, for everything becomes symbolic.

The rainy morning had turned into a delightful afternoon when we came out of the hotel. It was only twenty minutes to four o'clock, so we were able to stroll about a bit.

In good spirits I said to Hechler: "Remember this fine day, the lovely Spring skies over Karlsruhe! Perhaps a year from today we shall be in Jerusalem." Hechler said he planned to ask the Grand Duke to accompany the Kaiser when the latter went to Jerusalem next year for the consecration of the church. I should also be present then, and he, Hechler, would like to go along as a technical adviser to the Grand Duke.

I said: "When I go to Jerusalem, I will take you with me."

Although we only had a few more steps to go, we took a cab and drove up in front of the castle in style. We went up the little ramp, something that struck me as a touch of special refinement about our visit. It was the first time I had driven up before a princely castle. I tried not to let myself be overawed by the soldiers on guard. The door-keeper treated Hechler like an old friend. We were led into the first waiting-room. It was the Adjutants' Hall. And this did take my breath away. For here the regimental flags stand in magnificent rank and file. Encased in leather, they rest solemn and silent; they are the flags of 1870-1871. On the wall between the flag-stands is a painting of a mili-

tary review: the Grand Duke parading the troops before Kaiser Wilhelm I. One might say that only now did I realize where I was.

I tried to divert myself from becoming excessively impressed by taking an inventory, like a reporter: furniture upholstered in green velvet; the brown, curved wooden legs of the chairs trimmed with gilt beading; photographs of the three German emperors.

Fortunately, Hechler chattered without a break, too. He told me about the first time he was in this hall when as a young fellow he brought a petition to retain an Inspector of Secondary Schools who was to be dismissed. At that time an adjutant had come up to him and said: "Don't be afraid! The Grand Duke is only a man like ourselves."

I thought to myself, smiling inwardly, "That's good to know, anyway."

Then the Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber appeared and invited us to step into the next salon. The Grand Duke was taking a little stroll among his pheasants and would come shortly.

This second salon is rococo. Red silk damask tapestries, the arm-chairs covered with the same material. Large photographs of the German emperors. On the wall, oil portraits of a former grand duke and his wife.

Hechler continued to bolster my spirits by his prattle. If he did this intentionally, it was very discreet.

He had, in general, prepared me in a most tactful manner. For instance, he had remarked on our way to the castle that I must unglove my right hand, in case the Duke offered me his hand to shake.

Insertion: At lunch I had told him that the Vienna Nuncio, Agliardi, had sent me word (through Dr. Münz) that he wanted to have a talk with me. I told him this so that he might induce the British ambassador, Monson, to speak with me. Hechler immediately warned me against Agliardi and Rome. He bade me be careful. Meanwhile I thought to myself: just let them be

jealous of one another, Englishmen and Russians, Protestants and Catholics. Let them contend over me—that way our cause will be furthered.

While we were sitting in the red salon, Hechler told me about the deceased Grand Duke whose portrait hung on the wall: he was reputed to be of dubious parentage. At least that is what the house of Bavaria had asserted. Bavaria wanted to drive out the reigning family of Baden and had a secret agreement with Austria. Austria had promised the Palatinate to Bavaria and secretly paid her two millions a year, up to 1866. And then, in order to justify the claims upon Baden, the Caspar Hauser myth was started in Bavaria. I listened to Hechler's story absent-mindedly. I don't even know if I am reproducing it correctly now.

It only pleased me to hear of these egotistic wranglings among the great, because it made me feel a bit superior in the purity of my own movement and gave me more self-assurance.

Suddenly the door from the study opened, and there entered an old general who looked robust but not obese—the Grand Duke. We jumped up from our arm-chairs. I made two bows. The Grand Duke shook hands with Hechler—but did not avail himself of my fittingly bared right hand. He motioned to us to follow him. I went in last and closed the door behind me. I have no idea how the study looked, for I had to keep my eyes on the Grand Duke, either speaking or listening, all the time. He is seventy years of age, but looks six to eight years younger.

Three arm-chairs were in readiness. The one I got faced directly against the light. The arm-rests were not far enough apart to let a man drop his arms by his side. These arm-chairs may be very comfortable for relaxing, leaning back, and propping one's forearms on the rests. But since it would not have been proper for me to lean back, I sat for two and a half hours in a strained position, which may also have affected my manner of delivery.

At first I spoke self-consciously. I felt constrained to speak in an undertone, which eliminated the usual self-intoxication of speech. In response to the first polite questions about what kind

of a trip I had had and where I lived, I told him what my profession was and also mentioned my former position in Paris.

The Grand Duke said: "I take the *Neue Freie Presse*." He inquired about Paris. I described the parliamentary crisis and particularly the present Bourgeois cabinet.

After a few minutes he interrupted me: "But we were going to talk about other things."

Whereupon I came right to the point and asked him to interrupt me with queries wherever my exposition was not clear enough.

So I unfolded the entire subject. Unfortunately I had to concentrate so much while I was speaking that I was not able to observe well. Hechler said afterwards that the conversation should have been taken down stenographically. He thought I had spoken quite well and had found some felicitous expressions.

All I know is that the Grand Duke kept looking straight into my eyes with his beautiful blue eyes and calm, fine face, that he listened to me with great benevolence; and when he himself spoke, he did so with ineffable modesty. After exerting my entire brain power for two hours and a half, I was so exhausted that I can no longer remember the exact course of the conversation.

In any case, the Grand Duke took my proposed formation of a state quite seriously from the beginning.

His chief misgiving was that if he supported the cause, people would misinterpret this as anti-Semitism on his part.

I explained to him that only those Jews shall go who want to.

Since the Jews of Baden are happy under his liberal reign, they will not emigrate, and rightly so. In the course of his conversation I reverted several times more, and from different angles, to his friendliness toward the Jews and used it in various ways as an argument. If he supported our cause, I said, it would no longer be possible to regard it as something hostile to the Jews. Moreover, it was our duty, as leaders of the Jews, to make clear to the people that the establishment of the Jewish State would constitute an act of goodwill and not of persecution.

Further I said: "If Your Royal Highness' benevolent attitude

toward the Jews became known, your duchy would get such an influx of Jews that it would be highly calamitous."

He smiled.

(Continued on the train, returning home, on April 24)

"Quite generally," I said, "it is part of the Jews' misfortune that their well-wishers don't dare to concern themselves with them at all. During their long martyrdom they have grown so sensitive that one can't even touch them."

The Grand Duke then reformulated the same thought. He said he was afraid of offending his Jewish subjects if he publicly endorsed my plan. To be sure, it was common knowledge how he had felt about the Jews up to now, but people would probably misunderstand him anyway and believe that he had simply changed his mind. He said he had never had reason to complain about his Jewish citizens. "For twenty-five years a Jew was my Minister of Finance," he said, "and he always did his duty to my satisfaction. He governed well. He has adhered to your religion to this day. But even here in Baden conditions are no longer what they used to be. A Jew named Bielefeld, with whom I was working on a literary project, advised me himself to omit his name from the publication, because nowadays this might cause trouble. We have had other difficulties caused by anti-Semitism, especially in the judiciary. We have Jews at all levels of legal life, and this has caused certain difficulties.

"And yet the Jews have many good qualities. I have yet to see a drunken Jew. They are sober-minded and thrifty; they always know how to shift for themselves. A cattle dealer, out on the road all day, will still keep away from the taverns—in fact, he eats nothing from early morning until he gets home at night. In addition to frugality there is also great intelligence, which, to be sure, sometimes applies itself to fraud. But, on the other hand, if one looks at the blockheads who allow themselves to be outwitted like this, one can't help saying, 'it serves the fools right.'

"At all events, you will have very intelligent human material for the founding of your state.

"But how do you imagine the practical implementation will go?"

I then presented the entire plan, which he had actually known only in Hechler's version—that is, in its "prophetic" aspects, which, of course, I don't have much to do with.

The Grand Duke thought that the governments could take a closer interest in the matter only if they liked the looks of the *Society of Jews.*

Naturally I advocated the opposite course. Some princes should manifest their favorable disposition; this would enable the *Society of Jews* to act with more authority from the outset. And authority was necessary if such a big movement was to be carried out in an orderly way. For even during the migration the Jews would stand in need of education and discipline.

(Continued in Munich, April 25)

The Grand Duke mentioned the degradation which, according to newspaper reports, existed among the Russian Jews who had emigrated to London.

I said: "In order to bring this under control, we need a strong authority. This is precisely why it is indispensable that we be recognized by the Great Powers at the start."

The Grand Duke said: Actually, Germany cannot very well take the initiative in this. In the first place, she is not interested in the question to the same great extent as, for example, Austria. In that country, of course, there are great anti-Semitic problems, due to Lueger. Germany has no excessive number of Jews. Their departure would not even be welcomed by the economists.

I then explained how only the *trop plein* [surplus] was to be drained off; how movable property can never be considered as tied to any particular country; and how, after this solution of the Jewish Question, it will have to come back all the more. I said that at present such capital was creating trouble for the domestic

economy by stimulating industry in remote lands with cheap labor. There is no need to bring the Chinese to Europe; factories are being built for them *out there.* In this way, after agriculture has been imperiled by America, industry is being threatened by the Far East.

To offset this, my movement wants to help on two fronts: through draining off the surplus Jewish proletariat, and through keeping international capital under control.

The German Jews cannot but welcome the movement. It will divert the influx of Jews from Eastern Europe away from them.

The Grand Duke repeatedly punctuated my observations with a murmured "I wish it were so."

He then half turned to Hechler:

"I suppose that cooperation between England and Germany is not very likely. Relations between the two are, unfortunately, badly disturbed at present. Would England go along?"

I said: "Our English Jews will have to see to that."

The Grand Duke said, somewhat ill-humoredly: "If they can manage that . . ."

I said: "If it were known that the Grand Duke of Baden took an interest in the matter, this would make a profound impression."

He cried: "That is not true. My position is not great enough. Ah, if the German Kaiser or the King of Belgium did it!"

I persisted: "Oh, but if an experienced prince, one who helped to fashion the German Empire, one to whom the German Kaiser turns for counsel, endorses this new enterprise, it will make a great impression. Your Royal Highness is the Kaiser's adviser."

He smiled: "I advise him, but he does what he pleases."

I: "I would make an effort to explain the merits of the matter to the Kaiser, too. If he consented to receive me, it would remain as secret as our present conversation."

The Grand Duke: "I think you ought to create the *Society of Jews* first. Then we shall see whether one can have any dealings with it."

I: "Then there will already be more heads than one. The pri-

mary steps, the first rising bubbles, would presumably still have to be my work."

The Grand Duke: "In any case, the project can succeed only if few people know about it. Public discussion immediately distorts everything."

Hechler now came to my aid: "Would not Your Royal Highness permit Dr. Herzl to tell a few trustworthy men in England that the Grand Duke of Baden takes an interest in the matter?"

The Grand Duke assented to this, with the repeated stipulation that the matter might be discussed only outside the borders of his country. Then he asked me whether I had taken any steps yet with the Sultan.

Thinking of Newlinsky, I said that someone had already offered to speak with the Sultan.

At that point I set forth the advantages which the project would bring to the Orient. If Turkey were partitioned in the foreseeable future, an *état tampon* [buffer state] could be created in Palestine. However, we could contribute a great deal toward the preservation of Turkey. We could straighten out the Sultan's finances once and for all, in return for this territory which is not of great value to him.

The Grand Duke wondered if it would not be better first to send a few hundred thousand Jews to Palestine, and then raise the question.

I said with determination: "I am against that. It would be sneaking them in. The Jews would then have to confront the Sultan as insurgents. But I want to do everything open and above-board, fully within the law."

At first he looked at me in surprise when I spoke so forcefully; then he nodded approval.

Next I expatiated on the general advantages of the Jewish State for Europe. We would restore to health the plague-spot of the Orient. We would build railroads into Asia—the highway of the civilized peoples. And this highway would then not be in the hands of any one Great Power.

The Grand Duke said: "That would also solve the Egyptian

question. England clings to Egypt only because she must protect her passage to India there. Actually, Egypt costs more than it is worth."

Hechler said: "Could Russia have designs on Palestine?"

The Grand Duke said: "I don't think so. For a long time to come, Russia will have her hands full in the Far East."

I asked: "Does Your Royal Highness consider it possible that I shall be received by the Czar?"

He said: "According to the latest reports, the Czar is accessible to no one. He receives only his ministers when necessary, and no one else. However, one might try in Hesse to place your book in his hands. I believe that the Czar is not hostile to the Jews, but he must take the mood of the Russian people into account. An autocrat by no means always rules autocratically."

I asked the Grand Duke for permission to write him from time to time, and he graciously consented. What modesty and plain-dealing, all around! I felt inwardly ashamed at having wished to reduce him to the commonplace before I had even spoken with him. He is of a grand, noble naturalness. I no longer recall at what points in the conversation he discussed parliamentarianism, the standard working day, and other things.

He deplored the decline of parliamentary government and said he was "a genuine constitutional ruler." The legislative process is getting worse and worse. Many laws are being passed that are worthless.

A propos of my seven-hour working day with overtime, he spoke about experiments that have been made with the standard working day in Switzerland. The workers themselves are not satisfied with it.

To illustrate the psychology of the worker, I told him an incident from *Tom Sawyer* by Mark Twain, how one Sunday afternoon Tom has to whitewash his father's fence as a punishment, and how he turns this to profit. Tom does not say to his chums, "I *have* to," but "I am *allowed* to whitewash the fence." Then they all importune him to let them help him.

The Grand Duke smiled: "Very pretty."

He then told me about the hatred people have for anything new: how someone wanted to establish a useful credit-bank in Baden and how this proved impossible, because hidebound private interests put up a fight against it. When relating or explaining something, he repeatedly used the expression "You will agree with me," or something similar. With all his dignity he has a chivalric modesty.

When Hechler took the floor afterwards and discoursed on the imminent fulfilment of the prophecy, the Grand Duke listened silently, magnificently, and full of faith, with a strikingly peaceful look in his fine, steady eyes.

Finally he said something that he had said several times before: "I should like to see it come about. I believe it will be a blessing for many human beings."

An addition just occurred to me.

I had spoken of the communications I had received from Semlin and Great-Becskerek, where a number of families want to start out right away.

To this he said: "That is a sad sign of the conditions there."

I also told him about the beggar who refused to take anything from me, and that I had concluded from this incident that I had found a path straight to the heart of the poor. He nodded.

Against parliamentarizing I said: "I cannot have such high esteem for the Word. In the beginning was the Deed." * To this he also nodded.

Now that I think back to it, I feel that I have won him over.

After two hours and a half, which were exhausting for him as well, for he often held his head when I was discussing some difficult point—after two and a half hours he terminated the audience. This time he shook my hand and even held it for quite some time, while he spoke kind words of farewell: he hoped that I would reach my goal, etc.

Together with Hechler I went past the lackeys and guards who wondered at the length of the audience.

* Translator's Note: A paraphrase of a quotation from Goethe's *Faust*, Part I.

I was slightly intoxicated with the success of our conference. I could only say to Hechler, "He is a wonderful person!"

And so he is.

However, as a contribution to the psychology of the visitor, I did take note of this slight intoxication following an audience.

The fear that comes before an audience is later balanced by the intoxication that comes after the audience.

The more naturally and simply the giver of an audience behaves, the greater will be the intoxication of the man who was overawed at first.

I still had time for a walk in the castle park, while Hechler packed his things.

There was a lovely evening mood in the park. A few quiet strollers, boys walking on stilts in the moat. Loud singing of birds in the rejuvenated tree-tops. The clear light of evening, peace, the cloudless mood of Spring.

* * *

Later I accompanied Hechler, who was on his way to Basel, to the station. He was very pleased with the result; the next day he was going to send a telegram from Basel to the "Prophetic Assembly" in London, saying that he had spoken with two sovereigns about the Jewish State, whose realization he considered imminent.

I asked him not to send such a telegram, because the Grand Duke might not approve of it.

Now I regret having kept him from sending it. It would have caused a sensation in England, and the Grand Duke would not even have been mentioned.

April 26, Vienna

When I boarded the Orient Express at Munich yesterday at noon, Hechler was on it. From Basel he had gone to Karlsruhe again and there boarded the Orient Express. "I will pay the difference in fares out of my own pocket," he said.

Naturally I wouldn't hear of it. The whole trip shall be at my expense. In my present circumstances this is a bit of a sacrifice, to be sure.

We had a comfortable trip. In the compartment he unfolded his maps of Palestine and instructed me for hours on end. The northern frontier ought to be the mountains facing Cappadocia; the southern, the Suez Canal. The slogan to be circulated: The Palestine of David and Solomon!

Then he left me to myself, and I drafted my letter to the Grand Duke. Later Hechler found fault with some things. His criticisms are excellent, although it is then that his anti-Semitism occasionally comes through. Self-confidence on the part of a Jew seems insolence to him. When it was getting dark, he even treated me to a downright anti-Semitic story. He had once put a Jew up at his home, and by way of thanks the Jew had robbed him. A Talmudic scholar, to whom he told his troubles, answered him with a comparison of flowers and nations, saying the rose was the English, the lily the French etc., the fat thistle on the dung-heap the Jewish flower.

I disposed of him rather drily: "If you take a hundred Jews and a hundred Gentiles into your house, you will have more bad experiences with Gentiles than with Jews."

This man Hechler is, at all events, a peculiar and complex person. There is much pedantry, exaggerated humility, pious eye-rolling about him—but he also gives me excellent advice full of unmistakably genuine good will. He is at once clever and mystical, cunning and naive. In his dealings with me so far, he has supported me almost miraculously.

His counsel and his precepts have been excellent to date, and unless it turns out later, somehow or other, that he is a double-dealer, I would want the Jews to show him a full measure of gratitude.

• • •

Letter to the Grand Duke of Baden:

Your Royal Highness:

Upon my return home I feel impelled to express to you my respectful thanks for your kind reception in Karlsruhe.

The thought that I was sitting across from one of the co-founders of the German Empire, the friend and adviser to three emperors, made me self-conscious. Yet the cause must not suffer from the weakness of its representative, and I beg Your Royal Highness' permission to put a few points in even sharper focus than I may have done orally.

The Jewish Question is probably not so burning a problem in present-day Germany as it is in Austria, Russia, Rumania, etc. But this very respite, which cannot possibly be of long duration, may make it appear desirable to tackle the solution of the problem. The state's authority cannot yield before the clamor of irresponsible street-corner politicians. However, if this authority is not being hard-pressed, it can support a beneficial project all the more readily.

For it is our hope that a stream of happiness will flow from our project for many people, and not only for the Jews by any means.

If it is God's will that we return to our historic fatherland, we should like to do so as representatives of Western civilization, and bring cleanliness, order, and the well-distilled customs of the Occident to this plague-ridden, blighted corner of the Orient. We shall have to do this so as to be able to exist there, and this obligation will educate our people to the extent that they need it.

The details are outlined in my work *The Jewish State*. On pages 16, 77, 78f. there is information about how economic damage to the countries that will be abandoned can and must be prevented.

There is, incidentally, no thought of a complete evacuation. Those Jews who have been, or still can be, assimilated, will re-

main. The emigration will be voluntary, and the Jews, who will have been informed in good time, will not regard it as an expulsion but as an act of mercy on the part of their sovereigns.

But our movement will have two results—and this is something that I barely hinted at in my pamphlet, which is intended as the basis for public discussion; I should like to direct Your Royal Highness' especial attention to these two effects: our weakening of the revolutionary parties and our breaking of the international financial power. If we find support, these will be not merely presumptuous words.

If Your Royal Highness should feel impelled to place my plan before His Imperial Majesty, I most humbly ask you to emphasize these points.

I beg Your Royal Highness to accept the expression of my respectful devotion.

Dr. Theodor Herzl,
Vienna IX,
Pelikangasse 16,
April 26

Budapest, May 3

Dionys Rosenfeld, editor of the *Osmanische Post* of Constantinople, called on me here.

He offered his services as an intermediary. He claims to be on good terms with Izzet Bey, the Sultan's favorite. I told him in a few words what it was all about. We shall bestow enormous benefits upon Turkey and confer big gifts upon the intermediaries, if we obtain Palestine. This means nothing less than its cession as an independent country. In return we shall thoroughly straighten out Turkey's finances.

We shall acquire the lands belonging to the Sultan under civil law—although in that country there probably is not such a marked contrast between sovereignty and private property.

Rosenfeld says the moment is very propitious, for Turkey is in serious financial straits. However, he believes that sov-

ereignty would not be relinquished—at best, a status like that of Bulgaria. This I reject outright.

Rosenfeld wants to hurry up and go home; he believes he can procure for me the necessary audience with the Sultan for the end of May. *Vederemo* [We shall see].

I declared that in any case I would come to Constantinople only if Izzet Bey expressly assured me of the audience with the Sultan in advance.

May 7, Vienna

Kozmian published a very flattering article about *The Jewish State* in the Lvov official gazette, the *Gazeta Lwowska.*

Today I paid him a visit in order to thank him and to resume the threads of our association. I found him still in bed.

Sitting on the edge of his bed, I described to him the situation into which Badeni has got himself by capitulating to Lueger. He will either have to continue collaborating with the anti-Semites and thus incur the insidious hatred of the Jews, or he will again seek contact with the Jews, and then the anti-Semites, heartened by their success, will quickly overthrow him.

He can no longer lean on the decaying Liberal Party in the next House of Deputies. He will seek and find more conservative helpers. That will net him the full hatred of the remaining liberals. Then the only way out will be to court the Zionist movement and thus create a split among the Jewish opposition.

Kozmian intends to talk to Badeni about this.

May 7, evening

Newlinsky came to see me after I had telephoned him.

In a few words I brought him *au courant* [up to date]. He told me he had read my pamphlet before his last trip to Constantinople and discussed it with the Sultan. The latter had declared that he could never part with Jerusalem. The Mosque of Omar must always remain in the possession of Islam.

"We could get around that difficulty," I said. "We shall extra-

territorialize Jerusalem, which will then belong to nobody and yet to everybody—the holy place which will become the joint possession of all believers. The great *condominium* of culture and morality."

Newlinsky thought that the Sultan would sooner give us Anatolia. Money was no consideration to him; he had absolutely no understanding of its value—something that may frequently be observed among rulers. But there was another way of winning the Sultan over: through supporting him in the Armenian situation.

Newlinsky is even now on a confidential mission on behalf of the Sultan to the Armenian Committees in Brussels, Paris, and London. He is to induce them to submit to the Sultan, whereupon the latter will "voluntarily" grant them the reforms which he refuses to accord under pressure of the Great Powers.

Newlinsky now asked me to procure for him the support of the Jews in the Armenian situation; in return he would tell the Sultan that Jewish influence had rendered him this service. The Sultan would show his appreciation of this.

This idea immediately struck me as excellent, but I told him that we shall not give our aid away free, i.e., give it only in return for positive counter-services to the Jewish cause.

At this, Newlinsky proposed that no more than an armistice be obtained from the Armenians. The Armenian Committees were preparing to strike some time in July. They ought to be persuaded to wait for a month. We would use that period for negotiations with the Sultan. Since Newlinsky himself is becoming an interested party to the Jewish cause, he wants to drag out the Armenian matter profitably, so that one cause may promote the other.

I said: "The Jewish cause will bring you greater returns than the Armenian. I have nothing to do with money matters, to be sure, but I shall give you a recommendation to our wealthy men."

Newlinsky, whose close acquaintance with the Sultan is common knowledge, claims that with this approach we shall be able to succeed. But on no account should official diplomatic circles

intervene; in fact, it would be better if they put difficulties in our way. Then the Sultan would do what we desire out of spite.

* * *

In the evening I had my wife's cousin explain Turkey's financial situation to me.

As I see things now, the financial plan will have to consist in our eliminating the European Control Commission and taking the payment of interest under our Jewish auspices, so that the Sultan will be relieved of this humiliating control and can raise new loans *ad libitum* [at will].

* * *

Today I also wrote to the Sculptor Moïse Ezechiel at Rome. He is said to be a Zionist and well acquainted with Cardinal Hohenlohe.

May 8

The Hassid Ahron Marcus of Podgorze again writes me a fine letter in which he holds out the possibility that the three million Hassidim of Poland will join my movement.

I am answering him that the participation of the orthodox will be most welcome—but no theocracy will be created.

May 10

Newlinsky came to say goodbye before leaving for Brussels.

He will in any case work on the Sultan in our behalf, and even if we do not bring about a settlement of the Armenian matter, he will tell him that we helped him.

He is relying upon the generosity of the Jews, in case he achieves anything for us.

He tells me that Kozmian said about me that I reminded him of one of the great Jews whom Renan writes about, but that my effort was Utopian.

May 11

Nordau writes that he has tried to establish contact with Edmond Rothschild through Zadoc Kahn. However, Rothschild was a proponent of infiltration.

I am writing to Nordau about the Armenians and requesting his support.

* * *

Talked with Hechler and asked him to notify Ambassador Monson that a semi-official agent of the Sultan has set out for Brussels and London in order to conciliate the Armenians. Monson should inform Salisbury. For Salisbury this would be a great and effortless diplomatic success.

May 12

Hechler was here. The news was very welcome to Ambassador Monson, because England desires peace in Armenia. I advised that Salisbury be induced to renew his conciliatory pronouncements.

May 12

Great things need no solid foundation. An apple must be put on a table so that it will not fall. The earth floats in mid-air.

Similarly, I may be able to found and stabilize the Jewish State without any firm support.

The secret lies in motion. (I believe that somewhere in this area of thought lies the invention of the dirigible airship. Weight overcome by motion; and not the ship but its motion is to be steered.)

May 13

Letter to Newlinsky at London:

Dear Sir:*

I have done some work for you and hope that you will see the results of it. In particular, I have had Lord Salisbury aproached,

* In French in the original.

and it seems to me that we may expect a favorable attitude in that quarter. As regards my co-religionists, I have already got them going, in Paris as well as in London. But among my friends there are some who raise a rather serious objection. They say that we run the risk of doing the King of Prussia's work and that once the pacification is achieved, we shall quickly be forgotten. One of our most influential friends, who is absolutely opposed to this intervention, thinks that the dissolution of this great force would be more advantageous for us.

However, as I told you then and there, I am of the contrary opinion that it is to our well-considered interest to move in the direction you indicated. I want to preserve and strengthen the present powers which will soon realize that they are dealing with friends.

For the rest, at the first evidence of good will accorded to our cause, the objectors will rally to my side.

Please write me if there is any important news. I wish you the fullest success.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Th. H.

May 13

Nordau telegraphs: "No!"

This means that he will have nothing to do with the Armenian affair. Whether he has had enough all around I do not know, but I am anxiously awaiting his next letter.

May 14

S. Klatschko, who is taking care of the Russian translation, was here.

When, in the course of our conversation, he told me that he used to be a Nihilist, I asked him whether he knew the Armenian Committees.

He does! The leader at Tiflis, Alawerdoff, is the fiancé of a

lady who lives in Klatschko's house; and Klatschko has a connection with the London chief, Nikoladze, through the Russian Zaikowski.

I asked him to write to Zaikowski that I have learned the Sultan desires a reconciliation and has dispatched a negotiator for that purpose. The Armenians may confidently deal with him. I consider the peace offer a genuine one, but naturally can answer for the negotiator only to the extent of what I have learned from him. But the Armenians wouldn't be risking anything. If after their honorable submission the Sultan still does not grant the reforms within the stipulated period of time, they can openly declare that they have been cheated and make the entire negotiations public. Klatschko promised to write to London immediately to this effect.

May 14

Received at last a long-awaited letter from the Rev. Singer. I was beginning to think he had dropped off, like Güdemann and others who had gone with me for a distance.

He writes that Montagu wants to avoid public notice, for several reasons; but Montagu has given a copy of my book to Gladstone. Should Gladstone express an opinion, his words will be given *retentissement* [reverberation] in the press.

I am answering Singer by informing him for Montagu's benefit that I do not wish to address an "appeal" to the Sultan (which would be a typically English notion), but will negotiate with him secretly and possibly summon Montagu to Constantinople so that he may support me.

I also wrote to Goldsmid and to Solomon that I am planning to come to London in July to make a big speech (probably at the Maccabeans) about the results achieved to date. Singer had thought that I should hold a big meeting "with an admission fee." But this I reject. I do not address paying audiences. Although, for all I know, this may be the usual thing in England.

May 15

Letter to Newlinsky:

Dear Sir:*

I have just received your telegram. The day before yesterday I wrote you at the Berkeley Hotel, Piccadilly; please claim my letter there.

I shall briefly repeat its contents. I have had the ground prepared for you with Lord S., and I have asked my friends to make contact also with the heads of the Armenian movement. In London, I believe Mr. Nikoladze is the man to talk to. One of my friends has also undertaken to take steps with the head of the Russian Committees** at Tiflis.

You will have to overcome the mistrust of the Armenians. Their leaders will believe that we want to compromise them by a fruitless submission which will cripple the entire movement. Actually, on the basis of information which I received last night, we could get them to conclude an armistice without any detrimental effects.

The Tiflis leader may come to Vienna, and then I shall see him.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Herzl.

May 15

Second letter.

Dear Sir:***

I have made a mistake. The head of the movement in London is Avetis Nazarbek, and he directs the paper "Hutschak." Someone will contact him.

Best regards,
H.

* In French in the original.
** Translator's Note: Probably a slip of the pen for Armenian Committees.
*** In French in the original.

May 16

Had a good letter from Nordau which makes up for the "No" telegram that had shaken me a bit.

After he had written me that letter, he talked with Edmond Rothschild yesterday afternoon. Zadoc Kahn took him to the Rue Laffitte.

That Rothschild should have this distinguished man of letters brought to his office rather than his home is somewhat snobbish and recalls my rendez-vous with the coal-Gutmanns.*

May 18

Nordau reports that he went with Zadoc to Edmond Rothschild. The "audience" lasted 63 minutes, out of which Rothschild spoke 53, and Nordau "with difficulty and rudeness" only ten.

Rothschild will hear nothing whatever of the matter; he does not believe that anything can be accomplished with the Sultan, and at any rate will not cooperate. He considers what I am doing dangerous, because I am rendering the patriotism of the Jews suspect, as well as injurious—namely, to his Palestinian colonies.

Accordingly, we shall pass over him and on to the order of the day.

After this, there is something comical about today's dispatches from Paris, which report street demonstrations against the Jews and in particular the Rothschilds. In front of the same house on the Rue Laffitte where on Friday E. R. had rejected my friend Nordau, the mob cried on Sunday: "Down with the Jews!"

May 19

Agliardi the Nuncio sent me word yesterday through our colleague Münz that he would receive me today, at ten a.m. sharp.

At ten I entered the Nuncio's quarters, on the "Am Hof" square, looking around furtively, like a man entering a house of ill repute. I must record this feeling here, because it was the most noteworthy one.

* Translator's Note: "Kohlengutmännern"; Herzl puns on their name.

Anyone who saw me enter there could easily have misunderstood my errand.

The nunciature is a musty, chill, old, run-down little palace. No stately servants, and on the staircase a shabby carpet.

My card was quickly handed to the Nuncio; he quickly had me shown in and just as quickly came to the point.

He made the one reservation that this must not be an "interview!" Naturally, I promised him this.

Then I briefly presented him the proposal, which he knew only in general outline.

I spoke in French, but was not really in good form today, although not in the least self-conscious. It seems that I am beginning to lose my self-consciousness.

Agliardi listened in fine style. He is tall, slim, well-bred, and stiff—come to think of it, exactly the way I had pictured a papal diplomat. His grey hair is sparse; while talking he frequently adjusts his violet skull-cap. His nose is fine, large, and aquiline. His eyes are searching.

He interpolated some questions in bad French. Was I keeping the difficulties in mind? In what way was the government of this new "kingdom" to be established and how would the Great Powers be induced to recognize it? Would the Jewish "grand-seigneurs"—Rothschild and others—contribute money for this purpose? And the like.

I said: We do not want a kingdom, but an aristocratic republic. We need only the consent of the Great Powers, and in particular that of His Holiness the Pope; then we shall establish ourselves, with Jerusalem extraterritorialized. We shall straighten out the Sultan's finances.

Agliardi smiled: "He will be very pleased at that. So you propose to exclude Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, and presumably set up the capital more to the north?"

"Yes," I said.

He thought it was doubtful whether the Great Powers would give their consent, particularly Russia. Nor did he believe that this was the solution of the Jewish Question.

"Let us assume," he said, "that you will be able to withdraw 30,000 of the 130,000 Jews in Vienna. 100,000 would still remain. Suppose only 50,000 remained in Vienna. They would continue to cause anti-Semitism—the mild sort of persecution that we are witnessing now. How do matters stand with us in Italy? We have perhaps 10,000 Jews in the entire country. 5-6000 of these are in Rome, a few thousand in Leghorn and Mantua, the rest scattered about. Now then, these 10,000, or let us say, 20,000 Jews, out of a total population of 30 millions, give rise to the same complaints as do the Jews here. People say that they dominate the stock exchange, the newspapers, and so on.

"It seems, my good man, that you Jews possess a particular energy which we lack, a special gift from God—"

At that moment the servant knocked on the door.

"*Avanti* [Come in]!" called the Nuncio.

The servant announced: "*Sua Excellenza l'Ambasciatore di Francia* [His Excellency the Ambassador of France]!"

The Nuncio rose and asked me to come back another time.

In the ante-chamber waited Lozé, the French ambassador.

Result of the conversation: I believe Rome will be against us, because she does not see in the Jewish State the solution of the Jewish Question and perhaps even fears it.

May 21

Sylvia d'Avigdor reports from London that Samuel Montagu gave her translation of my *Jewish State* to Gladstone and that he then commented favorably on it in a letter.

Whit-Sunday

Tomorrow it will be a year since I started the movement by my visit to Hirsch. If during the coming year I make proportionate progress, as from the zero point at that time to today's achievements, then we shall be *leshonoh haboh birusholayim* [Next year in Jerusalem].

* * *

Attorney Bodenheimer of Cologne invites me to come to Berlin to attend the Convention of German Zionists at the end of June. I am answering him, *inter alia* [among other things]:

"I have grateful admiration for what the Zionists have done up to now, but I am fundamentally opposed to infiltration. If infiltration is allowed to proceed, it will increase the value of land and it will become harder and harder for us to buy it. The idea of a declaration of independence "as soon as we are strong enough over there" I consider to be impracticable, because the Great Powers would certainly not recognize it, even if the Porte had weakened enough. My program, on the other hand, is to halt infiltration and to concentrate all energies on the acquisition of Palestine under international law. This requires diplomatic negotiations, which I have already begun, and a publicity campaign on the very largest scale."

Whit-Sunday

Newlinsky wires and writes from London that he is unable to accomplish anything; he wants me to recommend him to Lawson of the *Daily Telegram* and support him with "the Prime Minister who doesn't want to do anything."

I am wiring him a recommendation to Lucien Wolf of the *Daily Graphic* and will try later to send Hechler to Monson.

To Newlinsky I am writing: "*La chose a eté mal emmanché et surtout trop tard* [The whole thing has been started badly and, above all, too late]." I told him to come back; I would take matters in hand.

Whit-Sunday

Two fellows from the *Kadimah,* Schalit and Neuberger, called on me. At the University the assimilationists seem to be gaining the upper hand again. At the *Lesehalle* no one wants to hear about Zionism. They also told me that a proposal was afoot to recruit a volunteer battalion of one or two thousand men and

to attempt a landing at Jaffa. Even if some might have to give up their lives in the attempt, Europe would start paying attention to the aspirations of the Jews.

I advised them against this fine Garibaldian idea, because these thousand men, unlike the men of Marsala, would not find a nationally-prepared population awaiting them. The landing would be suppressed within twenty-four hours, like a schoolboys' prank.

May 26

Newlinsky wires: "*S veut pas recevoir. Faites possible* [S(alisbury) refuses to receive. Do what you can]."

I am answering him:

Advise return home as soon as possible. May procure admission to S. end of June myself. Let us go to your principal* first.

* * *

Letter to Rev. Singer (reply):

Dear Friend:

I am not writing to Sir S. Montagu directly because I cannot express myself well in English, and clarity is important. Therefore I ask you to trouble yourself again and explain the matter to him incisively. None of us knows how much longer he is going to live—I did not tell Baron Hirsch this when I had an important conversation with him a year ago yesterday, although I thought it to myself. Today this man, who had so much feeling for the Jews, is dead, and all he accomplished was philanthropy—that is, things for the *shnorrers* [beggars]. When he could have done something for the nation!

Have a serious talk with Montagu, for our cause is an exalted and serious one. In him I see a suitable force for part of the task. No material sacrifices of any kind are being asked of him; he need not give a penny.

* Translator's Note: The reference is to the Turkish Sultan.

If he does not want to participate, we shall simply have to get along without him.

I am sorry that the beginning of July should again be an unfavorable time. But I cannot leave here before the middle of June and I want to go to Constantinople first. However, should my trip there have to be postponed for any reason, I will come to London first. You will be notified of this in ample time, so that the evening with the Maccabeans can perhaps be scheduled for the twenty-first of June.

If I go to Constantinople, and for the time being this must be kept a closely-guarded secret, I shall give you sufficient notice of this as well, so that you may prevail upon those members of your *Community** whose presence, when I get there, will be desirable, to stay in London until July 5.

In that case we would meet with the Maccabeans on that date.

In a previous letter I asked you to give me the names of some persons whom we could elect to the *Society of Jews*. This *Society* is to consist of a large Committee on which we shall put distinguished Jews—Englishmen, for the most part—and of an Executive Committee. On the latter I should like to have you, Goldsmid, Montagu, Nordau, etc.

Please let me have an early reply on this last point.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
Herzl.

May 29

Our colleague Schütz visited Count Leo Tolstoy on his estate near Moscow and wrote a *feuilleton* about it.

At the same time he sent me a postcard informing me that Tolstoy mentioned my pamphlet. But all the *feuilleton* says is that with reference to the Jewish Question Tolstoy expressed opposition to the Jewish State. This is the first time that *The Jewish State* has been mentioned in the *Neue Freie Presse*—without my name being given and without anyone being able

* In English in the original.

to understand what is actually meant. At this moment, the principle of dead silence becomes downright comical.

May 31

Already a split among the young Zionists. Already symptoms of the ingratitude which I expect. A student called on me and told me how the Jewish-National organizations are wrangling among themselves; then he made veiled but comprehensible allusions that he and possibly others as well consider my amiability toward the young people as play-acting.

I was highly indignant and immediately gave him a piece of my mind. If they sour me on my efforts, I shall simply give them up; and if I notice ingratitude—of course, not on the part of individuals, who are a *quantité negligeable* [negligible quantity], but from the masses—I shall withdraw completely.

* * *

Similarly as with the students, however, a certain dissatisfaction with my results already seems to be astir among the adult Zionists. I hear that "counter-currents" are being formed—so soon! I am told that Dr. Jacob Kohn wants to establish a "bloc" that is supposed to take an active part in Austrian domestic politics, i.e., have seats on the Municipal Council, the Diet, and the *Reichsrat*. It is obvious to whom these will go.

I received another invitation from Dr. Bodenheimer to come to the Berlin Zionist Convention. At the same time, he sent me the "Principles" of the Cologne Zionists which I fully subscribe to—with the exception of infiltration, which I should like to see stopped. I wrote Bodenheimer that if I were prevented from going to Berlin he should initiate resolutions there for use at our London meeting on July 5. Also, a delegation should be sent to London and arrive two or three days ahead of time, so that we might agree on a plan of action. For the Berlin Zionists I also made a brief sketch of the composition of the *Society*, which is to include the Grand Committee and the Executive Commit-

tee. Both committees, composed mainly of Englishmen, are to be reinforced by coöpted members from other countries.

* * *

Rosenfeld writes from Constantinople that his contact wants to know what financial forces are behind me, because he would be risking his head if the negotiations broke down. Since Rosenfeld made his debut in Budapest by asking me to advance him some money, I shall have no further dealings with him for the time being. Incidentally, there is good news from Newlinsky in London. I think I can gather from his brief letters that he has confidence in the cause. If this is so—and I shall find out when he returns—we shall apparently go to Constantinople the middle of June.

* * *

Received an interesting letter from Klatschko about the steps he has taken with the Armenians in London. His informant writes from Harrow that he has spoken with Nazarbek, who distrusts the Sultan but thanks the "leader of the Jewish movement" for his kind sentiments.

* * *

Klatschko's letter, like Nordau's about his conversation with Edmond R., will have to be inserted in this notebook according to their dates.

June 1

My yesterday's *feuilleton,* "The Dirigible Airship," was quite generally taken as an allegory on the Jewish State.

* * *

Today the London news services carry Gladstone's letter to Montagu about my *Jewish State.* In our office this news item was handled like a hot coal. The editor for British affairs, Vincenti,

sent it to the city editor, Oppenheim, who cautiously left it alone. Thereupon I simply took the bull by the horns and showed the dispatch to Benedikt, who was especially pleased with me today on editorial grounds.

"Are you going to run this?" I asked him in the hallway when he was just about to leave. He read the item attentively and said: "Yes."

"Should someone write a few lines of introduction?" I asked.

"No," he said. "Simply run it under the caption 'Gladstone on Anti-Semitism,' quite casually, as though we had already written about it. Also send for the novel which Gladstone mentions; but when you write about it, you mustn't discuss your Jewish State."

"Have I ever given you any trouble?" I asked gently.

* * *

And so, on June 2, 1896, the skimpy item which I am pasting in at this point was the first to appear in the newspaper on which I have worked for years. But I should be very much mistaken if it did not produce a great effect. For the other papers, which have been thinking that a deep rift exists between the publishers and myself, will take this as an important sign of reconciliation; and the readers of the *Neue Freie Presse* will start talking about the Jewish State.

Gladstone on Anti-Semitism:

Gladstone has addressed the following letter to Sir Samuel Montagu, M.P., who had sent him Dr. Theodor Herzl's pamphlet *The Jewish State:* "The subject of the publication which you were good enough to send me is highly interesting. For the outsider it is not easy to form a judgment regarding it, nor perhaps pertinent, having formed a judgment, to express it. It surprises me, however, to see how far-reaching is the distress among the Jews. I am, of course, strongly opposed to anti-Semitism. In a curious and arresting novel, *The Limb,* you will find a rather unusual treatment of Judaism."

June 5

Nordau writes that he would not at any price sign an appeal for money unless it also included the names of well-known millionaires. He apparently does not want to join the Executive Committee either—only the big showcase and honorary committee of the *Society*.

I am answering him that I, too, would not be naive and unsophisticated enough to sign an appeal for money which was not above suspicion. But I have made sufficient financial sacrifices, considering my means, and henceforth must leave it to the Jewish people to decide whether they want to do anything for themselves, and if so, what.

June 6

Newlinsky has been in town for three days and has not shown his face. Has he swung away? I am writing him:

Je compte partir le 15 juin. Êtes-vous avec moi? Mille amitiés, votre devoué [I count on leaving on June 15th. Are you with me? Kindest regards, yours sincerely]

Herzl

June 7

Newlinsky came to see me today while I was in Baden. Question is, is he still with me or has he lost confidence in the cause—if indeed he ever had any?

June 8

I called today on Newlinsky who gives me the impression of having cooled. He said the present moment was not propitious for the trip to Constantinople; the Sultan thought of nothing but the Cretan riots, etc.

Perhaps everything he said to me before his trip to London was said only that I might support him there. Now he backs out and says he cannot come to Constantinople uninvited.

June 9

Newlinsky spent an hour and a half with me this morning. I had a showdown talk with him, in the course of which I tried to instil in him confidence in our cause again. Obviously his courage has gone out of him in London, and also here. I worked on him very forcefully. I spoke in a strong, determined, imperious voice. I paraded our resources before him, I advised him to serve us while he could derive great benefits from it—that is, early, at the beginning of our operations.

He told me that in journalistic circles, and consequently in financial and government circles as well, my project was regarded as Utopian. The director of the *Länderbank* had declared it a fantasy, our editor Benedikt, madness. All the journalists were laughing at it.

I answered him: "*D'ici un an toute cette racaille me lêchera les bottes* [A year from now this whole rabble will be licking my boots]."

He thought I should not go to Constantinople at present, for no one there now had his mind on anything but the Cretan rebellion.

I said that if he did not want to join me I would go alone—although I have no such intention. For, official recommendations, provided I get them in the first place, will hardly procure me a private audience. And whether Rosenfeld, who wants to take me to Izzet, is reliable seems more than doubtful to me.

Newlinski described his English impressions. People there believe in the impending downfall of Turkey. No English prime minister can dare to declare his support of the Sultan because he would have public opinion against him. There is some thought of making the Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand, because he is a Coburg, heir to the Turkish empire. If this is no *diceria* [rumor], it is most interesting. Newlinsky thinks the only salvation for the Sultan would be to make an alliance with the Young Turks—who for their part are on good terms with the Macedonians, Cretans, Armenians, etc.—and to carry out the reforms

with their help. He said he had given this advice to the Sultan in a report. Now I said he should add to this program the fact that he was bringing the Sultan the means to carry this out, in the form of Jewish aid. Let the Sultan give us that piece of land, and in return we shall set his house in order, straighten out his finances, and influence public opinion all over the world in his favor.

Newlinsky skeptically referred to the attitude the Vienna papers were taking toward me. To this I replied that if I wanted to, I could make them all tractable, without exception, by starting rival papers.

I told him that the Zionists' declaration addressed to me had already been signed by three thousand holders of doctor's degrees —a fact I had learned on Sunday from my cousin Löbl.

He left me, I believe, shaken and half re-won. I urged him to write the Sultan immediately and get himself summoned. This he promised to do.

* * *

In the Delegation at Budapest, Goluchowski today made a speech full of serious warnings to Turkey. Thereupon I am writing to Newlinsky:

Dear Sir:*

The Budapest speech gives you an excellent opportunity of renewing your no less excellent advice at Constantinople. Be energetic and highlight all the advantages which we would be able to confer.

If you decide to travel with me, I certainly hope that you will give me the honor and pleasure of making that trip as my guest.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Th. Herzl.

In the afternoon at Hechler's home I met the English Bishop Wilkinson, a clever, slim old man with white whiskers and dark,

* In French in the original.

intelligent eyes. The Bishop had already read my pamphlet and thought it was "rather a business." * I said categorically: *"I don't make businesses. I am a literary man."* ** Whereupon the Bishop declared that he had not meant this as an insult. On the contrary, he regarded the matter as a practical one. Even though it might start as a business, it might become something great. After all, England's Indian empire had also come into being unconsciously. In the end he blessed me and invoked God's blessing on the project.

June 15

At night on the train, having boarded the Orient Express in Vienna, alone.

Newlinsky won't get on until 2 a.m., at Budapest.

I shall now hastily add here the events of the past week, during which I was so overworked that unfortunately I didn't have a chance to capture my impressions when they were still fresh in my mind.

After his return from London, Newlinsky was in no mood to go to Constantinople with me.

He resisted in several forthright conversations; he was evidently under the influence of adverse comment on the cause from my own group. *Par ricochet* [in a roundabout way] I learned from a few of them that he had made inquiries about me.

I finally won him over by showing my determination to go to Constantinople by myself. This might have made him concerned lest others reap the great benefits which he has in prospect if he supports me.

On Friday, after a lengthy conversation, we agreed that we would each sleep on the question of leaving on June 15 for Constantinople: I, as to whether I would go ahead with the matter without him, i.e., with the aid of my "other Constantinople connections"—he, whether to participate.

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: In English in the original. Herzl obviously misunderstood the Bishop's use of the word "business."

On Saturday I went to see him again. I really no longer expected anything and had practically abandoned the dubious expedition. He asked me with subtle watchfulness: "*Eh bien, partez-vous* [All right, are you leaving]?"

I guessed what was hidden in this question, and answered firmly:

"*Je pars* [I am]."

Since he now realized that I would go in any case, even without him, he said he was ready to go with me, and even begged me "to take along no further introductions." *Bon* [Good].

Yesterday we got together again and made the final arrangements for our departure. He said he would go on ahead to Pest this afternoon and catch the Orient Express during the night.

His questions, for which I was really not prepared, then led us to the financial plan. It had been quite a while since I had occupied myself with the details, and some of them I had yet to look into.

Unprepared as I was, I merely told him that we imagined we would give twenty million pounds in return for Palestine. (Montagu offered only two million in the *Daily Chronicle.*)

Afterwards I went to Baden and telephoned Reichenfeld, my wife's cousin, to come out the same evening in order to give me some information.

He came to Baden at nine o'clock, and I asked him to brief me on the Turkish national debt. While he was explaining to me the status of the *dette publique* [public debt], I worked out the financial scheme.

We spend twenty million Turkish pounds to straighten out the Turkish finances. Of that sum we give two millions in exchange for Palestine, this amount being based on the capitalization of its present revenue of eighty thousand Turkish pounds per annum. With the remaining 18 millions we free Turkey from the European Control Commission. The bond-holders of Classes A, B, C, and D will be induced by direct privileges we shall grant them —increased rate of interest, extension of the amortization period, etc.—to agree to the abolition of the Commission.

Reichenfeld was surprised at this plan which I immediately elaborated with all details and foreseeable eventualities, and he asked me what financier had worked it out. I wrapped myself in mysterious silence.

Today I brought Newlinsky his ticket for Constantinople. The expedition is costing me quite a bit. Newlinsky also asked me to take along some fruit for the Turkish court. He has even made out an order which I was supposed to have filled at the Hotel Sacher: strawberries, peaches, grapes, asparagus—all imported from France. The basket cost seventy guilders—and yet luckily there were only half the quantity of grapes to be had, only six peaches instead of twenty-four, and only one bunch of asparagus. I took all there was. *Ultra posse nemo tenetur* [no one can be required to do more].

My poor Hechler was less demanding when we travelled together.

June 17

On the Orient Express, six o'clock in the morning, outside Eski-Baba.

Yesterday's portion of the trip was extremely interesting. When Newlinsky got on at Budapest at 2 A.M., he told me that several pashas were on the train—particularly Ziad Pasha, head of the Turkish delegation at the Moscow coronation.

Later yesterday morning Newlinsky introduced me to Ziad, Karatheodory, and Tewfik Pasha, the Ambassador at Belgrade. Afterwards he briefed Ziad Pasha, the most important of these Excellencies, on the purpose of my trip to Constantinople. Ziad immediately became interested in the matter, and we only awaited the moment when we should be alone in order to let him in further on the secret.

Ziad Pasha is a small, elegant, graceful, Parisianized Turk, who despite his small stature knows how to give himself an air of due respect. There is a serious and bold look in his dark eyes;

his features are fine and sharp, his nose curved, and the short, pointed beard as well as his thick hair are black and on the verge of turning grey.

Karatheodory is white-bearded, fat, smart, full of fun, speaks a brilliant French; reads, when not chatting, a new History of Russia; tells wonders about the riches of the Moscow coronation—and at train stations he doesn't think twice about eating the native fruits and washing them down with the local water.

Tewfik is a young pasha, speaks of the *Neue Freie Presse* with admiration, quotes passages from old editorials.

In the afternoon, when Karatheodory had left the smoking-room of the dining car and only Ziad, Newlinsky, and I were there, I set forth my plan to Ziad who listened earnestly and intently.

He said: "I can see that you speak without ulterior motives." (For I had declared that we wished to acquire Palestine as a completely independent country, and if we could not get it as such, we would go to Argentina.)

"You come right out with your idea," said Ziad, "but I must tell you that no one is likely even to have *pourparlers* [parleys] with you if you demand an independent Palestine. The benefits in money and press support which you promise us are very great, and I would say that your proposal is a very favorable one; but it is against our principles to sell any territory."

I replied: "That has occurred in history countless times."

Newlinsky interjected that only recently England had relinquished Heligoland to Germany.

Ziad persisted: "Under no circumstances will you get Palestine as an independent country; maybe as a vassal state."

I replied that this would be a bit of hypocrisy from the start, for, after all, vassals constantly think of nothing but how to become independent as soon as possible.

The conversation went on until we got to Zaribrod. There the Bulgarian minister, Natchowitch, was waiting for Newlinsky, having come to meet him there.

I in turn was met by a delegation of Sofia Zionists. I had telegraphed them the day before yesterday that I would be passing through.

The two gentlemen asked me how my Zionist work was coming along. I told them as much as I could. Then I had to leave them in order to eat with Newlinsky and Natchowitch in the dining car. Natchowitch made a special point of requesting that on the occasion of his next resignation from office the *Neue Freie Presse* refrain from devoting any flattering post-mortem to him, because otherwise he would be regarded as too much of an Austrian favorite in Bulgaria, which is at present Russophile; this would hamper his activities in behalf of Austria.

In Sofia a touching scene awaited me. Beside the track on which our train pulled in there was a crowd of people—who had come on my account. I had completely forgotten that I was actually responsible for this myself.

There were men, women, and children, Sephardim, Ashkenazim, mere boys and old men with white beards. At their head stood Dr. Ruben Bierer. A boy handed me a wreath of roses and carnations—Bierer made a speech in German. Then Caleb read off a French speech, and in conclusion he kissed my hand, despite my resistance. In this and subsequent addresses I was hailed in extravagant terms as Leader, as the Heart of Israel, etc. I think I stood there completely dumbfounded, and the passengers on the Orient Express stared at the odd spectacle in astonishment.

Afterwards I stood on the carriage steps a while longer and surveyed the crowd. The most varied types. An old man with a fur cap looked like my grandfather, Simon Herzl.

I kissed Bierer farewell. They all pressed about me to shake my hand. People cried "*leshonoh haboh birusholayim* [Next year in Jerusalem]." The train started moving. Hat-waving, emotion. I myself was quite touched, particularly by the story of a Rumanian who had told me his troubles. After completing his military service he had been obliged to emigrate, because he was denied his civil rights.

Newlinsky and Ziad were less struck with the demonstration

than I had expected them to be. Or were they not showing how much they had been impressed? Newlinsky, for his part, had been met by the Bulgarian church dignitary Gregory, to whom he had likewise telegraphed his arrival in advance—possibly so that I might take note of his (N's) reputation in Bulgaria.

* * *

In the evening Newlinsky and I sat by ourselves in the dining car, and I outlined for him the financial plan based on the 20 million pounds—of which two millions would be earmarked as an immediate advance for the cession of Palestine, and 18 millions for the freeing of the Turkish government from the Control Commission.

Newlinsky objected violently. He said he had already told Ziad that I was proposing the liberation from the Control Commission in the following form:

One third we pay in cash. For the second third we take the responsibility (or rather, if we become a vassal state, this third is credited against our tribute). On the remaining third we pay interest from the revenues taken away from the present Commission and assigned to us.

Newlinsky thinks we could not possibly dare to offer the Sultan 20 million pounds for the land of Palestine. That was its mere commercial value, so to speak; but we would have to pay a *pretium affectionis* [premium]. However, we could perhaps stipulate several additional concessions and thus facilitate our payments—e.g., an electric-power monopoly for all of Turkey, etc. But this triple division, he said, must definitely be maintained.

* * *

I have slept on this and think that Newlinsky is right. I can even derive a fresh advantage from this turn in the affair. I can, and shall, say in Constantinople that the conditions must remain absolutely secret because I have to familiarize my Committee with everything first. In this way I shall prevent the possibility

of Montagu or E. Rothschild making protests against my proposals.

But if I come to London strengthened by my conversation with the Sultan, I shall carry through whatever I wish.

If necessary, I shall establish contact with Barnato.

* * *

Bierer told me at Sofia that Edmond Rothschild sent his representative to Constantinople a few days ago in order to offer the Sultan money for permission to continue the colonization.

Might this be a chess move against me?

June 18, Constantinople

Newlinsky is extremely valuable to our cause. His skill and devotion are beyond all praise. He will have to be given a very extraordinary reward.

We arrived in Constantinople yesterday afternoon. At the station we were met by Baron B. Popper of Vienna as well as by two local journalists who are at Newlinsky's disposal. The pashas who had been on the same train and had put on their formal attire even before our arrival, so as to be able to go to the Sultan right away, were met by a crowd of people.

We drove through this astonishingly beautiful, dirty city. Dazzling sunshine, colorful poverty, dilapidated buildings. From a window of the Hotel Royal our view extends over the Golden Horn. The houses on the slopes are situated among greenery, and it looks like grass growing between stones—as if nature were slowly recapturing this crumbling city.

* * *

Newlinsky has a fine reputation and much influence here. He is on the same good terms with many prominent Turks as he is with our traveling companions, Ziad and Karatheodory.

As soon as he had changed his clothes, he drove to Yildiz Kiosk. I accompanied him in the carriage. The street life is strangely

poverty-ridden and gay. The latticed harem-like windows present a charming mystery. Behind them, disappointment presumably awaits the intruder.

A wonderful view of the Bosporus from the white palace of Dolma Bagjeh!

* * *

After Newlinsky got out at Yildiz, I rode and strolled by myself through the bumpy streets of Pera and down to the old bridge.

* * *

Newlinsky returned late and in a bad humor. Izzet Bey, the First Secretary of the Sultan, had displayed a bluntly negative attitude toward our project. "Too many commissions are being promised in this matter!" he said; and Newlinsky thinks that the man who has already taken some preliminary steps here has gone about it clumsily. We will have to make amends for this, and it may not be easy.

Another difficulty: the Sultan apparently is ill. Newlinsky was not received. What ails the Sultan cannot be learned. Baron Popper heard from his sister that Dr. Nothnagel of Vienna was asked whether he could come here. It would be a terrible *contretemps* [mishap] if this were to wreck my audience.

* * *

After dinner we went to the open-air concert hall of Pera where a visiting Italian light-opera company was performing. During the first intermission we ran into Djawid (or Djewid) Bey, the son of the present Grand Vizier. I was introduced and immediately plunged *medias in res* [into the midst of things]. We sat on a garden bench, the operetta tunes sounded distantly from the arena stage as I acquainted the still youthful State Councillor with the project.

His objections were: the status of the Holy Places. Jerusalem, he said, must definitely remain under Turkish administration. It would run counter to the most sacred feelings of the people if

Jerusalem were ceded. I promised a far-reaching extra-territoriality. The Holy Places of the civilized world must belong to no one, but to everyone. In the end, I believe, we shall have to agree to Jerusalem's remaining in its present status.

Djawid Bey further inquired what the relationship between the Jewish State and Turkey would be. Much like Ziad's question about vassalage.

I said that I would see complete success only in independence, but we would at any rate discuss a status like that of Egypt or Bulgaria, that is, a tributary relationship.

Finally, Djawid asked about the form of the future government.

"An aristocratic republic," I said.

Djawid protested vigorously: "Just don't mention the word 'republic' to the Sultan! People here are frightened to death of it. They are afraid that this revolutionary form of government will spread from one province to another like a contagion."

I explained to him in a few words that I had in mind a form of government like that of Venice.

At length I begged him to be present at the audience which his father, Khalil Rifat Pasha, the Grand Vizier, is to grant me.

The young Excellency promised me this, and he wishes to help us with advice and action in other ways, too. In reply to his question concerning the proposals which I planned to make, I said that I could communicate the details only to the Sultan.

June 18

Newlinsky told me today that Russia has gained the upper hand in Yildiz Kiosk. The position of Turkey was not considered to be in danger as long as the friendship with Russia lasted. Izzet, he said, was leaning toward Russia. Whatever I told the Grand Vizier would be submitted to Russia.

Therefore we agreed that I would speak with Yakovlev, the influential dragoman of the Russian Embassy, before I went to see the Grand Vizier.

I immediately wrote to Yakovlev asking him for an appointment, which he promptly gave me for one o'clock. Evidently their attention has already been drawn to my arrival by the newspapers and by gossip in diplomatic circles.

June 19

Yesterday was a hectic day—with an unfavorable ending.

My first call was on the Russian dragoman Yakovlev. He lives in the consulate at Pera. A building run down in Turkish fashion. In the courtyard, Kavasses and seedy-looking servants. An unkempt maid received my card and took it to Yakovlev, who was still at table, to judge from the clatter of dishes in the adjoining room. Yakovlev had some cigarettes brought out to me. Ten minutes later he appeared—gaunt, tall, dark-haired, with a narrow face, a scraggly beard, and small, slit-like eyes.

His manner was likeable.

I briefly told him the purpose of my visit, but in order to prepare him for the shock, I took the precaution of speaking at first only of colonization. I asked him to take note of the fact that I was calling at the Russian Embassy before talking with the Turkish government. I said it was my intention and hope to obtain an introduction to the Czar through a member of the latter's family (by whom I meant the Prince of Wales, but without naming him).

By way of reply Yakovlev gave me an account of his experiences when he was Consul at Jerusalem. The Jews he met there inspired him with little sympathy, although he treated them benevolently and, if they were Russians, accorded them all the privileges of Russian citizens. He said they behaved deceitfully toward the Consulate, tried to evade the consular taxes they owed, and claimed to be Turks or Russians, whichever suited their convenience.

To this I remarked that considering the persecutions to which my people had been subjected for many centuries, it was no wonder if they displayed moral defects. He agreed.

Then I went into my plan more deeply, saying that it was not

a matter of colonization on a small but on a large scale. We wanted the territory as an autonomous one.

He listened with growing attention and sympathy, and thought it was a great, fine, humanitarian plan.

I said: "*Je crois que cette idée doit être sympathique à tous les honnêtes gens* [I believe this idea ought to appeal to all decent people]."

In conclusion he remarked that the project would require many decades. I would probably not live to see its fruition, but he wished me every success and was glad to have made my acquaintance. He wished me strength and good health to carry out the task, and then I took my leave.

As we were saying good-bye he advised me to call on the local Russian *chargé d'affaires,* and he accompanied me to the stairway. Then, as though to make amends for his previous disparaging remarks, he said: "You have among your people perhaps twenty per cent who are not much good ethically, but that is what one finds among other peoples, too."

"Yes," I said, "but in our case they are counted double, so that one could believe it was forty per cent."

* * *

From Yakovlev I drove to the Sublime Porte, where I had already been announced. My dragoman sat on the coach box next to the red-fezzed coachman.

A drive through winding, filthy streets to Stambul. The Sublime Porte is a decaying, old, dirty, imposing building, humming with the most remarkable activity. The soldiers on guard duty stand on small pedestals in the entrance halls.

Poor devils squat on the ground. Countless officials and servants run up and down.

My first call was on His Excellency, Khair Eddin Bey, Secretary-General to the Grand Vizier. I am writing down by ear the names of all the functionaries. I don't know whether correctly. I learned only today that the son of the Grand Vizier is not named Djawid, but Djewad Bey.

Khair Eddin is a man of about thirty years, nice looking, with smooth, pale cheeks, a handsome black beard, and prominent ears. At every word he gives a smile that is friendly and astonished at the same time. After a few minutes we were called to the Grand Vizier. We crossed a vestibule and several ante-chambers. In a large salon, with his back to the wall, was His Highness, the Grand Vizier, Khalil Rifat Pasha. He rose at my entrance and gave me his hand. He is a tall, stooped old man with a white beard and a wrinkled, withered face. On the desk in front of him lay two sets of religious beads.

He sat down and motioned me to an armchair next to him; facing us, beyond the large desk, Khair Eddin took a seat as interpreter.

After handing me a cigarette, the Grand Vizier inquired about my arrival, the traveling weather, the probable duration of my stay.

Then he paid a few compliments to the *Neue Freie Presse.*

Khair Eddin translated the banalities with amiable seriousness, I replied with other *salaams:* the *N. Fr. Pr.* had always had friendly sentiments toward Turkey and would always be happy when it could report something favorable about the Empire. At times, perhaps, we were insufficiently informed about the facts; but we desired nothing better than always to report the truth.

The Grand Vizier wanted me to know that our correspondent could call at any time and he would be told everything.

I thanked him for this assurance.

Then I had the interpreter ask His Highness whether he knew the purpose of my trip.

"No," came back his reply, and as he spoke his half-closed eyes kept glancing downward at the edge of the table or at his large hands which were toying with the beads.

So I presented my proposal to Khair Eddin to have it conveyed to the Grand Vizier.

The Grand Vizier listened imperturbably. He asked questions such as this: "Palestine is large. What part of it do you have in mind?"

I had the interpreter answer: "That will have to be weighed against the benefits we offer. For more land we shall make greater sacrifices."

His Highness inquired about the terms.

I begged pardon for not going into detail. I said I could state the scope of our proposals only to His Majesty. Should they be accepted in principle, Sir Samuel Montagu would submit our financial program.

Khalil Rifat Pasha made long pauses during the conversation, while he ticked off his beads between his fingers, one by one, as though he had to take time for reflection between every word.

I was left with the impression that he is not only averse to this project, but actually distrusts it.

During our conversation there was a constant stream of officials and servants, bowing low, bringing messages and documents, and then backing out of the room.

Following the appearance of another solemn old man, Khalil Rifat had the interpreter indicate to me that the conference was at an end. He half rose and gave me his hand.

In the ante-chamber I asked Khair Eddin, who had a friendly smile on his face, whether the Grand Vizier had taken it amiss that I had kept silent on the terms for the present.

"No," said the smiler, "he is a philosopher and can only be pleased that you fulfill your obligations as he fulfills his. It is quite all right with him if you establish direct contact with his exalted master."

Khair Eddin also showed me a magnificent view of the Bosporus and the distant Dolma Bagjeh; then he gave my hand a long and cheerful squeeze.

* * *

Down many corridors, past guards, servants, idlers, and officials, I was taken to the Foreign Office and to Nuri Bey.

He is a russet-haired, elegant, intelligent, cultured Armenian who has lived in Paris for a long time and is quite Parisianized. A few foreign diplomats came and went. The talk happened to

be about two women who had fallen into the hands of brigands somewhere and were to be released in return for ransom. An attaché of some embassy begged Nuri Bey to defer all non-urgent matters because he didn't want to tackle anything new before going on his vacation. One could tell that absolutely nothing seemed urgent to him.

When we were alone, I told Nuri Bey what I wanted. His eyes lit up. He got the point right away.

"*C'est superbe* [That's splendid]," he said when I told him—as I had told the Grand Vizier previously—that we wanted to liberate Turkey from the Debt Control Commission. Then there would be the means to carry out all the needed reorganization. Nuri was delighted and sold on it. But he had grave doubts regarding the Holy Places. Who is to administer them? "That can be arranged," I remarked; "just consider that we are the sole purchasers of an article that is worthless to everyone else and unproductive—and purchasers at a stiff price."

Thereupon Nuri Bey took me to Davout Efendi, who is a Jew, but also First Dragoman and thus the Foreign Minister's right-hand man, regarded as the most influential person in the Foreign Office.

I recognized his high position by the low *salaams* of those who enter. The officials deposit the documents at his feet, so that he always has to stoop and therefore is less comfortably served. He works seated in an armchair, with no table in front of him, and as he writes he holds the paper in his hand unsupported.

He is a tall, fat man with a short, grey beard. His eyeglasses are perched on a curved, fleshy nose in front of bulging eyes.

He understood me at once. But he was visibly afraid. He saw the tremendous benefits to Turkey, but as a Jew he must impose the utmost reserve upon himself.

There would be enormous difficulties, he said; in fact, he thought the matter impracticable. Soon he was speaking to me like a brother, with earnestness and concern. He said I should have someone else introduce me to the Foreign Minister, but he accompanied this refusal with an amiable glance that begged my

forgiveness. I am supposed to come and see him again before my departure.

The Jews are doing well in Turkey, he said, and they are good, loyal patriots.

As though by way of illustrating this, when he walked with me through an outer corridor, the two guards on the pedestals presented arms to him, clattering and rattling.

I also saw Nishan Efendi, the Chief of the Press Bureau, in his little office where a few editors were manufacturing the public opinion of Turkey out of European newspaper reports.

Nishan complained about the editorials in the *N. Fr. Pr.* and about Goluchowski's latest speech.

* * *

In the evening Newlinsky returned from Yildiz Kiosk with a long face and bad news.

He ordered only half a bottle of champagne—*en signe de deuil* [as a sign of mourning]—and told me in two words: "Nothing doing. The great lord won't hear of it!"

I took the blow stout-heartedly.

"The Sultan said: 'If Mr. Herzl is as much your friend as you are mine, then advise him not to take another step in this matter. I cannot sell even a foot of land, for it does not belong to me, but to my people. My people have won this empire by fighting for it with their blood and have fertilized it with their blood. We will again cover it with our blood before we allow it to be wrested away from us. The men of two of my regiments from Syria and Palestine let themselves be killed one by one at Plevna. Not one of them yielded; they all gave their lives on that battlefield. The Turkish Empire belongs not to me, but to the Turkish people. I cannot give away any part of it. Let the Jews save their billions. When my Empire is partitioned, they may get Palestine for nothing. But only our corpse will be divided. I will not agree to vivisection.' "

Then they spoke of other things. Newlinsky advised him to let the young Turks participate in the government.

The Sultan said ironically: "A constitution, then? As far as I know, Poland's constitution did not keep your fatherland from being partitioned."

* * *

I was touched and shaken by the truly lofty words of the Sultan, although for the time being they dashed all my hopes. There is a tragic beauty in this fatalism which will bear death and dismemberment, yet will fight to the last breath, even if only through passive resistance.

June 19

Newlinsky showed himself pleasantly surprised at my not betraying my disappointment through a fit of depression. I immediately tried to think of other moves, and I hit upon the following, which I asked Newlinsky to take care of: We will endeavor to give the Sultan's circle "proof of our devotion" right from the start.

Newlinsky was to do his utmost through Izzet Bey and directly to get the Sultan to receive me after all. I want to *planter un jalon* [drive in a stake] at least. I will present our proposal to the Sultan, *tout en m'inclinant respectueusement devant sa volonté* [while respectfully bowing to his wishes]. He should know that whenever he sees fit to fall back on this resource, the Jews will be ready to place their financial power at his disposal for the straightening out of Turkey's finances.

June 19

The *selamlik,* Friday.

On this sunny day we drove out to Yildiz Kiosk. *En route,* troops in full-dress uniform. The Bosporus gleamed.

At Yildiz, in front of the guest pavilion, we were received by two adjutants of the Sultan in gala uniform. Within less than an hour the most magnificent images rushed past us: The white Yildiz Mosque in the sunlight; over on the other side, the blue

Bosporus; in the distance, the islands in a haze. Troops came marching up. Sturdy, sinewy, sun-tanned fellows, full of energy, "hardship-defying," splendid battalions. On the right, cavalry regiments came riding down the hill, their red pennants aflutter. In front of us, up the hill, zouaves with their green-and-red turbans were marching along at a smart goose-step. The buglers held their horns to their lips, ready to blow.

Pashas in gala uniform came driving or riding toward us.

Worshippers in the most colorful costumes were filing into the fore-court of the mosque.

A riot of color. Each moment brought fresh gorgeous hues.

Small boys in officers' uniforms, the sons of pashas, made their appearance with droll *grandezza* [grandeur].

At last came the Court. First, the Sultan's sons and other princes. They mounted their horses at the foot of the Yildiz hill and there in imposing line-up awaited the appearance of the Caliph. Among the ranks of the princes were two grey-bearded officers, their military tutors.

The Chief Eunuch, a large, fat *castratus,* moved past majestically.

Three closed royal equipages with heavily veiled ladies of the harem.

Next a double line of palace officers came down the hill at a ceremonious pace. And then the Sultan's carriage, a half-closed landau with outriders, flanked by a thick, walking hedge of guards and officers.

In the carriage sat the Sultan; facing him, Ghazi Osman Pasha.

From the minaret, a muezzin called to prayer in a clear voice. Between calls, military music.

The troops hailed the Caliph with two loud shouts.

He is a slight, sickly man with a large hooked nose and a medium-sized beard which looks as though it had been dyed brown. He gave the Turkish salute with a flourish close to his mouth.

As he passed the terrace on which we were standing, he sharply stared at Newlinsky and me.

Then he drove in behind the railings of the mosque, left the

carriage at the protruding angle of the left wing, and slowly ascended the steps.

Cheering. He saluted again and entered the mosque toward which all the soldiers of his guard now turned their faces.

The service lasted about twenty minutes. In the courtyard of the mosque the pilgrims spread out prayer rugs and knelt or crouched on them.

The soldiers in the burning sun were given water.

After his devotions, the Sultan reappeared and boarded an open two-horse carriage, which he drove himself.

In the courtyard, a low-bowing lane of pashas and generals.

The princes mounted their horses again.

When the Sultan passed us the second time, he stared at me (whom he could identify at Newlinsky's side) with a steely look.

A bustle of officers scurrying up the hill behind the carriage.

Then this picture of fairy-tale splendor faded away.

* * *

After the *selamlik* I saw the whirling dervishes in the mosque on the Rue de Pera.

One little boy among the old gaunt "fanatics," with their apathetic yet sly look, who perform the solemn, grotesque dance routine.

Homespun music, snuffled prayers, a walk-around like a sort of *chaine anglaise* in a quadrille, with low bows; then the dizzy, senseless whirling. After throwing off their colored cloaks, they continue in white garments *á la Loïe Fuller,* the left palm turned toward the ground, the right turned up.

* * *

In the afternoon, at the Sweet Waters of Europe with Margueritte, the favorite of the Grand Vizier.

Margueritte offered me his services. He claims he can get anything he pleases from the Grand Vizier. He said he would shortly receive a concession for the oil-wells of Alexandretta. He told me the story of Baron Popper's abortive loan. The latter had wanted

to handle the loan of three million Turkish pounds which was later made by the Ottoman Bank. He had already concluded everything and enlisted the interest of Izzet, Tahsin, the Sheik of the Palace, and a few other people. The Grand Vizier accepts no gifts, but P. was going to present the Vizier's wife with a necklace or something like that.

The embassies abroad were instructed to support Popper. Then it turned out that the bank whose representative P. claimed to be stated that it did not know him.

That created ill-will against him here—*parbleu!*—without, however, compromising him permanently. Margueritte said that Popper was now competing for the Alexandretta-Damascus railroad concession, which would draw off the Asiatic traffic from the Suez Canal.

Margueritte further informed me that late last night Newlinsky had sent him a request in my name—without having informed me of it—to drop the matter which I had presented to him.

Margueritte promised me to interest Djewad Bey, the Grand Vizier's son, in my cause.

With Djewad, he said, it was possible to "speak openly."

June 20

Each morning at breakfast we hold a council of war in our parlor with its long green damask sofa. Today I proposed to Newlinsky that we hold out the prospect of an initial transaction to the people at the Palace and the Porte. I would try to induce them to take a small loan of one or two million, since in my opinion this would not compromise our future plan. The money would be thrown into a bottomless well, but with it we would gain a firm footing and become popular.

I begged Newlinsky to do everything possible to get the Sultan to receive me. If I return home without an audience, with a "No," people will take everything for a dream.

At present, of course, no one dares mention me to the Sultan, after the formal refusal which he gave Newlinsky in the presence of Münir Pasha, Izzet Bey, etc.

Izzet Bey, however, advises the following: the Jews should acquire some other territory and then offer it to Turkey as a trade (with additional payment).

I immediately thought of Cyprus.

Izzet's idea is good, and it shows that he is thinking with us and for us.

He declines a personal share in it. But he has his family in Arabia, numbering—1500, for whom something would have to be done.

June 21

Yesterday afternoon I saw Nuri Bey again, just after Newlinski had left him. I waited for Newlinski in the carriage outside the Sublime Porte. A hot afternoon.

After an hour Newlinski appeared. He had discussed our matter with the Grand Vizier and Nuri Bey. The Grand Vizier is against it, Nuri Bey all fire and flame for it.

Nuri Bey received me very cordially. Then he took me from the room, in which there were visitors, to a private room next door and there spoke to me quite openly. He said he was completely on our side, but unfortunately the large number of wooden heads here must be taken into account.

He acted a bit coquettish about his European education and intelligence and said complacently: "Among these blind people I am a one-eyed man."

He really is of a much higher intelligence than most of the others.

This is what he advises: The Jews ought to buy up the Turkish issues and put their own people on the Commission of *Bondholders*.* This Commission, according to him, has great influence and steps in whenever there is a crisis.

He has also communicated this idea to Newlinski, as I found out later. Newlinski opposed it immediately, because this would make the Jews just as detested here as the Commission is at present.

* In English in the original.

Newlinski even tempers my singing of Nuri's praises by remarking: "It would be proof of his intelligence if he were giving this advice only to compromise the Jewish cause."

Nuri promised me his fullest support, particularly if we proceeded against the Ottoman Bank, which is here held responsible for the financial troubles.

* * *

Then with Davout Efendi, in my view the most irreproachable of the functionaries I have met thus far. I am proud of the fact that he is a Jew. The Sultan has no more loyal official. At heart he is with us, but he must be careful not to show it.

He considers it possible that we shall reach our goal one day, when Turkey *"sera dans la dèche, et si vous dorez la pilule* [is completely broke, and if you sugar-coat the pill]"—that is, establish our State as a vassal state.

He promised me to be on hand when I visit Tewfik, the Foreign Minister, today. Only, it must appear as if we did not know each other.

* * *

Last evening Newlinski informed me that Izzet Bey would receive me today.

June 21

I am writing Davout Efendi that for the time being he should not speak with his Minister about the matter. The moment is not auspicious.

* * *

Yesterday the Sultan told Newlinski that he would not receive me as a journalist, because following Bacher's interview, the *N. Fr. Pr.* had made a violent personal attack on him.

Yesterday morning I drove with Newlinski to Yildiz Kiosk in order to see Izzet Bey. It had been agreed in advance that the conversation must consist only of polite nothings.

At half-past nine we were driving along the familiar route, which is bordered by colorful scenes of the poverty-stricken life in the Orient, past the Dolma Bagjeh, where the blue Bosporus lies shimmering, and up the hill to Yildiz.

We entered the palace courtyard where repair work on the buildings is going on.

Izzet Bey happened to be standing in the courtyard. We greeted him and went to the building where his office is located. It looks rather shabby. The individual offices look like beach cabins. Even the room of Izzet Bey, the all-powerful, is small and paltry. Izzet's desk, a smaller one for his secretary, a few armchairs, and a curtained four-poster (in case he has to spend the night there on continuous duty): that is all. But a window faces the wide, laughing beauty of the Bosporus, overlooking the white minarets of the *selamlik* mosque as far as the hazy Princes Islands.

Another man waiting for Izzet Bey was a Jewish jeweller who had brought a silver pendulum-clock ordered by the Sultan. This clock is a reward for the army doctor who, a few days previously, had operated on the Sultan's boil.

Izzet Bey came in and, after I had been introduced to him, took care of the jeweller.

Izzet Bey is a man in his forties, of medium height and slight build. His wrinkled, tired, but intelligent face is almost ugly. Large nose, sparse, semi-long, dark beard, intelligent eyes.

I spoke the prearranged banalities. I did not wish to leave without having made the acquaintance of one of the most outstanding men of this great country. I should be very pleased if I succeeded, through my newspaper, in imparting to others the favorable impressions I was carrying away from Constantinople. I planned to write a series of articles about the political circles of Turkey, and would be glad if I could be of some use.

Izzet Bey smiled at all this very affably and was "delighted to have made your acquaintance" when, after a quarter of an hour, I took leave of him.

Newlinski had forewarned me that all the servants must be given *baksheesh*. Izzet's servant in the second-floor corridor took

two mejidiyes, the servant on the ground floor, who had held my cane, one mejidiye. But at the Yildiz exit the thing became comical. There stood two gatekeepers. As I reached into my pocket, both held out their hands, side by side, and I deliberately delayed the donation for a few seconds in order to spin out my enjoyment of the symbolic spectacle of these baksheeshites at the court gate. Each got a mejidiye.

Then we drove along the Bosporus out toward Bebek, past daydreaming harem-castles. The sun was burning hot, but a gentle breeze came from the Bosporus.

Only then did Newlinski tell me what he had accomplished the day before (Saturday) at the Porte and the Palace. He had felt constrained to keep this from me so that I might not make even the slightest unintentional allusion to it in my conversation with Izzet.

The Grand Vizier, he said, was opposed to the proposal I had made. (Margueritte, the Grand Vizier's confidant, had told me the contrary. Who was lying? Could it be that the Grand Vizier was only giving Newlinski diplomatic double-talk because he wanted to keep me guessing?

Newlinski begged the Grand Vizier, even though he was opposed to it himself, at least not to say anything about it to the Sultan. For the Grand Vizier is not supposed to know that the Sultan is against it. Everybody here has the servile habit of confirming the Sultan in whatever he already desires, and of boldly opposing whatever he is already against.

At Yildiz Kiosk, according to what Newlinski observed on Saturday, the disposition toward me had improved somewhat. The Sultan at least permitted Newlinski to speak of me. Newlinski had told the Sultan on Saturday that I had thought his first refusal sublime and had admired it greatly. He said I was a friend of Turkey and wished to be of service to the Sultan. The Sultan ought to receive me.

The Caliph declined to do this. He could not and would not receive me as a journalist after the experience he had had with Bacher and the *N. Fr. Pr.* A few months after Bacher's audience

our paper had published the most malicious attack on his person that had ever appeared in the press—including the English and Armenian papers. The Sultan complained about this to the Austrian ambassador, Calice, and expressly regretted that the latter had introduced Bacher to him.

On the other hand, he could and would receive me as a friend —after I had rendered him a service. The service he asks of me is this: For one thing, I am to influence the European press (in London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna) to handle the Armenian question in a spirit more friendly to the Turks; for another, I am to induce the Armenian leaders directly to submit to him, whereupon he will make all sorts of concessions to them.

In his talk with Newlinski the Sultan used a poetic locution: "To me all my peoples are like children I might have had by different wives. They are my children, all of them; and even though they have differences of opinion among themselves— with me they can have none."

I immediately told Newlinski that I was ready *à me mettre en campagne* [to start my campaign]. Let them give me a pragmatic presentation of the Armenian situation: which persons in London are to be brought round, what newspapers to be won over, etc. Of course, my efforts would be greatly facilitated if the Sultan were to receive me.

Newlinski said: "He will receive you afterwards and confer a high decoration on you."

I answered: "I don't need a decoration. All I want now is an audience with him. *Planter le premier jalon* [drive in the first stake]—that is our only task now."

We carried on this conversation in the garden café at Babek on the Bosporus. We were sitting under the shade of a tree, in the great noon-day heat.

* * *

Afterwards we rode up the hill to Madame Gropler, a remarkable, dear old invalid lady. Hers is a Polish emigrant's house where for the last forty years all exiled politicians, every itinerant

artist and diplomat *en rupture d'ennui officiel* [escaping from difficulties with the government] have been in and out.

A Polish violinist, the nephew of our hostess, played to us after the meal. There also appeared His Excellency Reshid Bey, son of the famous Reshid Pasha and grandson of Fuad Pasha.

Reshid is a fat, intelligent man, still young, who used to be attached to the embassy in Vienna. His two little boys, whom he had brought along, speak German and sweetly sang German songs for us.

After lunch Newlinski had spoken about my project with Reshid, who is in the Sultan's good graces. Reshid's reaction to it was sympathetic; and when, before leaving, I stood with him on the terrace for a few minutes, he promised me his support.

* * *

In the afternoon I attended a training session of the fire brigade, to which Count Széchényi, an easy-going old gentleman, who here holds the rank of a pasha, had invited me very urgently.

The firemen are fine, sturdy specimens from Anatolia. It is easy to understand that the master of such troops, which don't need to get any pay and yet gladly serve, will not soon, if ever, regard his situation as lost.

Unfortunately, the great worries caused by my political efforts have made me half blind to the beauty of the place, the wonders of its history, and the colorfulness of the figures that are constantly before my eyes. At the firemen's exhibition, too, there were groups of people by the side of the road on the slopes of the hill, women squatting about in their mysterious garb, and much else that ordinarily would have been a feast for my eyes.

* * *

In the dilapidated graveyards, tombstones many centuries old on which people sit or hang out their clotheslines.

In the evening, Newlinski returned from Yildiz Kiosk tired and upset. Bad news had come in from various parts of the Em-

pire. Bloodshed in Crete; the Druse (in the Lebanon?) have exterminated an entire battalion of regulars, i.e., killed them off one by one; and recently Armenians broke in across the Russian border and massacred three hundred Mohammedans.

The Sultan would like to make peace with the Armenians at any cost. He takes a gloomy view of the future and said to Newlinski: "*C'est une croisade déguisée contre la Turquie* [It is a crusade in disguise against Turkey]."

This magnanimous, melancholy prince of decline reminds me of Boabdil el Chico whom Heine wrote about.*

The hill of Yildiz is perhaps the "mountain of the last Caliph's sigh." *

After sundown I sailed up the Bosporus on a small yacht, in the direction of Büyükdere.

The veils of evening slowly draped themselves around the beautiful, white, proud castles where the harem wives dwell, the widows of former sultans and the widows of the present one. For he does not live with them.

June 22

Newlinski, whose diplomatic acumen and finesse I admire more and more, thinks that first of all I ought to have some position in the palace from which I personally—without using anyone as a go-between, for it might look as though he were bought—could keep reiterating the proposal of the Jews.

That is an excellent idea.

Every hour I press Newlinski to get me that audience with the Sultan, so that my London friends may believe that I was here.

If the Sultan had said yes, he need not have received me. I would have left town and got things started.

Since he is saying no, it is indispensable that he receive me, so that my friends may realize *que tout n'est pas rompu* [that all is not lost yet].

* Translator's Note: *Cf.* Heine's poem, *Der Mohrenkönig*.

June 23

Nothing much happened yesterday. Také Margueritte spoke to the Grand Vizier and told him that I wanted to do him the service of interviewing him. Khalil Rifat Pasha sent me word that he would receive me.

I thereupon wired Benedikt that I was going to talk general politics with the Grand Vizier and would telegraph the whole interview, but on condition that the editorial comment would acknowledge the amiability with which I was received here.

Benedikt wired back: "Shall do everything you wish."

That was what I expected.

* * *

Newlinski is an uncommonly interesting man to whom people in Vienna are doing a grave injustice. The better I get to know him, the more his character appeals to me. If he had had enough money, he would have become one of the finest *grand-seigneurs* and a diplomat with a name in world history. He is a warped man, but very sensitive and full of noble impulses. He is an unhappy Pole and often says: "Since I cannot shape the policy of my nation, I don't care a rap for anything. I go on artist's tours in politics, like a piano virtuoso—that is all."

It is hard not to be touched by this noble Polish melancholia.

He is much more cultivated than most aristocrats; he has a feeling for art and a sense of tact. I intended to use him only as an instrument, and I have come to the point where I esteem and love him. He is obliging but proud, crafty and yet sincere, too, and his unmistakable gentlemanly qualities are detrimental to his reputation only because he moves among the bourgeoisie. He is the most interesting figure I have had to deal with since I have carried on the Jewish cause.

June 24

Yesterday I had that interview with the Grand Vizier for the *N. Fr. Pr.* It lasted an hour and a half. Haireddin Bey again was

the smiling interpreter. He said cheerfully: "It was nothing—just a couple of hundred dead."

I sat by the window in the sunshine and sweated while I wrote on my knees. The sunlight fell on the paper, too, and blinded me. It was very tiring.

An Oriental touch: As we were crossing the bridge over the Golden Horn, a beggar boy kept pestering me even after I had given him something. I asked Také Margueritte to get him to leave me in peace. He simply spat in the poor boy's face.

Half an hour later we were at the hotel. Newlinski was writing, and suddenly he said to Také in a gruff tone of voice: "*Sonnez* [ring]."

And Také obediently rang. The beggar boy was avenged.

Newlinski, to whom I had related the scene at the bridge, later mocked Také further by saying: "*Ici on reçoit des crachats, et on les rend* [Here one is spat on, and one spits on others]."

* * *

Newlinski spent the whole afternoon yesterday with Izzet and Nuri Bey at the palace. I am reported to have made a most favorable impression on both of them. Izzet said that I was an "*inspiré* [inspired man]," which is the highest praise among the Moslems, and Nuri called me an *homme hors ligne* [a swell person].

* * *

Of course, the main thing, my reception by the Sultan, has proved unattainable.

It is, at any rate, a tremendous thing; because Széchényi Pasha, for example, at whose house we had lunch yesterday, has not spoken with the Sultan in ten years, although he never misses a *selamlik* and will shortly be promoted by the Sultan to the rank of marshal.

June 25

Yesterday the Sultan sent me word that I should not leave today; he would probably have something to say to me before my departure. This is a success—though an uncertain one.

Yesterday I telegraphed the *N. Fr. Pr.* a rather long *entrefilet* [notice], presenting the local, undeniably critical situation in a manner friendly to the government.

Then, in the afternoon, I sailed on a small yacht to Büyükdere, to see the Austrian ambassador, Baron Calice.

He received me more graciously than he probably would have if I had turned to him in the first place.

Calice is a well-preserved man in his late sixties. Bald head, large nose, moustache, a rather grand manner, not inconsiderable loquacity. From time to time in his stream of words he suddenly remembers what an exalted person he really is—*et alors il se reprend* [and then he checks himself].

We sat in the beautiful big salon of the embassy's summer residence at Büyükdere. Through the large windows one's eyes lovingly embrace the rosy and blue beauty of the Bosporus.

Calice expounded to me in detail his understanding of the situation. He spoke approximately in the style of the diplomats in Gregor Samarow's novels. He "presented the situation on a chess board." Anyone who knew the game, he said, looking up meaningfully, would understand the importance of this piece or that.

Russia's influence was great because of her geographical position. England had lost her position here, because the Turks saw that she did not force the issue of the Dardanelles, not even after her threat. On the other hand, the Bosporus was open to Russia. Added to that was the present complexion of Bulgaria which has become Russianized.

As for Turkey's position, Calice considers it rather serious—but the vitality of this Empire has already been demonstrated so often that it will perhaps continue to exist. Of course . . . the many rebellions, the lack of finances, etc. He hopes that Tur-

key will find a way out again, but he is not sure. He presents the Armenian question in a way fundamentally different from that of the Turks who always falsify the facts. Now, of course, they don't want any foreign intervention, they are going to do everything themselves, reforms, etc. But once the emergency is past, they no longer think of that.

There could be no question of a *croisade déguisée* [crusade in disguise], rather of a "crusade of the crescent," for the Turks were persecuting the Christians.

Austria, he said, was, as always, observing a policy of preserving Turkey. He praised my proposal for friendly counsel which Goluchowski was to give the Armenians as a patriotic one.

On the whole, a barren conversation.

Later we dined at Petala's on the shore of the Bosporus. A wonderful evening by the sea.

We sailed back to Constantinople in the moonlight. An ineffably delightful night.

Také Margueritte was drunk.

June 25

Sent off the Grand Vizier interview to Vienna today, by a passenger on the Orient Express.

In the evening Newlinski came from the Palace where, it appears, people are already very favorably disposed toward me. They are taking to the Jewish idea.

Right now they seem to be in a very bad fix in regard to money. However, the matter would have to be presented in some other form. *Sauver les apparences* [Save face]!

Izzet (through whom, of course, the Sultan speaks) or the Sultan (through whom Izzet speaks) would be willing enough to yield Palestine if the proper formula could be found for the transaction. Precisely because things are going badly for them they must not sell any land, Newlinski reports; but he observes that my idea is making good progress.

In a few months' time, the people in Yildiz Kiosk will perhaps

be ripe for it. *L'idée les travaille visiblement* [it is plain to see that the idea agitates them].

Nuri Bey, too, is very sympathetic toward our cause. Today he said that we should endeavor to win over the Czar.

* * *

Bad news again today from Anatolia.

New massacres at Van.

June 26

Another *selamlik*. Exactly the same spectacle as a week ago.

Newlinski says he is convinced that the Turks are willing to give us Palestine. He says it is just like when a man has a hunch that a woman is willing to surrender; in such a situation one may not even be able to say as yet what this hunch is based on.

"I say she's a whore—I don't know why; I just feel sure," he said in his broken Polish-German.

* * *

After the *selamlik* I drove to Therapia, while Newlinski was received by the Sultan.

In the evening, after my return, he gave me an account of his audience.

The Sultan began to speak about me of his own accord. He expressed his thanks for the article I had telegraphed to the *N. Fr. Pr.*

Then he brought up the subject of Palestine. To begin with, he reproached Newlinski for having submitted the matter in a thoughtless way. As someone acquainted with the local situation, Newlinski should have known that Palestine could never be given up in the proposed form of a purchase. But according to what he—the Sultan—had heard, Mr. Herzl's friends were thinking of a possible exchange.

This idea of an exchange, which originated with Izzet Bey, seems to have been presented by Izzet to the Sultan as coming

from us. Izzet also was the interpreter at Newlinski's audience today.

Newlinski did not know immediately what to say to this, and referred the Sultan to the information which I would be able to give. He said it was my most ardent desire to be received by His Majesty.

To that the Sultan replied: "I shall see. In any case, I shall receive Mr. Herzl—sooner or later."

Newlinski pointed out that I have to speak with my friends in London early in July. The Sultan repeated: "I shall see."

It is possible, then, that I shall be received after all.

The Sultan then made Newlinski a further and rather surprising disclosure: he had already been sounded out by a Great Power as to his attitude toward my proposal.

Which Great Power that was Newlinski was unable to ask.

(Here I must make a parenthetical remark on my own behalf: I have already accomplished a thing or two after all, if my plan, which quite a few people have called crazy, is already the subject of diplomatic steps among the Great Powers. Poor Friedrich Schiff! Poor Moritz Benedikt!)

The Sultan then asked: "Do the Jews have to have Palestine at all costs? Couldn't they settle in some other province?"

Newlinski answered: "Palestine is their cradle; that is where they wish to return."

The Sultan rejoined: "But Palestine is the cradle of other religions as well."

Thereupon Newlinski said:

"If the Jews cannot get Palestine, they will simply have to go to Argentina."

Following this the Sultan continued talking about me with Izzet in Turkish. Newlinski caught only the repeated recurrence of my name. Izzet seems to have spoken about me in friendly terms.

Then the Sultan put another question to Newlinski: "How many Jews are there in Salonica?"

Newlinski didn't know. Neither do I.

Does he perhaps want to let us have the region around Salonica?

Next the Sultan discussed the general situation. He said that the day before yesterday the Powers had made an unjust joint protest against the Van atrocities, when it was actually the Moslems who had been massacred by the Armenians at Van.

He also spoke about the financial situation which is anything but rosy.

Newlinski concludes: "It's a whore!"

June 27

Newlinski tells me stories of Yildiz Kiosk. Dreams play a great part there. There is Lufti Aga, the Sultan's chamberlain and a great dreamer. Lufti Aga is around the Sultan all day, waits on him personally, has great influence. If Lufti Aga says: I have dreamed such and such, it makes an impression on the Sultan. If Lufti Aga were to say one day: I dreamt that the Jews are coming to Palestine, this would be worth more than the "steps" taken by the entire diplomatic corps.

It sounds like a fairy-tale, but I have absolute confidence in Newlinski.

When the reconciliation with the Prince of Bulgaria took place, Lufti Aga's dreams played a great part. He does not dream gratis. The Prince of Bulgaria didn't immediately understand why this chamberlain should receive a gift of 20,000 francs. But Ferdinand owed his appointment as a *mushir* to a dream.

* * *

Diplomatic gossip.

I had told Calice that Széchényi Pasha would probably go to Vienna with a holograph letter from the Sultan. Calice gave a superior smile and said: "*C'est de la menue monnaie* [That's small change]."

However, at yesterday's *selamlik* he stepped up to Széchényi and said: "I am told by Dr. Herzl that you are to get a mission

to our Emperor"—when I had told him this only in confidence.

Széchényi, who had already seen himself as a *mushir* (marshal), as a reward for putting out Constantinopolitan conflagrations over many years, is quite beside himself now. He is afraid of losing his leave, his mushirship, and his "mission," because Calice will be jealous and work against it.

* * *

Idea for London.

I must make the matter palatable to the English lords of finance in the following form:

"Convinced that the Jewish Question can be solved only territorially, we are forming a *Society* for the acquisition of an autonomous country for those Jews who cannot assimilate in their present places of residence."

This formula will unite Zionists and assimilationists. Both Edmond R. and Lord Rothschild can subscribe to it.

June 27

Nuri Bey, the most intelligent mind in the Foreign Office, and very popular with the Sultan, has, it appears, made a favorable report to the Sultan on my proposal. Nuri Bey is all for my idea. Perhaps the noticeable change in the Sultan's attitude can be traced back to Nuri's report.

Izzet Bey was a bit annoyed—but not at me—because Nuri had made this report behind his back.

Incidentally, Izzet and Nuri are friends.

June 28

Yesterday morning, as the ultimate insight of my wisdom, I said to Newlinski with reluctance and secret shame:

"If the Sultan won't receive me, he should at least give me a visible token that, after listening to my proposal and rejecting it, he still wants to remain *en coquetterie* [on flirting terms] with me. A high decoration would be suitable for that. But I implore

you not to take me for a decoration hunter. I have never given a hoot for decorations, and I don't give a hoot now. But for my people in London I badly need a sign of favor from the Sultan."

Newlinski immediately wrote this to Izzet Bey; but no reply came in the course of the day.

Instead, in the afternoon there came a message from the Master of Ceremonies, Munir Pasha, informing me that today I would be shown the Sultan's castles and treasures by an adjutant.

At that moment there arose a slight ill feeling between Newlinski and me.

I said I was a bit disappointed. Thereupon Newlinski made a point of emphasizing the honor of this invitation. But I said: "*Je ne suis pas assez fabricant de chocolat pour être touché jusqu'aux larmes par cette faveur* [I am not enough of a chocolate manufacturer to be moved to tears by this favor]."

Newlinski disagreed with this, a bit irritated, saying that he himself was very receptive to such attentions and grateful for them.

However, in the course of the evening, I tried to erase this disagreeable impression.

Later the Greek Constantinides called, an obsequious journalist for whom Newlinski obtained a decoration today.

The sycophantic Greek wore his brand-new ribbon in his buttonhole and kissed Newlinski's hand.

For my benefit, Newlinski evinced a perceptible satisfaction.

* * *

Tonight we are leaving for Sofia.

This trip is costing me about three thousand francs.

The *fonds perdu* [irrecoverable expenses] are increasing.

June 28

At the *Jardins des Petits Champs* at Pera, which is situated in an old Turkish cemetery, a visiting Italian light-opera company is

performing. The star is the singer Morosini—pretty, graceful, dissolute, Newlinski had repeatedly spoken of asking her to supper. It never worked out. He calls her *"la Morosina."* Of these ten days during which we manipulated a bit of world history—for this very attempt to found a Jewish State will live in the memories of men, even if the plan remains a dream—of these colorful and serious days the name of *la Morosina* will surely stick in our memory, precisely because it remained only a word. Every day Newlinski would tell his henchmen, the fat Danusso, the comical Roumanian Také Margueritte, and the fawning Greek Constantinides: *"Invitez-moi la Morosina* [Invite la Morosina for me]."

There was something inimitably grand-seignorial about it.

I loved the view over the Golden Horn from our hotel windows. Whistler-like dusk and nights aglow with lights, wonderful rosy morning mists; the thick violet and grey-blue splendor of the evening vapors. The big ships disappearing in the fog and then emerging again. On moonlit nights, light powdery veils. Today it is sunny. The heights over there—Eyub, I believe—stretch between two sheets of blue. Above, the delicate sky; below, the oily waters on which the silver strokes of oars flash.

* * *

One can understand the greed with which the whole world eyes Constantinople.

Everyone wants it—and this is the best guarantee for the continued existence of Turkey.

None of the pirates will let any of the others enjoy this beauty—and so perhaps it will remain unplundered.

June 29, Sofia

Yesterday afternoon, accompanied by the Sultan's adjutant, I saw the treasures of Eski Serai and the Bosporus palaces of Dolma Bagjeh and Beylerbey.

The adjutant spoke little French, but had enormous respect

for me; to each question he replied, "*Oui, Monsieur* [Yes, Sir]," and then switched to Excellency: "*Oui, mon Excellence* [Yes, Your Excellency]!"

The castles are magnificent.

The baths at Beylerbey, a sultry Oriental dream.

The Sultan's caique, in which we traveled, was rowed by eight of the Caliph's sturdy boatmen; the helmsman, squatting cross-legged in the stern, wore a frock-coat.

* * *

When I got back to the Hotel Royal from this hot but beautiful trip, Newlinski, who was writing letters in his underwear, said to me: "He sends you that!" and handed me a box containing the Commander's Cross of the Mejidiye Order.

* * *

We then took our leave of the *edundi exercitus* [eating army] Danusso, Margueritte, and Constantinides, and left by rail.

On the train Newlinski related the following:

"The Sultan told me he would have given you a decoration even if I hadn't asked for it. But he could not receive you on this visit, because your plan hadn't remained secret and several persons had even made reports about it—namely, the Grand Vizier, Nuri Bey, Davout Efendi, and Djawid Bey. Under such circumstances the audience would no longer have had an intimate character; and since the Sultan is obliged to reject your proposal in its present form, he did not care to talk about it at all. But he did tell me: 'The Jews are intelligent; they will find some acceptable formula.' From this we may gather that the Sultan merely wants to *sauver les apparences* [save face], and I believe that in the end he will accept. He seems to have in mind some form of trade; in any case, in diplomatic dealings one must not discuss the heart of the matter too plainly. Often people negotiate for a long time and dodge the main issue. Izzet Bey seems to be working for you; that is the impression I have.

"The Grand Vizier submitted an unfavorable report, saying

that he did not regard the plan as seriously meant, but as fantasy. Nuri Bey also made a report and only stressed those aspects that militate against it, although in our presence he acted so cordially. Nuri Bey had probably learned that the Grand Vizier would oppose the plan, and he wanted to be on the safe side. But it will be easy to win him over again as soon as the wind veers. The most intelligent report was written by Davout Efendi. He gave a clear analysis of the whole plan and added that as a Jew he could counsel neither for nor against it. Djawid Bey, the son of the Grand Vizier, in his report categorically declared himself in favor of the plan, but on the stupid grounds that the Jews were such good subjects of His Majesty that one could only welcome the immigration of more of them.

"The Sultan takes this last view and mentioned a report by the Governor of Salonica to the effect that the Salonican Jews emigrated as soon as they had got some money. I explained this to the Sultan by saying that, after all, the Jews had no real home and that it was precisely a matter of obtaining a *foyer* [home] for them.

"The Sultan now expects you to help him in the Armenian matter. Moreover, he wishes you to procure for him a loan based on a lien on the revenue from the light-houses. For that purpose he is sending you the contract with Collas. The revenue is 45,000 Turkish pounds annually. The loan is supposed to amount to two million pounds."

* * *

We were on our way to Sofia. *En route* we discussed the next steps. Bismarck is to be interested in the cause. Newlinski has connections with him as well as with the Roman Curia which, after all, we must also approach.

* * *

On the train Newlinski again told me a lot of stories about court, diplomatic, and government circles. I have long since felt intuitively that the great of the earth are composed only of the

respect we have for them. Every little anecdote confirms me in this assumption. E.g., what Newlinski tells me about Petrow, the Bulgarian Minister of War. To this man the Sultan once promised a horse, and because it has not materialized so far, Petrow is quite furious. Every week he writes to the Bulgarian envoy at Stambul: "Where is my horse?"

And he declares he will not give orders to shoot at the Macedonian rebels, because he has not received the horse.

When Prince Ferdinand was visiting the Sultan, the latter distributed gifts among the Bulgarian ministers. They compared the boxes etc., and were incensed when one present had less value than another.

June 30

At the station in Sofia I was met by two gentlemen from the Zionist Society, who had been informed by telephone from Philippopolis that I was just passing through there.

Sensation in the city; hats and caps were thrown in the air everywhere. I had to request that there be no welcoming parade.

At the Zionist Society, speeches. Afterwards I had to go to the synagogue, where hundreds were awaiting me.

I warned against demonstrations and advised calm behavior so as not to arouse popular passions against the Jews.

After I had spoken in German and French, my words were repeated in Bulgarian and Spaniolic.

I stood on the altar platform. When I was not quite sure how to face the congregation without turning my back to the Holy of Holies, someone cried: "It's all right for you to turn your back to the Ark, you are holier than the Torah."

Several wanted to kiss my hand.

* * *

In the evening, dined with Minister Natchevitch. I mentioned the grievance of the local Jews, whose synagogue grounds are to be expropriated. On this site the synagogue has stood for 500 years.

The liberated Bulgarians are more intolerant than the Turks were.

Natchevitch promised to take care of the matter favorably.

July 1

Baden-bei-Wien, at my parents' house.

Even the last day on the train with Newlinski was full of stimulation. He is a rare, unusual person of great gifts.

He had the following idea. It ought to be suggested to the Sultan that he take charge of the Zionist movement and proclaim to the Jews that he would throw Palestine open to them as a principality, under his suzerainty, with its own laws, army, etc. In return, the Jews would have to pay a tribute of about a million pounds each year. This tribute could then be immediately mortgaged against a loan (which we would raise).

I consider this idea excellent. I had thought of something similar in Constantinople, but didn't speak about it. For that is an acceptable proposition, and up to now I was allowed only to make unacceptable ones, because I am not sure whether the Londoners won't leave me in the lurch at the last moment.

Now I am taking this proposal to London where I am already expected with some impatience.

Newlinski proposes further that Bismarck be interested in the Jewish cause through his friend Sidney Whitman. Whitman is to be called from London to meet Newlinski at Carlsbad, and from there go to Friedrichsruh. All this at my expense. Whitman will be doing Newlinski a friendly turn, of course, but we shall have to reimburse him *largement* [generously] for his expenses.

Bismarck should then write the Sultan a letter containing the proposal which Newlinski made on the train. The Sultan will receive me, issue the call to the Jews, which I will spread all over the world—and the thing is done.

Newlinski says: "*Si vous arrivez a pacifier les Arméniens, si vous faites l'emprunt de 2 millions de livres sur les phares, et si nous avons la lettre de Bismarck—nous enlevons la chose en*

huit jours [If you succeed in pacifying the Armenians, if you make a loan of two million pounds on the light-houses, and if we have Bismarck's letter—we will carry the thing off in a week]!"

* * *

We took cordial leave of each other in Vienna. I promised Newlinski my friendship for life.

If it is through him that we obtain Palestine, we shall give him a fine estate in Galicia as an honorific recompense.

July 2

Last night I spoke with the Armenian Alawerdow in my parents' apartment. Mr. Klatschko served as interpreter.

I offered the Armenians my services as a conciliator. Alawerdow did not dare to speak out, because he is a Russian and afraid of his government. Also, he didn't seem to trust me. We finally agreed that he will announce me in London as a friend of the Armenians and act as a pacifier in his circle.

* * *

I spoke with Reichenfeld of the Union Bank about the two-million loan. He wasn't sure; one would have to see, ask questions, talk it over. I refused to make further inquiries.

* * *

Hechler telegraphed me from Karlsruhe yesterday that an audience had been promised. Therefore I am leaving for Karlsruhe today in order to obtain a conference with the Kaiser through the Grand Duke.

July 2

On the Orient Express, on the way to Karlsruhe.

All these days I have forgotten to note down a splendid message which Bismarck sent to the Sultan via Whitman-Newlinski.

The Sultan had sent Bismarck via Newlinski-Whitman a wired request for advice on his present difficulties. Bismarck replied: "*Fermeté, pas se laisser intimider, et loyauté éclairée aux traités* [Firmness, a refusal to be intimidated, and enlightened loyalty to treaties]."

Loyauté éclairée is absolutely delightful.

* * *

Newlinski said a number of times: "When I hear Bismarck talking about politics, I feel like a musician who is listening to Rubinstein's playing."

* * *

At the station this morning I was a bit upset by Schnirer, the president of the Vienna Zionist Association, whom, like Landau, I had asked to see me before my departure.

When I outlined the favorable results of Constantinople, and especially when I mentioned the decoration, his face darkened.

I immediately took the opportunity to tell him that I wanted to induce Edmond Rothschild to join the movement by resigning my leadership. For, I said, there are *Yids* and there are *Jews*. The *Yids* will be in no mood to support the cause, for fear of thereby lending me personally a helping hand.

July 3

On the train, bound for Brussels.

Yesterday Hechler met me at the station in Karlsruhe. The Grand Duke had gone to Freiburg and requested me to join him there, that is, at St. Blasien.

Since I don't need the Grand Duke at the moment, I had Hechler wire him that I was pressed for time, being expected in London, and could I have permission to report to him on my way back. The Sultan, I added, appeared to be well disposed toward our project.

July 5, London

Once again in London. This time *fine weather,** and everything enchanting.

The approach, incidentally, was bad. On the crossing from Ostend to Dover we ran into some ugly waves. I had wished for bad weather in order to test my will-power. Sure enough, one by one all the passengers had got sea-sick by the time we approached Dover. I, too, had a slight touch of faintness, and I don't know how my psychological experiment would have turned out if the thing had lasted a quarter of an hour longer.

I arrived here a bit depressed and found other depressing things awaiting me.

Goldsmid excused himself. He can't get away from Cardiff tomorrow on account of a batallion inspection.

Montagu invited me by letter to come and see him—but he said he had to leave in the evening (yesterday). I wrote him I could not come immediately, but begged him to sacrifice his Sunday for me, because I had brought along from Constantinople the *presque-certitude* [near certainty] that we would regain Palestine. Despite this, Sir Samuel Montagu went away and merely gave me an appointment for tomorrow at his office. I don't know whether I shall even go there. I am preparing myself for his complete elimination from my plan, although this is certain to do me harm in Constantinople where I have already mentioned his name.

The Rev. Singer came to see me in the evening. I stirred him up a bit. In fact, I shall first have to light a fire under everybody here.

* * *

This morning was better. I put the finishing touches on my speech for the Maccabeans and in the course of the forenoon sent it to Sylvie d'Avigdor, bit by bit, to be translated.

* In English in the original.

* * *

Lucien Wolf of the *Daily Graphic* came to interview me.

During the past few days all the local papers have started to make a noise.

Singer said yesterday that I should ask Lord Rothschild for an interview. I rejected this as something beneath my dignity. Singer said: "Lord Rothschild is a 'patron.' A patron has been defined by an English writer as follows: 'One who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help.' *

When you have triumphed in the Jewish cause, he will invite you—together with other lions—to dinner."

I said: "So a dinner at Rothschild's is the victor's prize! *Moi, je m'en fous* [Me, I don't give a damn about it], if you know that expression."

So today, hearing about the stir that is starting in the newspapers, I am asking myself with amusement whether this is already enough for that Rothschild invitation.

Then I went to see our correspondent, Schidrowitz. If I cannot have the *superos* [top men] of Jewish finance for the lighthouse loan which the Sultan desires, I shall move Acheron.

I promised Schidrowitz a commission for procuring this loan. But even if *he* made money on it, I said, the truth must be made known at all times and to everybody—namely, that I am not making anything on these transactions and am carrying them out only as *entrée en matière* [means of entry] in order to do the Sultan a favor with a view to the Jewish cause.

July 5

At noon, Lucien Wolf of the *Daily Graphic* came to interview me, after an interview with Zangwill, concerning me, had already appeared in today's *Sunday Times*.

During lunch, Wolf took notes for his story.

In the afternoon there came Claude Montefiore and Frederic Mocatta of the Anglo-Jewish Association. I had requested Monte-

* Translator's Note: Dr. Samuel Johnson in a letter to Lord Chesterfield (1755).

fiore to postpone the meeting of their Executive Committee, as it conflicted with tomorrow's Maccabean banquet. I said I wanted to consolidate all the Jewish committees into a single big organization; and lest anyone believe that I wanted to promote myself in this way, I offered, in return for the acceptance of my simply formulated program, to resign the leadership of the movement.

I stated the program as follows:

"The *Society of Jews* sets itself the task of acquiring, under international law, a territory for those Jews who are unable to assimilate."

The gentlemen asked for time to think this over, and I naturally acceded. However, I said that I did not want to take into the *Society* the *associations* as such, but simply the outstanding individuals.

It was an exhausting battle of words. Mocatta, who had not read my book, brought up all the old arguments.

Montefiore said with gravity that I was demanding a revolution in all the ideas he had held up to now.

July 6

Finished the speech for the Maccabeans *tant bien que mal* [after a fashion], tired as I am.

I wrote to Montefiore and Mocatta that I accepted the proposal, advanced in the course of yesterday's discussion, to make the *Society of Jews,* in the beginning, a *société d'études* [study commission].

(To such a body I would not, of course, make available the connections I have already acquired. My resources for action I would give only to a committee geared for action.)

* * *

A few hours later Mocatta answered that he considered the whole plan unacceptable, and the Jewish State neither possible nor desirable.

The funny part of it is that I had not even sent for Mocatta,

but only for Montefiore. Mocatta came along with Montefiore as Antonin Proust once went along with Spuller to call on Casimir-Périer, when the latter had been asked to form a cabinet. Casimir-Périer thereupon took Proust as well into the cabinet, because he had happened along.

Mocatta impressed me somewhat like an officious second at a duel.

Schidrowitz came in order to worm out of me what the loan to the Sultan was to be based on.

Because I am afraid that he would peddle it around as a "deal" and offer it to every Tom, Dick, and Harry, thus compromising me in Constantinople, I didn't tell him anything. It is true, it would be excellent for the project if I could make the light-house loan through bankers of the second rank, through the Africanders like Barnato, etc., because I could control them better than the Rothschilds, Montagus, etc. But I cannot risk letting myself be compromised by Schidrowitz's business treatment. I'd rather not have the loan raised at all.

July 7

Last evening, the Maccabean Dinner.

I hadn't been able to get Miss d'Avigdor's translation typewritten until yesterday afternoon.

At five o'clock I received the clean copy and read it through with the Rev. Singer's aid. I learned English, as it were, an hour before the meeting. I jotted down the pronunciation of the words between the lines.

The banquet had a very festive character. To the toast proposed by Chairman Singer I replied in German and in French, which caused Zangwill to say jokingly that I was like the new periodical *Cosmopolis*, which appears in German, French, and English.

Afterwards we moved to the auditorium, and I courageously read off my speech.

It was a very great success. There followed a debate with the old arguments which I rebutted with the familiar material. With

the exception of two almost impolite people—the political economist Levy or Leve, and a Russian whose name I did not catch—even the opponents spoke respectfully.

L. Wolf moved the appointment of a study commission, to be composed of Maccabeans and others, for an examination of my proposal.

This elicited a debate, which only once again strengthened my antipathy to organizational claptrap.

July 7

Colonel Goldsmid telegraphed he would be here on Thursday.

* * *

Schidrowitz telegraphs he cannot undertake the transaction the way I proposed it.

* * *

Nordau wrote yesterday about Zadoc Kahn's visit. Zadoc came to complain because—as he and Edmond Rothschild surmise—due to my publication the Turkish authorities in Palestine are giving the recent arrivals among the colonists a hard time and have even destroyed the latest colony.

At the same time, Nordau, in a manner indicative of his cooling, excused himself for his absence from today's Maccabean dinner.

I immediately telegraphed Zadoc Kahn:* Have just arrived from Constantinople. Your apprehensions unjustified. Sultan displayed much good will. If subordinates commit acts of brutality I am authorized to complain directly to him. Give details Hotel Albemarle.

Herzl.

To Newlinski I wired:

Lighthouse and Armenian affairs effectively launched. But everything hopeless if it proves true that Turkish authorities

* In French in the original.

in Palestine are forcibly deporting newly arrived colonists. Please inquire Constantinople immediately. Report results here. Regards, Theodor.

July 8

I am already very tired.

Yesterday I got the Armenian matter started with Lucien Wolf. I asked him to initiate a little press campaign for the cooling of tempers in the Armenian question.

* * *

Then I drove to the House of Commons to see Montagu.

The Gothic stone carvings and the activity in the waiting hall interested me greatly.

At the sight of these imposing parliamentary trappings—after all, externals have a dramatic effect—I experienced a touch of dizziness such as I had felt that time in the ante-chamber of the Grand Duke of Baden. At the same time I began to understand why the English Jews should cling to a country in which they can enter this house as masters.

Montagu appeared and led me into a charming little conference room with Gothic windows which looked out on a Gothic courtyard.

I recounted for him the practical results, from the Grand Duke to the Sultan.

He was greatly surprised and soon regained his enthusiasm. A splendid old fellow.

His first and foremost misgiving was that the Sultan, once he had been paid the Jewish tribute-loan, would kick the Jewish immigrants around.

The violent sound of a bell signal summoned Montagu to a vote on the tea tax. During his ten minutes' absence, the solution of this difficulty occurred to me.

We accept a tribute of one million pounds, on which a loan of 20 millions is to be raised. We pay the tribute and the loan in instalments.

For the first years, 100,000 pounds tribute, and a loan of two millions on that. Gradually, as the immigration proceeds, the tribute increases together with new portions of the Jewish loan based on it, until the entire amount is paid up and there are so many Jews in Palestine, accompanied by Jewish military power, that one need no longer fear that the Turks will attempt to get a stranglehold on them.

I then drove with Montagu to his house. On the way he told me that we must try to win over Edmond Rothschild without fail.

Further, he told me in confidence, yesterday evening, that the Hirsch Foundation had at its disposal a "liquid" sum, the actual amount of which no one had any idea of. It is ten million pounds sterling.

If we win over the Hirsch Association for our plan and obtain something like five million pounds, this could assure the tribute for the first few years of immigration.

* * *

A Jewish mass meeting is to be called for me here on Sunday. Montagu, in whose constituency—the East End—the meeting is to take place, thinks it would be premature to address this gathering.

I am still reserving my decision on this. *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo* [If I cannot bend the powers above, I will move the lower world].

July 8

Received a letter of thanks from Zadoc Kahn, which I am answering as follows:

Reverend Grand Rabbi:*

I am making an immediate *démarche*—if the word does not seem to you too diplomatic and *"puissant"*—to Constantinople.

* In French in the original.

I shall let you know the result, maybe in person, next week in Paris.

My plan, scornfully referred to as a dream, has been taking on the shape of reality for some time.

I have already achieved astonishing results—astonishing even to me. It is imperative that Edmond Rothschild be with us. In order to obtain his assistance, I am offering to withdraw completely from the leadership of the movement, in order to dispel any suspicion of personal ambition. Let him accept my program and undertake to continue the work that is already started, and I shall give my word of honor to occupy myself with the matter only as a soldier in the ranks.

Together with Sir Samuel Montagu and Colonel Goldsmid I shall endeavor to find the form in which we could offer Edmond Rothschild the presidency of the *Society of Jews*—and later some other title.

All this is absolutely confidential—and important, believe me. I shall supply you with proof of this. Please prepare Rothschild.

Very sincerely yours,
Herzl.

July 9

I slept on this letter to Zadoc Kahn and then didn't send it off. As Newlinski says, "Let 'em simmer!"

Yesterday I spoke with Alfred Cohen and asked him to get me an introduction to Salisbury through Lord Rothschild. I said I wanted to do Lord Salisbury's policy the favor of settling the Armenian question and thus restoring the lost English influence in Constantinople.

Alfred Cohen is a pleasant, intelligent gentleman. He took down a sort of protocol in which the facts are set down elegantly and clearly for Lord Rothschild. He plans to discuss it with Rothschild while riding horseback today.

July 10

Goldsmid is here.

After luncheon we talked in his smoking room which is half in the basement. His house in Princes Square is a bit quaint. The Goldsmid-d'Avigdors are one of the best Jewish families, and the house contains beautiful mementoes.

Goldsmid seemed cooler than he did that time in Cardiff—or was I more easily satisfied in the early days?

Nevertheless, I stirred him up with an account of my results up to date. But what he liked best of all, unless I am mistaken, was my word that I would withdraw from the leadership of the movement if Edmond Rothschild joined it. By this I want to show the latter that I do not care about my personal leadership. Goldsmid pointed out that he could not play any prominent part as long as he was *on full pay.** Incompatibility, etc. Still, I could see that he agreed in principle.

I requested him to introduce me to Arthur Cohen, Queen's Counsel, as the latter is a friend of the Duke of Argyll, who is important on the Armenian Committee.

I also asked him to get the Prince of Wales to give me an introduction to the Czar.

July 10

Paid the publisher David Nutt 19 pounds and a few shillings for the English edition. He has sold only 160 copies.

Had to send 300 francs to Paris, too, a few days ago, to Nordau, for the French translation.

July 11

The Russian journalist Rapoport (from *Novosti*) came to interview me.

As we talked it turned out that he has connections with the Armenian Committees, particularly with Nazarbek, the leader of the Hindjakists. Rapoport indicated to me that he suspected the

* In English in the original.

Armenian revolutionaries were being supported with money by the English government.

I asked him to put me in touch with Nazarbek. I want to make it clear to this revolutionary that the Armenians should now make their peace with the Sultan, without prejudice to their later claims when Turkey is partitioned.

* * *

Wrote to Newlinski, telling him that Montagu and Goldsmid agree to the idea of a vassal state. I also outlined for him the plan of a graduated immigration loan, beginning with a tribute of 100,000 pounds sterling—that is, a loan of two millions as earnest—and rising up to a million annually—which would bring the total loan to 20 millions.

Also informed him of the steps I have taken in the Armenian affair to date.

Luncheon at Montagu's. Also present were Colonel Goldsmid and a Polish Jew, Landau, who lives here. The latter has an aggressively sharp mind, but seems to have influence in local Jewish circles and also is a member of the Hirsch Committee.

After the meal, a short practical debate. I explained to the three what the record is so far, and that we want to induce Bismarck to write to the Sultan and launch the idea of vassal status.

Montagu laid down three conditions for his public adhesion:

1) The consent of the Great Powers.
2) That the Hirsch Fund give us its liquid capital, that is, ten million pounds.
3) That a Rothschild, which means Edmond, join the Committee.

Landau proposed the formation of a secret committee which would come out into the open as soon as the matter were assured.

Goldsmid said, pointing to me: *"He is more than any committee."* *

He pledged himself to write a letter of recommendation to Edmond Rothschild.

* In English in the original.

All three voiced apprehension with regard to tomorrow's East End meeting. They said it was premature and meant incitement of the masses.

I said that I did not want a demagogic movement, but if worst came to worst—if the aristocrats proved too aristocratic—I would set the masses in motion, too.

July 12

Last night at the Rev. Singer's. Lucien Wolf and Solomon also present. The discussion dragged pitifully and kept repeating itself.

The greatest zeal for organization and ability was displayed by the painter Solomon. Lucien Wolf would have liked to "learn details about the Sultan," but he is a very fine young fellow, too. Rev. Singer is not sure whether he would not weaken his position if he participated in the *Society of Jews.*

Finally we did agree to form an *enquiring or watching committee**—namely, from among those Maccabeans who last Monday had spoken in favor of my plan.

The name of the committee should not be *"Society of Jews"*—Rev. Singer said this name was *"colourless"* *—but a name that would in some way express a relationship to Palestine.

All these people, no matter how decent and likeable they may be, by their vacillation make me the leader!

July 13

Letter to the Grand Duke of Baden:

Your Royal Highness:

Unfortunately I was not fated to make use of your kind permission to come to St. Blasien when I arrived at Karlsruhe after Your Royal Highness had departed. Meetings which had been arranged for months were awaiting me here in London.

Now, however, I could report on important developments in the Jewish cause in which Your Royal Highness is taking such a gracious interest. Notable advances in Constantinople as well

* In English in the original.

as here in London may be registered. Tomorrow I am leaving for Paris, and from there I plan to go to Austria at the end of the week. May I now again ask for the great favor of being received by Your Royal Highness on Monday the 20th or Tuesday the 21st of this month for the purpose of rendering my report to you? If you will kindly state the place where I am to make my appearance, your answer will reach me at Paris, Hotel Castille, rue Cambon.

Permit me, Your Royal Highness, this expression of my respectful devotion.

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

July 13

Yesterday noon I went to Westbourne Park Chapel with an introduction from Rev. Singer to hear the "non-conformist" preacher Dr. Clifford. I listened to the soporific last part of his sermon in which with passionate gestures and in an oratorical voice he served up hoary platitudes.

The audience was hypnotized—mass psychology—and afterwards the collection plate went around.

On the way out I spoke with Clifford and told him that I had come for the reconciliation of the Armenians.

He sent me to Mr. Atkin.

Then I took the Underground to Shepherd's Bush to see the Armenian revolutionary, Nazarbek. When I arrived at his house, he had just left for the Underground with Georg Brandes.

The house is noisy, second-rate, middle-class elegance, and from time to time wild Armenian faces appear in the crack of the door. They are refugees who find shelter here.

The Russian Rapoport had introduced me. Together with him and Mme. Nazarbek I waited in the living-room for the man of the house. I said that I had not had my lunch yet, whereupon the woman with an unfriendly expression had a piece of meat brought out to me.

Nazarbek came home. The head of a genius, the way they are

fixed up in the Quartier Latin. Black, tangled serpentine locks, black beard, pale face.

He mistrusts the Sultan and would like to have guarantees before he submits. His political ideas are confused, his acquaintance with the European situation downright childish. He said: Austria is building fortifications on the Black Sea!

And, as it seems, his word is obeyed by the poor people in Armenia who are being massacred. He lives in London, not uncomfortably.

I asked whether he knew who was finally benefitting from all this unrest, Russia or England?

He replied that he did not care; he was revolting only against the Turks.

The woman kept interrupting us, speaking in Armenian and evidently against me. She has a wicked look; and who knows how much she is to blame for the bloodshed. Or is it the evil look of the frightened, the persecuted?

I promised I would try to get the Sultan to stop the massacres and new arrests, as a token of his good will. But he would hardly release the prisoners in advance, as Nazarbek desired. I explained to him in vain that, after all, the revolutionaries could watch the course of the peace negotiations without disarming, with their guns at their feet.

* * *

In the evening, my mass meeting in the East End, at the Workingmen's Club.

Posters in English and Yiddish on the walls; the Yiddish text stated erroneously that I had spoken with the Sultan.

The workingmen's clubhouse was full. People crowded into every corner. A stage served as the platform from which I spoke extemporaneously. I had merely jotted down a few catchwords on a piece of paper. I talked for an hour in the frightful heat. Great success.

Succeeding speakers eulogized me. One of them, Ish-Kishor,

compared me to Moses, Columbus, etc. The chairman, Chief Rabbi Gaster, made a fiery speech.

Finally, I thanked them with a few words in which I protested against their effusiveness.

Great jubilation, hat-waving, hurrahs that followed me out into the street.

Now it really depends only on myself whether I shall become the leader of the masses; but I don't want to be, if in some way I can buy the Rothschilds at the price of my resignation from the movement.

* * *

In the East End propaganda committees are springing up spontaneously. Program: The Jewish State!

Party leaders: Rabbinowicz, Ish-Kishor, de Haas, and others—fine, enthusiastic people!

July 14

Last night I did the most stupid or the most clever thing I have yet done in this matter.

The Hovevei Zion Society had invited me to their "Headquarters Tent." This is being held out in the East End, at the Spanish synagogue at Bevis Marks. I came late; the discussion had been going on for an hour and a half

(Continued at Folkestone, July 15)

and I had been its subject before my arrival—as young de Haas, who had been waiting for me at the gateway, informed me. The Hovevei Zion want to offer to join in with me if I pledge myself not to attack them again.

My entrance was greeted with friendly drumming on the tables, and as usual I was given the place of honor. On the other side of Chairman Prag sat Goldsmid, looking a bit gloomy.

They read lengthy reports about a settlement which is to be founded and is to cost I don't know how many hundreds of pounds: so-and-so-many oxen, so-and-so-many horses, seeds, timber, etc.

The question was asked whether the colonists were protected, and it was answered in the negative.

I tied onto that when my project came up for discussion. I said I wanted only the kind of colonization that we could protect with our own Jewish army. I had to oppose infiltration. I would not interfere with the efforts of the Zionist societies, but Edmond Rothschild's sport must cease at all costs. Let him subordinate himself to the national cause and then I would not only be prepared to give him the highest position, but also pay for his assumption of leadership with my own resignation.

A storm ensued.

Dr. Hirsch spoke against me at great length.

Rabbinowicz, my friend from the East End, declared that no Hovev Zion could ever come out in opposition to Edmond Rothschild. He hoped that Jewish history would not have to record any strife between Edmond Rothschild and myself.

Ish-Kishor asked Colonel Goldsmid up to what point a Hovev could go along with me unofficially.

Goldsmid gave an evasive answer, saying that naturally he could dictate no one's actions outside the Hovevei Zion.

I got up and said:

"I shall formulate Mr. Ish-Kishor's question more precisely. He means: does the Colonel regard my secret steps to be in any way practical and to be taken seriously?"

The Colonel said haltingly: "*Well* * . . . if Dr. Herzl—I mean, if the people to whom he spoke—if they are not acting in bad faith, then Dr. Herzl has already achieved a remarkable result."

I then declared that I could not abandon my stand on infiltration even if I thereby lost the support of all the Hovevei Zion societies, which are now under a central organization.

Thereupon the chairman, Mr. Prag, adjourned the meeting with a dry, curt "Good-bye, Dr. Herzl!" *

Goldsmid drew me aside and told me that in the afternoon, at the Queen's garden-party, he had not been able to get to the

* In English in the original.

Prince of Wales and therefore had been unable to do anything in the matter of an introduction.

Accordingly, now as previously, it will be left for me to do everything by myself.

In the street I immediately took Rabbinowicz by the arm and said: "Organize the East End for me!"

Then I drove with Herbert Bentwich, who is devoted to me, to the House of Parliament, where I wanted to speak with Stevenson about the Armenian problem.

Bentwich called my attention to my mistake: I had been too brusque; I should not have told the Headquarters Tent that they had bungled things, but should have praised their ideas and past achievements as exemplary.

He was right. And yet I immediately had the feeling that in addition to having been frank, my attitude could have been wise, despite its momentary bad effect.

Folkestone, July 15

As I was packing my things at the hotel yesterday morning, I was surprised by a visit from Ish-Kishor. He is the poor Russian-Jewish teacher whose speech in the Jewish jargon at the East End meeting had moved me deeply and carried away the other listeners.

As I sat on the platform of the workingmen's stage on Sunday I experienced strange sensations. I saw and heard my legend being born. The people are sentimental; the masses do not see clearly. I believe that even now they no longer have a clear image of me. A light fog is beginning to rise around me, and it may perhaps become the cloud in which I shall walk.

But even if they no longer see my features distinctly, still they divine that I mean very well by them, and that I am the man of the little people.

Of course, they would probably show the same affection to some clever deceiver and impostor as they do to me, in whom they are not deceived.

This is perhaps the most interesting thing I am recording in these notebooks—the way my legend is being born.

And while I was listening, on that people's tribunal, to the emphatic words and the cheering of my adherents, I inwardly resolved quite firmly to become ever worthier of their trust and their affection.

* * *

Ish-Kishor, then, came yesterday to offer me the formation of an organization which would recognize me as its head. A hundred men would join together in the East End, recruit comrades in all countries, and carry on agitation for the Jewish State.

This I accepted; and when de Haas, who wishes to be my *"honorary secretary,"* * came, I proposed that they name this association *The Knights of Palestine.** However, I said that I would have to remain outside its ranks, because I must not belong to any propagandizing organization.

* * *

De Haas understood my position and explained it to Ish-Kishor: I intended to unite the poor in order to put pressure on the lukewarm and hesitant rich.

When I went to Montagu later to ask him to get the Armenian matter rolling for me with Stevenson, the Vice-President of the Anglo-Armenian Committees, I could tell from his at-your-service manner the effect of my success in the East End.

* * *

I am satisfied with the result of my trip to London.

The conditional promise of Montagu and Goldsmid to join in with us if Edmond Rothschild and the Hirsch Fund participate and the Sultan enters into positive negotiations, suffices me for the present.

* In English in the original.

July 16, Boulogne-sur-mer

Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that both Montagu and Goldsmid declined to preside at the East End meeting. Nor did either of them attend the banquet of the Maccabean Club.

But I need them—consequently———

July 17

In Paris again.

It was in one of the rooms I am now occupying at the Hotel Castille that I wrote *The Jewish State* (in the form of the Address to the Rothschilds).

Telegrams from Newlinski were waiting for me.

One of them reads:*

Sidney Whitman has just arrived, wants to undertake mission. How much can I offer him in addition to traveling expenses? Kind regards, Newlinski.

The second one:*

Special request: buy two sets of mantel clocks, two silver candlesticks, first quality, half a meter or more in height, massive, renaissance style, one Oriental or Moorish style, each two or three thousand francs cash. I need them urgently for His Majesty himself. Unobtainable here. In any case, come see me at Carlsbad. Prince of no use at moment.

Newlinski

The third:

Would be good if you came to discuss everything again. Day after tomorrow Whitman returning from Herbert.** Reply about sets, have to wire Constantinople whether obtainable. Regards, Newlinski.

* * *

That business with the mantel sets I don't quite understand. Why am I to get them, of all things? In any case, I am in no

* In French in the original.

** From here on in French in the original.

position to pay for them out of my pocket. I wired back he should indicate whether I should suggest to my friends that they make the Sultan a present of two sumptuous sets. If not, to whom should it be sent C.O.D. I told him that I could not spare Whitman any more than his expenses. But if he participated, our future gratitude would be all the greater.

* * *

Talked with Bernard Lazare. Excellent type of a fine, clever French Jew.

* * *

Nordau has fresh scruples: it would be an internal Russo-Jewish affair, etc.

I told him, as well as Lazare, that I intend to purchase the enrollment of Edmond Rothschild and the Hirsch Fund by my own withdrawal. This seemed the right thing to both of them.

July 18

Nordau said yesterday: "The story goes that they entered into conversations with you in Constantinople. Didn't the people ask, whom are we talking to? who has the money?"

I said: "I have made the connection, that is all. I had a right to make reference to Montagu. And, incidentally, this is where my tremendous risk lay. Montagu had merely declared to me, in absolute privacy, his conditional willingness to join in with me. I ran the risk of his telling me, on my return: that was only smoking-room talk, not serious. However, he has stuck to his word even now; and so today I am covered."

* * *

Yesterday afternoon the likeable Bernard Lazare brought me Mr. Meyerson of the Agence Havas and of the local Zionist associations.

Nordau and the sculptor Beer joined us later. This gathering of intellectually notable men in my own room and on my own ground once again gave me a distinct feeling of what enormous progress my idea has made.

Meyerson raised many, all too many, objections, particularly with regard to the ability of Jews to become farmers.

I finally begged him: *"Ne me faites donc pas tant de misères. Nous ne pouvous pas prevoir l'avenir. Marchons, et nous verrons* [Don't make me mountains with your mole hills. We can't foresee the future. Let us go forward and we shall see]."

That mollified him. He took it upon himself to go to Edmond Rothschild and tell him that I was prepared to call on him. I did not hide from the gentlemen the fact that this was one of the greatest sacrifices I was making for the Jewish cause. For Edmond Rothschild's treatment of Nordau has soured me on him. As for Albert Rothschild's *parcheschkat* toward me in Vienna, I kept silent about that.

I asked Meyerson to formulate my standpoint clearly: I am demanding the unification of all Zionist groups, particularly of the Hirsch Fund and of Edmond Rothschild. The latter need declare his adherence only conditionally. When I have completed the diplomatic side of the whole matter, the gentlemen designated by me are to take over its direction. For my part, I shall give my word of honor to abstain from assuming the leadership of the masses. I do not want a demagogic movement, although in case of need I am prepared to create one. The consequences, to be sure, could be serious.

But if my program is accepted, I shall withdraw completely from the leadership of the movement.

* * *

In the evening, had some beer with Schiff. I reminded him of last year. He said: Well, so perhaps I was wrong.

Actually, he is still quite obdurate and uncomprehending.

July 18

Telegram from St. Blasien, dated July 17:

Grand Duke unable to receive you at time stated. Requests you to present matter in writing.

Secret Cabinet.

July 19

Yesterday I delivered the "Address to the Rothschilds."

Thus everything I proposed to do comes to pass, even though at another time and in another way, and the goal will undoubtedly be attained, although I myself shall hardly live to see it.

Yesterday morning I visited Leven in his *appartement de bourgeois cossu* [upper-middle class apartment]. Leven treats the Jewish question rather nonchalantly. He's not badly off. While we were talking, Meyerson was announced. He had come from "Baron Edmond" to invite Leven and me to a conference at which he was also going to be present. Time: one-thirty p.m.

At half past one I was in the rue Laffitte. The attendant took my card and ushered me into the first waiting room, for general visitors who have business with this banking house. A few minutes later I was shown into another wood-panelled reception room where Meyerson was already waiting and where he prepared me for the fact that the Baron was a human being like ourselves.

I was not surprised at this piece of information.

After we had been waiting for about ten minutes, a door opened and Leven came in, followed by a tall, slim man in his forties. I had thought he was much older. He looks like an aging youth, his movements are quick and yet shy, and he has a light-brown beard on the verge of turning grey, a long nose, and an offensively large mouth. He wore a red necktie and a white waistcoat which flapped about his thin body.

I asked him to what extent he was acquainted with my plan, whereupon he began to spout: he had heard about me as a new

Bernard l'hermite—and lost himself all over the map in a refutation of my program, of which he had no exact knowledge.

After five minutes I interrupted him, saying: "You don't know what it is all about. Let me explain it to you first."

He stopped in bewilderment.

I began: "A colony is a little state, a state is a big colony. You want to build a small state, I, a big colony."

And once again, as so many times previously, I unfolded the entire plan. He listened at times with surprise; at a few points I read admiration in his eyes.

However, he has no faith in the promises of the Turks. And even if he did believe in them, he still would not engage in such an undertaking. He thinks it would be impossible to keep the influx of the masses into Palestine under control. The first to arrive would be 150,000 *shnorrers* [beggars] who would have to be fed. He didn't feel equal to it, but perhaps I would be. He could not undertake such a responsibility. There might be mishaps.

"Are there none now?" I interjected. "Isn't anti-Semitism a permanent mishap with loss of honor, life, and property?"

The adherence of the Londoners is not enough for him. Sir S. Montagu wanted to stand behind him, that he could well understand. But as for Colonel Goldsmid, in a letter he had just received Goldsmid had represented my undertaking as downright dangerous.

This news staggered me greatly. I should never have expected this from Goldsmid. If he is against me, why didn't he tell me so with military candor, why did he leave me confident and on that Hovevei Zion evening expressly assure me of his sympathy in my undertaking, provided that I was not being led astray in Constantinople?

Colonel Goldsmid will no longer be counted upon.

Mr. Leven nodded pleasantly to every word "the Baron" said; Meyerson, too, agreed with everything.

After two hours of this battle of words, I picked up my umbrella from the floor and rose:

"By way of concluding this conversation, which has been a serious one and which we have not carried on for our entertainment, I say to you: By what do I recognize the power of an idea? By the fact that a man commits himself when he says Yes and commits himself also when he says No."

The Baron made a very uncomfortable face, indeed, an angry one.

I added: "You were the keystone of the entire combination. If you refuse, everything I have fashioned so far will fall to pieces. I shall then be obliged to do it in a different way. I shall start a mass agitation, and that way it will be even harder to keep the masses under control. I was going to turn the direction of the whole project over to you, the philanthropic Zionist, and withdraw. Once the affair with the Sultan had been straightened out, you could have made public or kept secret as much of it as you pleased. The regulation of mass immigration is a matter for the government. If, e.g., a "run" were to set in, unfavorable reports about housing or the employment situation could be published, which would slow down the torrent. All these are details of administration. You think that it would be a misfortune to operate with such masses. Reflect whether the misfortune will not be greater if I am forced to set the masses in motion by unplanned agitation.

"This is precisely what I wanted to avoid. I have shown my good intentions, and that I am no *intransigeant entêté* [obstinate cuss]. You are not willing—I have done my share."

Then I took my leave. We both declared that we were delighted to have made each other's acquaintance, and then I left.

Rothschild detained the other two by their coat buttons; I think, he had asked them there for his protection, in case I turned out to be an anarchist.

A half-hour later Meyerson came to my hotel with a sweet-and-sour expression. Was he under unofficial orders from the Baron when he advised me to start on a small scale, and obtain small concessions in Turkey for Edm. R.'s colonies? Then, he

said, the Baron might gradually show himself more favorably disposed toward my plans.

General impression: Edmond is a decent, good-natured, fainthearted man, who absolutely fails to understand the matter and would like to stop it, the way a coward tries to stop necessary surgery. I believe he is now aghast at having got himself involved with Palestine, and perhaps he will run to Alphonse and say: "You were right; I should have gone in for racing horses rather than resettling Jews."

And the fate of many millions is to hang on such men!

* * *

To Newlinski I telegraphed:

Edmond R. is making difficulties which are threatening to have repercussions in London. He first wanted small concessions for which he would presumably offer small counter-services.

July 20, Paris

Addendum to Rothschild conversation.

Actually, I have noted down very little on the preceding pages about this talk which was one of the most important I have had.

I had to combat feelings of listlessness yesterday. When I think how easy and obvious the whole thing will appear to people once it is accomplished and against what idiotic obstacles I get sick fighting and wearing myself out———

Among other things, Edmond R. said, piqued: "I didn't need you to come along and tell me that we now have machines at our disposal."

I answered: "I had no intention of instructing you."

At another point in the conversation he said:

"Et qu'est-ce que vous me demandez [and what do you want me to do]?"

I answered brusquely: *"Pardon, vous ne m'avez pas compris. Je ne vous demande rien du tout. Je vous invite seulement de donner votre adhésion sous condition* [I beg your pardon, you

did not understand me. I want nothing at all from you. I am inviting you only to give your conditional adherence]."

Leven and Meyerson, as I said, quite agreed with him.

Ils abondaient dans le sens indiqué par lui [they echoed whatever line he took], they obligingly provided him with arguments. When Edmond said that there would be no curbing the masses, Meyerson said darkly: "Yes, just like what happened on the Chodinko plain."

Leven even had the presumption to declare that up till now I had not achieved anything.

Twice Edmond R. said: *"Il ne faut pas avoir les yeux plus gros que le ventre* [one mustn't have eyes bigger than one's stomach]." That, I believe, is the extent of his philosophical insight.

July 20, Paris

I am writing de Haas in London that they should begin to organize the masses. This will be the reply to the Chodinko argument.

July 21

On the train past Jaxtzell, on the way to Carlsbad where Newlinski has urgently summoned me.

Another addendum to the Rothschild conversation:

I mentioned the fact that I was being aided by three people whose traveling expenses I was paying: a diplomat (Newlinski), a journalist (Sidney Whitman), and an English clergyman (Hechler). I did not give him their names. I said that the clergyman was not expecting any reward but that if success comes we would have to buy the diplomat a fine estate and give the journalist some decent compensation. When I said this, Rothschild gave Leven a very sly look which was intended to mean "Aha!"

July 21

Talked with Nordau and Beer yesterday and told them the answer I had found to Rothschild's objection: the organization

of our masses, without delay. Our people will be organized before their departure, and not merely upon their arrival. No one will be allowed to enter without a certificate of departure.

Nordau expressed his complete agreement with me and even wishes to join the Paris Committee, as I put it, "as Chief of the Movement in France." He demurred a little against the title "Chief," but accepted the post.

* * *

In the afternoon I spoke in the club rooms of the Russian Jewish students, out in the Gobelins quarter. B. Lazare was present, also three Jewish female students from Russia. The room was packed. I made the speech with which I am familiar by now, but was not in good form.

I spoke with forbearance of the moneyed Jews who are in no hurry, and concluded with the words: *"Je ne vous dis pas encore: marchons—je dis seulement: la jeunesse, debout!* [I am not saying to you as yet, 'Forward march!' All I am saying is, 'Youth, to your feet!]"

I called on them to start organizing the cadres.

* * *

Et nous voilà repartis de Paris [And here we are, leaving Paris again].

Never has this charming city so enchanted me as on this parting-day.

When shall I see Paris again?

Contents

Volume II

Book Four

Begun on July 21, 1896

On the way to Carlsbad

July 22, Carlsbad

Newlinski was waiting for me with the following information:

1) The Prince of Bulgaria will receive me here.

2) The Turkish ambassador in Vienna categorically denies the news about Jewish colonists being persecuted in Palestine.

3) Jewish circles are intriguing against me in Yildiz Kiosk.

I, for my part, told him about my trip. I said I seemed to myself like an officer who goes into battle with raw recruits and has to stand behind them with a gun to keep them from running away.

I called the attitude of Edmond Rothschild in particular disturbing, because the entire combination now depended on him. However, I said, it was by no means a foregone conclusion that in the end he would not go along with us after all.

Newlinski said that this news discouraged him for the first time in this matter. He had not known that my troops were that bad.

July 22, Carlsbad

I am telegraphing to Edmond Rothschild:*

The Turkish ambassador at Vienna writes:

"You can deny categorically the false news item, evidently fabricated with malicious intent, that the Turkish authorities have expelled existing Jewish colonists or refused to admit new ones." However, I have learned that someone has tried to intrigue against me at Yildiz Kiosk. If it was one of your overzealous underlings, he has made you seriously responsible. I hope this is not so; we must understand each other.

Theodor Herzl
Hotel Erzherzog Karl

* In French in the original.

July 22

This morning I had breakfast with Newlinski in the Posthof garden. Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria and his party occupied a table not far from ours. I noticed that I was being pointed out to him. Then he sent over Fürth who had previously said that it was doubtful whether the Prince would receive me today at all. Fürth told me the Prince would talk to me in the arbor-walk later.

We now watched for his rising. When he left, Newlinski, Fürth, and I hurried after him.

He was waiting behind some shrubbery. Ten steps away from him I took off my hat, and he advanced two paces toward me. There actually was no introduction. He gave me his hand, and I immediately began to present the Jewish cause. We walked up and down as I talked. His retinue kept at a respectful distance. Occasionally, visitors to the spa would gape at us. At one point the Prince impatiently stamped his foot when two people had stopped nearby and were listening, and he made a motion with his umbrella as if to strike, saying, "It is scandalous the way one is bothered here. And the Christians are even worse than the Jews."

(Those two were obviously Jews.)

I expounded my project for him with laconic brevity. He was quickly gripped. "It is a magnificent idea," he said; "no one has ever talked to me about the Jewish Question this way. But I have often thought about what you say. Actually, I was raised by Jews. I spent my youth with Baron Hirsch. So I know the whole background; people often reproach me for being half a Jew. Your idea has my full sympathy—but what can I do for it?"

"I should like to ask Your Royal Highness to prepare the Czar for my plan and, if possible, to obtain an audience for me."

"That is very difficult," he said doubtfully; "it is a matter which involves religion. As it is, I don't stand in well with the orthodox. There are delicate matters in that area in which I

often have to subordinate my convictions to political necessity."

As he said this, he drew himself up and looked down at me in a truly grand manner with his head thrown back. But most of the time he stood in front of me, leaning on his umbrella and bending slightly forward. When I took one step back so as to stand more respectfully, he immediately moved forward, even stepped on my foot, and said: "Pardon me!"

This way I always saw his fine, slightly obese face with the pointed beard, the long nose, and the intelligent, bright eyes close before me.

He stated repeatedly that he was a friend of the Jews, and was pleased when I told him that the Sultan and the Grand Duke of Baden were, too.

"The Grand Duke," I exclaimed, "is the Good Old King out of a fairy-tale. He is only afraid that his participation in my plan could be considered anti-Semitic. It will therefore be my task to explain to the world, particularly to the Jews, that it is not a question of expulsion, but an act of kindness on the part of the potentates."

He nodded his satisfaction and promised me his full support, on condition that this be kept secret. In Russia, he said, at most, Grand Duke Wladimir might be interested in the matter. All others speak of the Jews as though they were not human. I should send him, the Prince, my book in German, Russian, and English.

He said he would disseminate it. He also gave me permission to report to him from time to time how the project was going.

He dismissed me very benevolently; and later Newlinski told me that he had expressly promised his participation in our project and that I could certainly count on him.

July 22

Went walking with Newlinski in the afternoon. We discussed our next move. Bismarck's cooperation could not be counted on for the time being. Bismarck had told Sidney Whitman he al-

ready knew my book; Chrysander, his secretary, had told him the contents. Bismarck regards my draft as melancholy fantasy. Later Whitman went to Herbert Bismarck and asked him to influence the old Prince. Herbert promised to do so.

(Newlinski also read me the letter which Bismarck addressed to the Sultan about the Cretan, Armenian, and Syrian incidents. Very interesting. Bismarck advises him not to be afraid of England, whose power is dissipated all over the world, and to work with Russia. All the latter wanted was the passage of warships through the Bosporus. Bismarck considers the Sultan's present situation as not dangerous, and speaks in a very scornful tone about the Cretans.)

Since we cannot count on Bismarck now, we must have the invitation to the Jews suggested to the Sultan from some other quarter.

To counter the Jewish intrigues—it is incredible—in Yildiz Kiosk, we decided on the following: Newlinski is going to write to Izzet that the Jews who have been agitating against me may have no personal interests—although this, too, would be conceivable—but do have two kinds of disinterested misgivings. In the first place, they are afraid that anti-Semitism would be intensified in their present places of residence if the call to migrate were issued to the Jews. In the second place, they are worried that we would have an unmanageable mass influx of penniless Jews on our hands in Palestine. For these reasons, the Jewish originators of these intrigues may want to thwart our project from the start. However, Izzet should not let them rob him of his confidence in me.

Newlinski feels that right now it would still be possible, even easily possible, to ruin the whole thing at Yildiz Kiosk. If my opponents knew how matters stand at present, they could do so with ease. This makes me reflect that it is evidence of Newlinski's decency and his confidence in me if he does not go over to my wealthy opponents.

July 24, Gmunden

In my rude telegram to Edmond Rothschild there was a grammatical error: "*si ce serait* [if it were]" instead of "*si c'était* [if it was.]"

• • •

From Rothschild's negative attitude I must salvage everything possible. In particular, his No must aid me to get a Yes from the German Kaiser.

Sent Newlinski 500 francs for Sidney Whitman's unsuccessful trip.

The thought keeps recurring how little gratitude the Jews will show me for the giant service I am performing them. If today I simply dropped the project, it would surely remain undone and would not materialize for decades—and even then only through the utilization of my ideas.

Letter to Zadoc Kahn, Aussee, July 26, 1896:

Reverend Sir:

I have regretted very, very much that you had left Paris before I arrived. It is our cause which may have suffered the greatest harm from this, for it was an important moment. Through serious, good counsel you might have been able to bring about a different turn.

I am writing you in German, which you do understand, because I write French too slowly and poorly. As it is, the Jewish cause is making great claim on my energies, what with the growing extent of the movement.

Here, in brief and in the strictest confidence, are the facts. I have been to Constantinople and there have obtained results which actually surprised even myself. The Sultan took cognizance of my plan "Palestine for the Jews!"; and even though he resists the idea of a simple sale, he did treat me with distinction in various ways and gave me to understand that the deal could be made

if a suitable formula is found. *Il s'agit de sauver les apparences* [it is a matter of saving face]. From the Sultan's circle the following proposition was advanced: The Sultan could ceremoniously invite the Jews to return to their historic homeland, to establish themselves there *autonomously* as vassals of the Turkish Empire, and in return pay him a tribute (on the basis of which he could then raise a loan).

With this result I went to London, where Sir S. Montagu and others promised me their adherence on three conditions: 1) the consent of the Great Powers, 2) the accession of the Hirsch Fund, 3) the accession of Edmond Rothschild.

The first condition I hope to be able to meet because two reigning princes have already held out the prospect of their aid to me. So I went to Paris and spoke with Edmond Rothschild. I told him as well as the other gentlemen clearly what it was all about. I requested that he join the cause conditionally, i.e., he should participate in it only when it was signed, sealed, and delivered. I told him that he need not appear, that I would arrange everything with the Sultan and the other governments. But as soon as the plan was to be put into effect, he as well as Montagu and the others should take over from me. So that not even the shadow of a doubt could rest upon me that I want to unite all our forces only in order to snatch the leadership for myself, I pledged myself to withdraw completely as soon as this committee for action has been formed. In return for these gentlemen's word of honor to make my goal their goal I wanted to give my word of honor henceforth not to interfere in anything. Then they could direct the movement to the best of their knowledge and conscience, since I had confidence in those who have been friends of Zion up to now. They could, above all, work in secret, and at any given time make public only as much as would be necessary—in short, they could organize and channel the great movement sensibly.

I believe that this was an honest proposal which attested to my good intentions and my absolute selflessness, and that I did not thereby make any immoderate demand.

Unfortunately, Edmond R. would not or could not understand me. He replied that even if all diplomatic premises were correct and if we obtained Palestine, he considered the matter impracticable, because the masses of the poor Jews would swarm into Palestine in an unmanageable fashion, and it would be impossible to give them employment or sustenance there.

You have read my pamphlet about the Jewish State. You know in what great—even superfluous—detail I described the organization of the masses which is to precede the migration. It is possible to reject my detailed proposals; but in any case, the principle that the emigrants must be organized when they depart and not just when they arrive is a workable one. No one will be enrolled without the proper papers—passport, etc. These are simple problems of administration and pose no greater problem than other tasks of a state.

If, then, this is a disinterested reservation on Edmond Rothschild's part, it ought to be possible to get at it with rational arguments, and I beg you—I may fairly say—in the name of our unhappy brethren to place all your talents and your recognized authority at the service of this cause.

At the same time I am undertaking to demonstrate practically that our masses can be organized by recommending to my friends in all countries to form the cadres for a possible migration. I believe that in just a few months, possibly by spring, the nationalist Jews in all countries will be tightly organized.

The movement will be continued, and it will grow dramatically—let no one deceive himself on that score. Despite the bitter pills I am given to swallow and the obstacles that are placed in my path, I am conducting this movement as a prudent man who is at all times conscious of his tremendous responsibility. I am certainly not inciting the masses; but can I prevent tumultuous misunderstandings if it can happen that whole chapters of my exposition are overlooked?

By this refusal Edmond Rothschild is bringing on the very calamity that he seeks to avert. Added to this is the incalculable factor of how the nations among whom we are dispersed will re-

act to this movement if we are obliged to conduct it through public agitation instead of directing it from the top with all quiet and order.

I have demonstrated my good intentions; I have spared no pains or personal sacrifice. My conscience is at ease. People should understand what storms of indignation will be aroused among the penniless Jews and among all non-Jews if it becomes known some day that in my campaign of rescue I was left in the lurch by those who had the power and the duty to help me. I am an opponent of the House of Rothschild, because I regard it as a national misfortune of the Jews. As for the only one who has aroused sympathy through his past behavior, Edmond Rothschild —a man whom I regarded, and still regard, as a decent, good Jew—should he refuse to contribute to our national salvation? And it is not any sort of material sacrifice that is being asked of him. He is not called upon to part with a penny, lift a hand, or appear at all. All he has to do is accept the completed project; until diplomatic arrangements are made he can remain entirely under cover. If he does not agree to this—he, upon whom depends the joining of the Londoners and of the Hirsch Fund, which means: everything—then a cry of anger will sweep the world. It may seem unfair to him that his philanthropic experiments in Palestine should now have confronted him with such an eventuality. Well, it simply was no game, no pastime, but a terribly serious matter upon which he embarked with his Palestine colonization.

Explain this to him, I beg of you. I may have been too clumsy or too impatient. But the cause must not suffer for my blunders.

Your office and your love for the cause make it your duty to participate to the best of your ability. Make it your special concern to prevent Edmond Rothschild from forming a wrong conception of my intentions. Convince him that I desire what is good and right.

We now have an official statement that the Turkish authorities neither expelled the resident Jewish colonists nor turned back the new arrivals. The Turkish ambassador at Vienna writes:

"*Vous pouvez démentir catégoriquement cette nouvelle inventée dans un but évident de malveillance* [You can categorically deny this item which was invented with an obviously malevolent intent]."

I wired Edmond Rothschild this. At the same time I learned something absolutely monstrous from the palace at Constantinople where I have devoted friends—namely, that there are intrigues against me on the part of Jews. It sounds so wild that I can scarcely believe it. Perhaps the people in Yildiz Kiosk took too seriously the malicious remark dropped by some Jew who does not have as much respect for me as is my due in the opinion of the Turks. But by such actions—whether they be committed out of thoughtlessness or with malice aforethought—a man can incur an extremely serious responsibility. And it is getting time for us to sort out and fix responsibilities clearly.

The Jewish national movement is as serious as—nay, much more serious than—anti-Semitism. People should understand this in good time.

Up to now the destitute Jews have been the anvil, and the anti-Semites the hammer. Woe to those who get caught between the hammer and the anvil!

If you reply to me immediately, your letter will still reach me here. Beginning August 3 I shall be in Vienna again, c/o *Neue Freie Presse*.

With sincere respect,

Yours
Th. Herzl.

Mailed on July 27.

• • •

Letters sent on July 27:

Herbst, Bierer } Sofia (organizing, in view of E.R.'s objection)

B. Lazare, Paris (to take care of a French edition; I waive my claims to the expenses I incurred on the translation).

J. de Haas, London (organizing, with Rabbinowicz, Ish-Kishor).
Schnirer, Vienna (invitation to Kokesch, Mintz to discuss organizing).

All the above with mention of E.R.'s refusal.

Hechler, Vienna (announcing my visit).
Klatschko, Vienna (pamphlet in Russian).

July 30, Aussee

Hechler telegraphs from Tegernsee:

Am at Tegernsee, Villa Fischer, made speeches in the castle and at homes of important people. Everybody enthusiastic.

"Can you come immediately to lend dignity? I want to leave here about Saturday—if possible.

Hechler.

I am answering him that I could hardly get away because I have to go to Vienna within the next few days. At any rate, I would first like to know to whom he made speeches and who wished to see me.

If it is Empress Elizabeth, I'll go.

• • •

Letter to the Grand Duke of Baden:

Aussee, August 1, 1896

Your Royal Highness:

I did not want to write from France, because the post offices there are suspected of prying, and a letter to a German sovereign would surely have attracted attention. Then, too, I was traveling about restlessly for some time. That is why I can only now comply with your kind invitation to give you my report on the Jewish cause in writing.

I have been to Constantinople and explored the ground there. H.M. the Sultan took cognizance of my proposal, and even though he spoke out in no uncertain terms against the cession

of Palestine to the Jews as an independent state, he still did not discourage me completely. In fact, he even treated me with distinction in various ways, and it was indicated to me indirectly that the transaction could perhaps be made if the proper formula were found. Then the idea was proposed from the Sultan's circle to permit the Jews to establish a vassal state in Palestine. Their immigration was to be favored by the granting of autonomy, and they would have to pay an annual tribute to the suzerain.

When I had the honor to present the matter at Karlsruhe, Your Royal Highness likewise expressed yourself in favor of a gradual immigration into Palestine.

With the results attained in Constantinople I went to London. Our financiers there are prepared to go through with this way of establishing a state for the Jews; but they are making conditions —first of all, the obvious one that the Powers approve of the whole thing.

Then, that Edmond Rothschild of Paris join in.

I have spoken with this Edmond Rothschild. He is afraid. He thinks that we would not be able to organize, employ, or feed the poor people who are to migrate there. But these are all administrative problems, no harder and no easier than other tasks of a state.

I do not wish to repeat here all the things that I explained to him. Suffice it to say that he does not understand. Now, it would really be a crying shame if the development of this serious, great, philanthropic plan were to be thwarted by the opposition of a single person of insufficient intelligence. Can this be the will of God?

This is the way matters stand at the moment. One way out of the present difficulties would be to make the course of events public and to break the will of this recalcitrant man through agitation. But I would not want to carry on the movement demagogically.

The gradual exodus of the Jews in good order, the way I intend it, can only be directed from the top. That is why I cling to the hope that the truly high-minded sovereigns of Europe will

bestow their gracious protection on the cause. Then we could easily pass over the refusal of individual wealthy Jews.

It would be of inestimable value to our future course if His Majesty the German Kaiser allowed me to present the plan to him.

Some steps have already been taken with a view to my reception by His Majesty the Emperor of Russia.

Your Royal Highness has been the first ruler who generously took an interest in this movement, and I shall never forget the royally unpretentious words with which this interest was expressed. I venture to make reference to the favor of that audience if I now ask Your Royal Highness point-blank to induce His Majesty the German Kaiser to give me a hearing.

Today this solution of the ancient Jewish Question exists in embryonic form. Many people, Gentiles as well as Jews, would breathe a sigh of relief. A social difficulty of a serious nature could be eliminated. It would be a blessed and glorious deed which would be bound to affect far-distant times.

But if we find no help, the seed may perish.

I remain Your Royal Highness' respectful and grateful servant

Dr. Theodor Herzl

(Address: Thalhof, Reichenau bei Payerbach, Lower Austria.)

August 1, Aussee

Hechler telegraphs from Tegernsee: "Today fifth and last presentation. Leaving today or tomorrow morning. Hechler."

This means, then, that the important people mentioned in his first wire are not issuing a direct invitation to me.

Or did he merely want me to come on a chance? In any case, I did well not to start off right away.

August 1

The effectiveness of my movement shows up first in begging-letters.

August 1

At the beginning of July a letter came from Wolffsohn of Cologne which I only received here. At the Berlin Zionist Convention there was violent opposition to me. Wolffsohn was the only one to stick by me, and he had trouble preventing the Zionists from taking a public stand against me. Nevertheless, Hildesheimer and Bambus were willing to meet with me in Cologne, but I missed this opportunity.

I am answering Wolffsohn that hostile acts on the part of the Zionists could well cause me to drop the whole matter. I am informing him of Edmond Rothschild's refusal and telling him that the need for an organization in which he, too, would have a function, is developing. Furthermore, I am willing to get together with the Berlin Zionists. We would shortly hold a conference in Vienna at which the convening of a general Zionist assembly is to be discussed.

August 1

A good letter from Zadoc Kahn at Weggis. He proposes a secret conference of representatives of the largest Jewish communities, since no individual has the authority to get a matter of such immeasurable importance rolling all by himself. Therefore, there ought to be a debate with all the pros and cons. For the rest, right after his return to Paris (between the 20th and the 25th of August) he wants to have a serious talk "*avec qui de droit* [with the proper person]"—with Edmond Rothschild, then? —but he does not seem to expect much from it.

I accept the proposal for a secret conference, because I believe by that time I shall have achieved further diplomatic success, and then I shall manage to rouse this debating assembly to some action.

August 2, Aussee

Letter to Zadoc Kahn:

Reverend Sir:

I accept your proposal to convene a confidential gathering of representatives of all large Jewish communities, provided you are the organizer and it has a practical character from the beginning. I will no longer have anything to do with purely academic discussions. This does not mean that I reject refinements of my idea, advice, limitations, etc. If I am willing to attend this conference, it is actually because I wish to prove for the umpteenth time that I am not a fanatical agitator, but would like to proceed prudently and in cooperation with our calmest and best men. My consent, which I am giving you in principle today, will be definitive as soon as I am acquainted with the agenda of the conference and the names of its participants.

Naturally I shall not interrupt my activities while awaiting this conference. As you have already observed, I move rapidly; and if you postpone the deliberation for long, it may come after the action. Therefore you can already take the necessary first steps from Weggis.

Thanking you for the appealing tone of your letter, I remain

With sincere respect,
Th. Herzl.

August 2, Aussee

Wrote to Nordau to take care of the French edition, because I urgently need it for the Russian court and for Rome.

What I don't do myself doesn't get done.

S. Whitman writes from Constantinople that he will be coming to Vienna in three weeks and afterwards will go to see Bismarck again.

August 3, on the train to Vienna

I have just now read a communication from the Arabian explorer Dr. Glaser which arrived during my trip to England. It is a memorandum from the year 1890, directed to Baron Hirsch. It is written in an obsequiously enthusiastic tone and culminates

in the exclamation: Long live the King of Israel!—and after the preceding sentence there is no doubt that "Moritz Freiherr [Baron] von Hirsch" is thought of as the King of Israel.

But the contents of the memorandum shows excellent thinking. This Glaser is a man to remember. In any event, he possesses considerable knowledge of the Orient, and he may even have a talent for military organization. Since it is possible that I shall need a replacement for the unreliable Goldsmid, Glaser is to be cultivated.

To be sure, he makes the absurd proposal to select Southern Arabia as the territory for the Jewish State; but the way in which he motivates this idea for colonization is excellent.

I am going to write him from Vienna today or tomorrow that I am welcoming him to our ranks as a promising co-worker.

• • •

Dr. L. Ernst, the author of a book about secret remedies for venereal diseases, has written a cute answer to my pamphlet, with the title *No Jewish State!*

Breitenstein the publisher asked me whether I had any objection to his publishing this droll booklet, too, under his imprint. I had absolutely no objection.

(At the same time Breitenstein gave me a financial statement on my pamphlet. *I* owe *him* a few guilders. And he is already on the fourth printing!)

I read Ernst's pamphlet on the train, in the galley-proofs. Simple-minded pontification, ignorance, narrow-mindedness on every page.

No answer.

August 3, Vienna

At the office again.

A brief, vigorous clash with Bacher. He asked whether I wasn't going to write a *feuilleton* about Constantinople.

"No," I said. "At Constantinople I had only historical experiences, not feuilletonistic ones."

He laughed foolishly.

"You don't believe me?" I said.

"No, I don't believe that," he countered.

I added, gruffly: "You'll believe, all right!"

Then we parted, rather irritated.

• • •

In the afternoon at Newlinski's.

At Carlsbad he also spoke with King Milan about my project. Milan thinks that I am overlooking the difficulties that France would make. France wants to have her Syrian protectorate and an Arabian Empire. (Funny that this should coincide with Glaser's information.)

Newlinski claims that Milan had already received my book in Paris from Dr. Milicevic and discussed it in detail with French politicians.

Newlinski also spoke once more in Carlsbad with Prince Ferdinand who is supposed to have declared himself a champion of my idea. Ferdinand—like Bismarck—believes that the matter ought to be patronized from Rome.

Newlinski was quick to tie interesting fancies onto this. A trip to Rome in October, fifteen cardinals—the entire Conclave to be won over. The Pope would receive me, possibly issue an encyclical about my plan. The Catholic church ought to take the matter under its worldwide protection. The Sultan would accept advice from the Pope more readily than from the Czar.

It is my opinion, too, that we must work from Rome. However, even though I am very favorably disposed toward Newlinski, I did not want him to notice how very well this suits me. For he is clerical-minded and in any event more devoted to the Pope than he is to me.

I must look back and see whether I have noted down this habit: on the train bound for Stambul and in the bedroom at the Hotel Royal, Newlinski always crossed himself before he went to sleep. And, I believe, he is sincerely working for the Jews.

Evidence that my proposal is truly the redeeming reconciliation between Christians and Jews.

• • •

Gave Newlinski 184 guilders for Whitman's expenses.

• • •

August 5, Vienna

Spoke with Schnirer about the accomplishments of my trips and the need for an organization. He explains Edmond Rothschild's attitude to himself by the fact that any number of people want a split between E. R. and me. Schnirer knows that for every house that is built in Palestine, two thousand francs are allegedly paid out in *baksheesh*.

I told him about the presumed intrigue of the Rothschild director Scheid against me in Yildiz Kiosk, and asked him what Scheid deserved if it was true. Schnirer said indignantly: "He would deserve to be strung up."

The present organization of the Zionist associations leaves everything to be desired. The Zionist Federation is an unserviceable instrument and must be reorganized. The associations, above all, have no money. I cannot advance any more for propaganda since my capacity is already exhausted.

We agreed that the Zionist administration in Vienna should send a regular "Information Bulletin" to its members, who are to make some payment for it, so that the Zionist Federation could at least pay for the printing of stationery.

This is how poor the financial condition of the Zionists is at the present time—the Zionists, whom I shall probably raise high, and soon, and who will then presumably forget what I have brought about.

August 7

Newlinski writes from Hungary that he has just received a letter from Whitman in Constantinople with an interesting item.

Whitman had breakfast at Therapia with the former Prussian Minister of War, Verdy du Vernois. The latter, an expert on the Orient, had expressed himself very favorably on my Palestine project and "thought it was a blessing for Turkey, about which he is crazy."

"Vernois thinks the idea is conceived on such a grand scale that it must materialize, and he believes in you! . . . He is really somebody; I wanted to tell you this in order to compensate you for the contumely and the disappointments that you get from others. Don't let them get you down, and remember my words: Precisely among your co-religionists will you encounter the basest intrigues, stupidity, lack of principles, and ingratitude. But God will help you! . . . So will I!

With cordial regards,

Yours,
Newlinski"

• • •

I am including Newlinski's charming letter here as a souvenir. What Sonnenschein (Court Secretary in the Ministry of Railroads) had just told me is like an illustration of it, namely, that the London Chief Rabbi Adler told David Gutmann: "Dr. Herzl had a fiasco in London."

And David Gutmann cheerfully spread this around.

I am writing this to de Haas in London. My people in the East End shall answer the Chief Rabbi.

August 10

De Haas sends me clippings, among them one from the *Daily Chronicle,* in which my trip to London is connected with a conversion of the Turkish loan. I am not even issuing a denial of this. At the same time de Haas tells me the rumor is going around in London that a banking house (Barclay, Bevan & Co.) has placed two million pounds sterling at my disposal for my undertaking. I am not protesting against this nonsense either,

because fairy-tales, jokes, caricatures are vehicles for disseminating an idea.

• • •

Newlinski today sounded me out by inquiring whether in case of a "*Non possumus* [We cannot]!" from Turkey we wouldn't want to content ourselves with a lesser *firman* [imperial order] from the Sultan in which the Jews would merely be invited to establish colonies.

In this I smelled his desire to work with Edmond Rothschild and the Zionist associations, which he deemed financially solvent, and told him: "If it should really turn out to be impossible to obtain the basis for a state, I shall personally put you in touch with the Zionists and Edmond Rothschild (lest he try to do that himself), but I draw your attention to the following: in the first place, in the case of such colonization, the go-betweens get little *baksheesh*; in the second place, I am fundamentally opposed to this form and would fight it vigorously afterwards. Just keep your confidence in the cause. *Dans cette chose il faut avoir de l'estomac, comme disent les joueurs* [in this project one has to have a stomach, as the gamblers say]."

Thereupon, visibly reinvigorated, he asked me if he should write to Cardinal Rampolla in Rome to initiate action with the Pope.

Naturally I fully agree to this.

• • •

At Reichenau yesterday I spoke with Horn, the former editor-in-chief of the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg*. He is a brother of the late Hungarian State Secretary Eduard Horn, whom I knew in my boyhood. For thirty years he was a semi-official journalist in Russia and naturally is well acquainted with the situation there. He does not think that Russia would let the Jews have Palestine. He said there was a "Society of the Holy Sepulchre" under the chairmanship of Grand Duke Sergius. He also feels that the serviceable Jews would not be allowed to leave. Anti-

Semitism in Russia, he says, is due to the fact that the city dwellers there number at most eight million; and if these include five million Jews—who, in addition, rush into the learned professions, on account of certain military advantages—this is an unbearable situation. As for the peasant areas, the Jews cannot be integrated there, because in Russian village communities there is common pasture-land, and the Jews cannot participate in it.

But he has not been to Russia in six years and no longer knows how the wind is blowing.

About Ignatiew he tells me that when the latter was Minister of the Interior he had virtually encouraged persecution of the Jews.

Pobedonostsev he called a fanatic who defied even the Emperor and who would hardly have any dealings with me.

August 12, Vienna

Haas reports from London that a "Tent" of the Hovevei Zion had offered to "revolt" in my favor; another one had attacked me. The *Daily Chronicle* report that I had been on a financial mission for the Sultan was souring people on me.

I am telegraphing Haas:

"Pay no attention to false newspaper reports. Tell Prag I want collaboration with Hovevei.

Herzl."

• • •

In the *Allgemeine Israelitische Wochenschrift* of July 17 one Dr. Singer-Coblenz makes a venomous attack on me.

August 13, Vienna

Today called on the Turkish ambassador, Mahmud Nedim. He spoke uninterruptedly for one hour, without saying one single thing—not out of *rouerie* [craftiness], however, but out of unspeakable naiveté.

Some ambassador! A haberdashery clerk on Kärtnerstrasse displays more acumen.

He was very amiable—without understanding. Or is he infinitely discreet???

Interesting that Izzet should have written me about him.

Mahmud Nedim gave me the desired explanation which he had first addressed to Newlinski: that the Turkish authorities are not expelling the Jewish colonists. He asked me, however, not to make his letter of today public. I should say only: "*Comme nous apprenons de source certaine* [As we learn from a reliable source]"—or "*l'ambassadeur turc m'a dit* [the Turkish ambassador has told me]"—or "*nous sommes en mesure d'affirmer* [we are in a position to affirm]"—in short, he enumerated all the clichés of the Havas News Agency.

Which once again is confirmation of my definition of diplomats: "People who put together notes out of our notices."

August 18, Aussee

De Haas sends me bad news from London. The opponents in the Hovevei Zion, etc., are gaining the upper hand.

Meyerson has reported from Paris that I met with failure there. Also, my reception by the Russian Jewish students is supposed to have been an unfavorable one. On the other hand, Mr. Prag is said to have adopted a friendly attitude toward me lately.

I am writing de Haas a few compliments for Mr. Prag, and am authorizing him at the same time to publish the Turkish ambassador's denial in the press—only the substance, not the wording.

August 18, Aussee

Newlinski telegraphs from Vasvar:

"Have good news Rome."
(From Cardinal Rampolla, then.)

August 23, Baden

Had a long talk with the electrical engineer Kremenezky. He is a good Zionist, with modern ideas. On the shores of the highly saliferous Dead Sea great chemical industries could be established.

The streams of fresh water which now flow into it would have to be diverted and used as drinking water. The tributaries would be replaced by a canal from the Mediterranean which on account of the mountains would have to pass through a tunnel for part of the way (an internationally famous sight). The difference in level of the two seas (waterfall) could be used to run machines. Many thousands of horsepower.

Elsewhere in Palestine, too, there is plenty of water power that can be converted into electricity.

We must found a National Arbor Society for the afforestation of the land. Every Jew donates one or more trees. Ten million trees!

During the talk I had an idea concerning organization.

The young professional men want to found a Zionist society for university graduates. I think it will be even better to establish specialized Zionist societies for here and for over there: associations of Jewish lawyers, physicians, engineers, electricians, building contractors, civil servants, merchants (chambers of commerce). These professional people have mutual interests even here. Practical problems and plans can be placed before them, for appraisal, discussion, etc. If the plan is carried out, we shall have in them *pépinières* [hothouses] for the men we shall need.

These professional societies are to become integrated into the Zionist Federation, which will thereby be shaken out of its universally deplored slumber.

August 25, Vienna

Yesterday I had Colbert buy 50 Steyrermühl shares for me at the Stock Exchange. It was the first business deal of my life. I was forced into it by the mean, ignominious conduct of the

Viennese press which is passing my idea over in silence. I must endeavor to gain influence over a newspaper. I can have such influence only as an owner of shares. Any other attempt to gain journalistic power would be wrecked on the local newspaper situation, and I would bleed to death on it.

Therefore I chose the *Steyrer Tagblatt* as a *locus minoris resistentiae* [place of least resistance], and I intend to gain control of it through gradual purchases of stock. Or, rather, the Steyrermühl Company is to produce a new paper which I shall edit.

I am staking my property as well as that of my parents on it. Dessauer promises me lombardization of my shares on a large scale.

August 25, Vienna

I own 150 Steyrermühl shares.

• • •

Newlinski is back from Hungary and today gave me the following information:

The Turks have a knife at their throats, financially speaking. Izzet Bey wrote him that he would be willing to submit the modified plan to the Sultan if we were quite in earnest. Because it could cost him his head if afterwards nothing came of it. Therefore Newlinski calls on me to give a final formulation of the proposal.

I am doing this in the following manner, which still leaves Izzet (and myself) the possibility of pulling our heads out of the noose. I make a few vague conditions, during the discussion of which even "serious" proposals can come to naught. While negotiations with the Sultan are going on, I shall tame the London and Paris Jews as well. For the rest, my proposals are based completely on the admittedly vague agreements with Montagu, Landau, etc. Outline which Newlinski intends to submit to the Sultan in revised form:

Our group wishes to place at His Majesty's disposal a gradu-

ated loan of 20 million pounds sterling. This loan is to be funded on the annual tribute which the autonomous Jewish settlers in Palestine have to pay to His Majesty. The tribute guaranteed by our group will amount to one hundred thousand pounds sterling in the first year and increase up to one million pounds sterling annually. The gradual rise in the tribute will be correlated with the gradual immigration of the Jews into Palestine, and the detailed procedure is to be worked out in the personal conferences which are to be held in Constantinople.

In return, His Majesty should graciously make the following concessions:

The immigration of the Jews into Palestine, which is not only to be completely unrestricted but is to be encouraged in every way by the imperial Turkish government. The immigrant Jews are to be given autonomy, guaranteed under international law, in the constitution, government, and administration of justice in the territory assigned to them. (Palestine as a vassal state.)

In the Constantinople negotiations it will have to be determined in detail in what form the sovereign protection of His Majesty the Sultan will be exercised in Jewish Palestine and how the preservation of law and order is to be managed by the Jews themselves through security forces of their own.

The agreement could take the following form: His Majesty issues a most gracious invitation to the Jews to return to the land of their fathers; this invitation will have the force of law and will be made known to the Powers in advance.

Naturally, this invitation shall be made only after all the separate details have been arranged in a preliminary agreement.

• • •

Letter to Montagu:

My dear Sir Samuel:

I have received some sensational and decisive news from Constantinople. People there are inclined to enter into negotiations with us immediately on the basis which I have already mentioned

to you in London. In return for a graduated loan of twenty million pounds sterling, which would be distributed over a number of years, the Sultan would, with previous notification of the Powers, invite the Jews all over the world to return to the land of their fathers where they are to have autonomy and pay him an annual tribute. It is on this tribute that the loan would be based.

Turkey's financial distress has reached a climax. It is now or never that we shall obtain Palestine. I am asking you, Sir Samuel, if you are willing to go to Constantinople with me in order to carry on the negotiations. I know it would be a great sacrifice for you to decide to make this trip. But if you make this sacrifice, Sir Samuel Montagu will be spoken of with gratitude as long as there are Jews alive.

If you decide on it, I shall give you details about the time later. It will, in any case, not be before the end of September, when the heat in Constantinople is no longer so bad.

Edmond Rothschild gave me an evasive answer in Paris—neither Yes nor No. He will undoubtedly join in with us, just as all Jews will enthusiastically join in as soon as we have achieved success.

Consider well, Sir Samuel, in what a historically memorable situation you now find yourself! Understand the full greatness of the task which is confronting you! Be the man we need!

With cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,
Herzl.

• • •

Letter to Zadoc Khan:

Reverend Sir:

(strictly confidential!)

From Constantinople I have received the sensational and decisive news that they are ready at any time for further negotia-

tions. The financial distress there has become acute. It is now or never that we shall obtain Palestine.

What steps have you taken since we last corresponded?

Events press. I beg you for a speedy reply.

With sincere respect,
Herzl.

August 29

Terrible news has come from Constantinople. The building of the Ottoman Bank was stormed by Armenians. Murder, killings, bombs, street-fights. Order appears to have been restored, but the impression on the world is deplorable. At any rate, for the moment I am abstaining from sending off the above letter which I drafted yesterday. The Englishmen Montagu etc. probably won't have anything to do with the Sultan now. On the other hand, of course, the moment would be very propitious for negotiating with the Sultan, because at present he isn't likely to get money from anyone.

August 29, afternoon

I am mailing the letter to Zadoc Kahn after all.

September 5, Breslau

I was prevented by some hectic newspaper work from recording the events of the last few days.

Zadoc Kahn sent a reply to the effect that he cannot do anything at the moment, because he had received "dilatory, that is to say, evasive replies" from the people to whom he turned.

His own answer, too, is dilatory, that is to say, evasive. Nobody helps.

On Tuesday, September 1, Bacher asked me if I would like to go to Breslau and report on the Kaiser's visit there. Naturally I said Yes.

• • •

That same evening I was in the Café Louvre on Wipplingerstrasse where the Viennese Zionists get together every Tuesday and for months have been debating the question of how to acquire some club rooms. If I should succeed in winning something greater for the Zionists and obtaining more for them than club rooms for an annual rent of 800 guilders, many are sure to attack me. I recognize a few of this ilk even now: they "feel crowded out" by me, etc. They will have to be reminded of how impotent they have shown themselves to be and how they have done nothing but indulge in idle talk.

Incidentally, this time they made me a formal offer to become head of the party's Executive Committee. I accepted.

Among those present was the "Christian Zionist" Baron Manteuffel, who pays to have agricultural training given to penniless Jewish boys.

• • •

I telegraphed Hechler, who has gone to Höritz for the peasant passion plays, that I was going to Breslau.

Thereupon he asked me whether I wanted him to come; he had written at once to the Grand Duke at Baden.

I immediately asked Hechler by telegram to come to Görlitz. Today he informs me that he will arrive there tomorrow. I am going to send him to Prince Heinrich of Prussia; perhaps we shall manage to obtain that audience with the Kaiser.

September 9, Görlitz

Arrived here the day before yesterday. I am staying at a cosy private residence, the house of Music Director Stiehler. I found Hechler's card waiting for me; he had tracked me down although I had not been able to give him my address. He himself is staying at the "Evangelical Clubhouse," which gave me the impression of a Christian-Socialist consumers' cooperative. Bare, spotless walls with Bible verses. A big bar parlor where, to be sure, drinks are served and perhaps even a small profit is made, but the peo-

ple are evidently kept well in hand. The whole establishment gives the impression of a cleverly disguised political institution.

Hechler was sitting in a cheerful room which was adorned with Biblical maxims, Evangelical style. This is most decidedly Stöcker territory, and one of the most curious places I have visited so far in the course of my movement.

Hechler had already oriented himself a bit. On the trip from Höritz he composed a letter to the Kaiser, written in English on the stationery of the Vienna embassy, about *the return of the Jews.** The British official stamp gave the whole thing a vaguely official character.

Unfortunately, Prince Heinrich of Prussia, whom Hechler was counting on, has left for Kiel in order to receive the Czar there. "By the way," says Hechler, "who knows if this isn't an advantage. I am told that in recent times Prince Heinrich has made only mocking remarks about religion. And one shouldn't cast pearls before swine, as the Bible says."

However, Günther of Schleswig-Holstein, a brother of the Empress, is here. He is kindly disposed toward Hechler and is interested in social problems. He has been to England in order to study the condition of the working class. His rank is that of a Major—on the general staff, I believe. Hechler also told me on this occasion that Prince Günther recently was suspected of being involved in that affair of the anonymous court letters which led to the duel between Schrader and Kotze: gossip which I wasn't interested in before and which I now like to hear, because it shows me the small side of the big people. And this is necessary if one is not to be confused by the outward glamor of the tinsel surrounding them and is to associate with them without self-consciousness.

That is why I paid such close attention to the infirmity of the German Kaiser during the past week when I saw him so frequently. Isn't it strange that people really don't know that he, one of the most "highly regarded" men in the world, has only one arm? Such men truly dwell in a cloud. Here is a figure

* In English in the original.

known from a hundred thousand pictures; and when you see him, you notice that his most significant characteristic is hidden from the crowd. Yes, throngs see him daily and are hardly aware of it. The most sharp-sighted say: he has a stiff arm. Actually, it is a child's arm that hangs down from his left shoulder. The arm is said to have been stunted by rickets. According to the version which Hechler gives me—evidently the court version—Wilhelm was dropped as an infant by his wet-nurse, and the consequences were not discovered until it was too late.

In any case, this abnormality is important for his image. To me it brings him closer as a human being. It shows that, in reality, under his many uniforms of the regiments he commands, he is only a helpless human being after all. When I was watching the manifestations of his power, the glamor of his court, the martial magnificence of his legions on the parade field, I kept my eyes on his crippled arm, in order not to let my mind be dazed should I ever speak with him face to face.

His being a cripple also explains his whole character, I believe. This Supreme Warlord would be rejected by the medical board if he were an ordinary man called up for military service. His pathological predilection for all things military may stem from this. Nor can he adopt any natural pose, because he must always have to think of how to conceal his defect. As a matter of fact, he does deceive many people by the way in which, when on horseback, he holds the reins with his short left arm. This bridle-arm enables him to get by on horseback. He also loves dazzling, shiny uniforms and gleaming helmets which attract, distract the eye.

However, he is, it seems to me, a likeable man; to put it even better and more briefly: a man!

He wants to make a big impression on the crowd, to be sure, and he plays the emperor with might and main. But he wishes to charm those who meet him by amiability. He has an engaging way of shaking hands, like a party leader. He looks everyone with whom he speaks full in the eye by stepping up close to him. He was at his most charming at Breslau at the gala performance of

a little military comedy by Moser. He laughed aloud at the innocent soldiers' jokes; he fairly shook with laughter. In fact, there was a trace of exaggeration in this unconstraint, which he knew was being observed by so many eyes. He is inclined to overdo things.

There is no doubt that he is a man of great and varied talents who, however, wants to tackle too many things with his one arm and always has his hands full because he wishes to hide the fact that he has only one hand.

If I understand him aright, I am going to win him for our cause, provided that I manage to get close enough to him.

• • •

Hechler went to see Prince Günther yesterday afternoon when the latter returned from the parade ground. Unfortunately one minute too late. The Prince was already taking a bath, or at least he sent word by a servant that he was already in the bath; Hechler was asked to return in the evening before the court dinner.

Hechler did so; but a high general was with the Prince. As Günther left he spoke only a few words with Hechler, asking him to come back this evening at half past six.

This just about finishes the prospect of getting to the Kaiser here. Because for three full days starting tomorrow morning the Kaiser will be at the manoeuvres. And I have to leave tomorrow.

September 12, Vienna

The afternoon before yesterday Hechler came and reported that Prince Günther had spoken about the matter like someone who was acquainted with it. The Kaiser seems to have discussed it with him even before this. But they evidently don't want to touch the matter; princes shrink from the whole question. *"It is so strange,"** said Prince Günther to Hechler. But the latter

* In English in the original.

may be received by the Kaiser after all, although Günther wouldn't take Hechler's letter to transmit to the Kaiser.

I realized that I wouldn't accomplish anything in Görlitz now, and immediately decided to depart. Hechler took me to the station. There I impressed it upon him that he should try to do what he could, and in any case tell the Prince, and possibly the Kaiser, that I had had to leave hastily, but would be willing to appear at any time and in any place to present and explain the matter.

• • •

Poor Hechler had tough luck. He left Höritz without giving a forwarding address. The day before yesterday the Embassy was looking for him because an Englishman had died here and Hechler was supposed to conduct the funeral service. I telegraphed him this, but of course too late.

Hechler's cook, with whom I had checked at his request, mournfully told me of this incident and said: "What a pity! It was a wealthy funeral."

• • •

During my absence a letter from Zadoc Kahn arrived, containing fresh laments and accusations by the Rothschild director Scheid. Who's lying? Scheid or the Turks who formally denied the expulsion of Jewish colonists? This must be cleared up now. I am writing Newlinski about it.

• • •

From London comes the news that the Powers are giving some thought to deposing Abdul Hamid. If this comes about, the Zionist idea will be dead for a long time to come. For a new Sultan will find money and won't need this combination.

• • •

Hechler wires from Görlitz:

"Very friendly letter (presumably from Günther), only not enough time."

September 16, Vienna

Yesterday, endless debate of the Zionist Federation at the Café Louvre, later at Robicsek's Restaurant.

A representative of the Lvov Zionists was present, and he demanded quick action. In one year, 400-600,000 signatures could be raised in Galicia for a petition to the Powers. He said there was great distress and the desire to emigrate was immeasurable. Dr. Gabel is the name of this delegate.

I took him at his word; let him get those signatures. They would be proof of the strength of our movement and a backbone for our action, which, however, must not be expected to be ready tomorrow.

Everybody wanted action, and in the end it turned out that Schnirer had not even sent out my circular letter about the need for organization, which I had given him weeks ago.

They argued about the wording of the first paragraph in the party program drafted by Schnirer.

September 16

Letter to Zadoc Kahn:

Reverend Sir:

Having just returned from a trip, I hasten to answer your kind letter of September 7.

I had already been informed that Mr. Scheid is working against me. From your letter I see that this is true. I am asking myself what might motivate this gentleman to proceed in this way. The movement that I started may not have the approbation of all Jews; but for the present it is incomprehensible to me that people who have to do with colonization should be fighting it.

Following your first complaint in July, which was transmitted to me by Dr. Nordau, I immediately took steps at Constantinople

and received an official denial from the Turkish ambassador in Vienna. This denial I telegraphed to Baron E. Rothschild who has not acknowledged it to this day.

In August I had the ambassador reiterate this denial for me, because his first letter contained other things which I did not want to show around. You will find enclosed the letter, which you will kindly show to Baron Rothschild and Mr. Leven and then return to me as soon as possible.

Now Mr. Scheid comes with specific accusations. I am sending these to the proper authorities for investigation. I shall ask for a statement as to 1) whether the facts are correct, 2) whether difficulties of this sort did not arise before I came on the scene, 3) whether the alleged disciplinary measures have any connection with my efforts.

Since it is part of the Jewish misfortune that a great deal depends on M. de Rothschild's decisions, this incident has to be given some attention.

Let anyone who comes close to our project realize its full seriousness.

Until now I have conducted the movement considerately and as a calm man; this is common knowledge. It is known as well that to me Zionism is neither a sport nor a business. I am not living on it, but for it. I am making sacrifices of all kinds, which in proportion to my means are surely no smaller than those of M. de Rothschild. Therefore I demand that, even if people do not work with me, they do not work against me.

I believe that we are at a great turning point in our history. You are acquainted with the events in Turkey. Never has the general situation been more favorable to us. I am not going into details of this now, because I regretfully conclude from your letter that your mind has been changed again, after you had written me from Weggis that you were going to convene a confidential world congress.

I continue to go my way, imperturbably, unshakably.

Strangely enough, quite a few people don't know yet that I can write and can be bought just as little as the disagreeable Mr.

Drumont. I shall not write pamphlets, to be sure, but a simple report on what I have tried to do and what I perhaps have been prevented from doing. The book will be called "The Return of the Jews," and everyone will have his place in it. *Tant pis, si cela fournira encore de la copie a Monsieur Drumont* [Too bad if this will furnish M. Drumont with more material].

With a respectful greeting,

Your Reverend's devoted
Herzl.

September 16, Vienna

An enthusiastic and touching resolution came from Jerusalem. The sender, Wilhelm Gross, writes me that the signers are among the most respected men of Jerusalem.

He denies—what a strange coincidence—that my efforts have harmed the Jews there.

I am answering him that he should form an investigating committee of the most respected men. It should consist neither of friends nor of foes of Scheid, and it should ascertain the three points of information about which I wrote Zadoc Kahn.

At the same time I am asking him for confidential information about Scheid, because I don't know him and would like to know whether it is sincere conviction that prompts him to work against me, or whether there are other motives at work.

September 24

I received a letter from Zadoc Kahn, with an enclosure from Scheid in which he says that I have too much confidence in the Turks. If I was really able to achieve anything, I ought to secure entry permits for 100 families to the Jaulan. At the same time, Zadoc informs me that in October there will be a meeting of the Hirsch Fund people in Paris and that he intends to present my plan etc. to them.

I immediately went to see Newlinski and told him the mo-

ment had come to *frapper un grand coup* [strike a big blow]. The Sultan should give me authorization for the immigration of three to five hundred families or some other great concession, and then the Hirsch people etc. would make him an offer.

Newlinski wrote to Izzet and spoke with the local ambassador, Mahmud Nedim. The latter used the occasion to tell him that the *N. Fr. Pr.* reporter who covers the diplomatic corps spoke of me as a madman.

• • •

In the meantime the following happened: Glogau came to me with the news that the government wants a rival paper to needle the *N. Fr. Pr.*, because the *N. Fr. Pr.* has been getting bothersome to Badeni's administration since he made his peace with Lueger. The paper is to be liberal-conservative-anti-Semitic—in short, an impossibility,—but typographically (swipe-ographically)* produced exactly like the *N. Fr. Pr.*, which, to be sure, originated in a similar manner from the old *Presse*.

I dropped the remark in front of Newlinski that this competition was a stupid thing. If they intended to weaken the *N. Fr. Pr.*, they couldn't do it this way. However, because the word pledged to me a year ago has not been kept and the Jewish State, the Jewish cause, has not only not been supported but almost maliciously suppressed, I would—found a great paper.

Newlinski immediately told this to his friend Kozmian—on Monday—, and when I was at the Burgtheater on Tuesday, Kozmian came up to me and said that Graf Badeni, who was also present, wished to speak with me about "my" paper. I replied that we hadn't got that far yet; only the beginning had been made, etc.

But the next day, after consulting with Badeni again, Kozmian called me to his suite in the Hotel Imperial where Newlinski was also present. Badeni wanted to know through him what I wanted "for your support."

I answered: "Above all, no money! I wish to be independent;

* Translator's Note: Herzl's pun is "*typographisch* (*diebographisch*)."

the mutual relationship must reside more in the attitude. Should I in any way need help or favor for my idea, then let the government help me; in return for this I shall not give it any displeasure."

"That's little enough," said Kozmian, who was in his shirt sleeves and had only put on an overcoat.

"Which means: pleasure!" I declared; "but Count Badeni will have to support Zionism."

Kozmian thought he could promise this. Badeni would encourage Jewish colonization (*parbleu!* Lueger's desire, too). And now suddenly the moment has come of which I had a foreboding in my letter to Badeni that time when my pamphlet was coming out.

Kozmian also said Badeni would receive me as soon as I wanted it—and then he left for Galicia from where he will return at the beginning of October.

As I went out, Newlinski saw me to the door and said: "*Il faudra créer aussi à Kozmian une situation dans ce journal* [We will have to create a job on this paper for Kozmian too]."

I said: "*Ce n'est pas possible, mais je tâcherai de l'intéresser autrement* [That isn't possible, but I shall try to take care of him some other way]."

At this Newlinski said pithily: "*Il en a besoin* [He needs it]."

• • •

I am now doing the spade work for the founding of the paper. Tough financial problem. Dessauer is advising me.

September 25

Letter to Zadoc Kahn:

Reverend Sir:

I gratefully acknowledge receipt of your kind letter with enclosures. Yesterday I had the Turkish ambassador here address an inquiry to Constantinople, and a few days before that I had already taken the necessary direct steps there. In Turkey people have many great worries now; and it will not be surprising if

they do not give me an immediate answer, although I have well-founded reason to believe that they are very favorably disposed toward me.

I beg you to give me the exact date on which the Hirsch people will meet, so that I may send you the proclamation which I requested from Constantinople for you to submit to the gentlemen, or bring it to Paris myself. You see, I asked for a confirmation of the verbal declarations made to me, one that will exclude all doubt. If I receive such a confirmation, I believe it will be substantial material for the Paris conference which you announced.

I am active in various other respects, too. I have met with co-operation in particular from a very high place here in Austria. As for the other things favorable to us—in *Rome* and in Berlin—I cannot write you about them. I am (kindly pardon my frankness!) not wholly convinced that you will go along through thick and thin, the way the cause may require it.

However, this does not preclude the fact that I am sincerely grateful to you for your efforts and beg you to continue to help to the extent that you *can* help.

With sincere respect,
Herzl.

Could not Edmond Rothschild try to approach the Czar in Paris now and bespeak his kind interest in the *colonization*? Our endeavors do converge, even if we diverge on details.

September 25

Newlinski tells me he has news from Cardinal Agliardi that Cardinal Rampolla intends to submit my idea to the Pope.

• • •

Hechler has been here a few times already to ask whether I have written to Prince Günther. I have been too feeble and distracted in the last few days.

• • •

Yesterday Schnirer and Kokesch came to see me. They complained that little Dr. Kohn "wanted to break loose." They said he was agitating on his own in Moravia etc. and there ought to be "inner-political" action. Both called Kohn a careerist who was interested only in getting hold of a position for himself. Schnirer spoke of withdrawing. Kokesch wanted to bring Kohn back into the fold through concessions. I told these two, who are among the finest of the local Zionists:

"Neither one nor the other, but work!

"If you finally start the much-talked-of work of organization you will cut the ground from under these separatists."

Schnirer said he had called upon Kohn to let "us," i.e., the Zionist Federation, have the results of his agitation. Kohn refused, saying that he had not done this "for us."

However, I hear from Moravia that the young people are agitating in my name—and yet "not for us"?

At length Schnirer, Kokesch, and I decided to set up commissions which would have to report to the leadership, i.e., to us. One commission for the associations, another for the press, a finance commission and a study commission.

The only trouble is that Schnirer and Kokesch will soon let the matter go to sleep again.

• • •

Today Rabbi Dr. Leopold Goldschmied of Mieslitz came to see me and asked me for my support, because he would like to become rabbi at Floridsdorf. He is a Zionist. He told me on this occasion that the young people in Moravia are writing the rabbis to raise share certificates at 50 guilders each for the founding of a Jewish newspaper.

This is evidently Kohn's idea.

October 5, Vienna

Since the last entry, hard, chaotic days with much sorrow and disgust. I had dealings with "practical" people from the business

and political worlds, and often regretted that I had to step out of the literary world into this hustle and bustle.

A few days were filled with attempts to found the newspaper. Dessauer the bank director had told me for months that he, or rather, his bank, would participate in the founding of the newspaper (which, of course, was conceived as a respectable venture, independent of financial deals) with part of the share capital. But when I came to see him with Colbert and Steiner—of the *Wiener Mode* publishing house—he declared: "You mustn't take me at my word like that."

It was a humiliating situation.

Then a different combination was started, in which a few relatives and I are supposed to procure half of the necessary money. But we shall have a hard time raising the other half.

Meanwhile, however, I informed Count Badeni through Newlinski and Kozmian that I intended to start a big newspaper to represent my idea. The inner-political situation is such that this is also in Badeni's interest. He sent me word through Kozmian that he would receive me as soon as I wished to talk with him. I purposely didn't go while I still had not completed raising the money for the paper. I still haven't completed it. And because Dessauer broke his word, I am now disgraced before Newlinski, Kozmian, and Badeni. As it is, Badeni had declared at the outset that he didn't think I would make it. He said I was a weak man. Kozmian had asked me what I wanted in return for "supporting the government." I answered him that I couldn't accept a financial subvention of any kind, but wished to perform services for the Badeni Cabinet in return for the advancement of my Zionist policies. Kozmian didn't quite seem to understand how anyone could do something like that gratis.

When I had to inform Newlinski that my newspaper attempts had as good as failed, he flew into a great rage (I had held out to him the prospect of a good position on the paper as a special correspondent). He said he was disappointed in me, that I was obviously not the man to carry the idea out. I was too much of

an idealist. I ought to ask money from Montagu, E. Rothschild, etc., to create a great organ. In reply to this I said that I would never bring myself to ask anyone for money that would look as though it were given to me.

Thereupon he said it was best to drop the whole matter.

I then accompanied him to the Turkish embassy. He joked: "If we two were conspirators, and it were a question of stealing dynamite, and you refused to steal, I would draw my gun and shoot you down."

I truly believe that energy of this kind would be needed to see things through. I don't have it. I shrink back from asking for money for agitation, let alone raising it in an ungenteel manner.

When the Steyrermühl combination was in progress, I was bothered by the stock-exchange atmosphere about it, and it was with relief that I had the shares sold again when the combination turned out to be unworkable.

Incidentally, Newlinski now has an opportunity figuratively to draw a gun, by passing on the information given him in confidence to Bacher and Benedikt.

Then I would suddenly be sitting on the floor, between two chairs.

Today I met Benedikt on the street before I went to the office, and he walked along with me through the city for an hour. I asked him whether he had by now been brought closer to Zionism by all that had happened in Austria within a year—Lueger with the Emperor, Badeni's reconciliation with the anti-Semites, etc.

He insisted that the *N. Fr. Pr.* had to keep to the German-Liberal standpoint. The Jewish-nationalist movement was a misfortune, etc. Moravia in particular was thereby being lost to Liberalism. Despite this, his opposition seemed weaker to me today than it was half a year ago.

This half a year has been rather meaningful for me. The Viennese Jews seem to have become more pliable. There was something peculiar about that. I was indifferent to the advances

of anti-Semitism, I hardly noticed them. On the other hand, vexation was forcing Benedikt and Company more over to my side every day.

On how many points have I already proved to be right!

Oppenheim, who a year ago declared my pamphlet a bad joke, said today that I could quite well write a few factual articles about Zionism for the *N. Fr. Pr.*

That would be a solution.

In any case, difficult days are ahead for me again, like a year ago, when I was supposed to leave the *N. Fr. Pr.* and had so many palpitations during the negotiations that my heart has been ailing ever since.

Again there are suspenseful instalments in the novel of my life. Perhaps the movement will now propel me out of my secure position with the *N. Fr. Pr.* and into adventures which I face not without worry on account of my family.

Newlinski tells me a remark of Bacher's. One evening they ran into each other in the Prater. Bacher asked *à brûle pourpoint* [point-blank]: "What are you doing with Herzl?"

Newlinski replied: "I am helping him with the Turkish government in matters of Jewish colonization."

Whereupon Bacher said: "Herzl is such a prig!" *

October 6

Of all the people who have been drawn to me by the "movement," the Rev. Hechler is the finest and most fanciful. But I believe he wants to convert me.

He frequently writes me postcards, for no particular reason, telling me that he hasn't been able to sleep the previous night because Jerusalem came into his mind.

* Translator's Note: Bacher called Herzl a *Schmock*—a word of Slovene origin meaning "fool." It was popularized by the German writer Gustav Freytag who used it as the name of an unprincipled Jewish newspaperman in his comedy *Die Journalisten* (1852). *Schmock* is used in colloquial German to designate a pompous, snobbish, self-satisfied, pretentious person.

October 10

Again several days of ups and downs in the newspaper project. A number of times everything seemed all set, then again: *tout est rompu, mon gendre* [everything's gone to smash, my son-in-law].*

These reversals are uninteresting and deserve to be forgotten, unless they are written down immediately.

But last night there was a substantial development at the office. Bacher called me to his room.

I thought he wanted to speak about my plan for a newspaper, and inwardly made ready for a battle. Was the break going to come this early?

Bacher asked: "What arrangements have you made for the *Neue Presse* in Constantinople?"

I was quite dumbfounded. "Arrangements? None whatever."

He: "You were down there with Newlinski?"

I: "Yes. That is common knowledge."

He: "He took you around to the Ministers?"

I: "Yes indeed."

He: "Today we were informed for the second time that you have been to Constantinople in order to ask the Turkish government for a subvention of three thousand pounds for the *N. Fr. Pr.* People are commonly saying in Constantinople that you actually received some money. We were confidentially notified by the Vienna Foreign Office, and Adler, the president of the Austrian Board of Trade at Constantinople, wrote us the same thing."

My good, clear conscience allowed me to take this powerful news with the utmost calm.

I said: "And did you believe this for a single moment? Don't you know me? I should think you'd have to take me for a gentleman at least."

Bacher immediately backed down.

* Translator's Note: A line from Act I of Eugène Labiche's play *Un chapeau de paille d'Italie.*

"We believed nothing more than that Newlinski played a dirty trick while your back and ours were turned. He must have used your presence to take money from the Turks."

I declared categorically: "I shall get to the bottom of this. In Constantinople I always drew a clear line between my capacity as an editor of the *N. Fr. Pr.* and my capacity as a representative of the Jewish cause. It was no secret to the Turkish authorities that I came there only for the sake of the Jewish cause. My first audience with the Grand Vizier was devoted exclusively to the Jewish cause. Only the second one was an interview in which, incidentally, I wasn't any more officious than, for example, Schütz was in Russia recently in his talks with the Russian statesmen."

Bacher pursued the matter clumsily: "Tell me everything! With whom did you speak?"

I began: "With the Grand Vizier . . . ," but quickly caught myself and stopped: "I am not going to tell you this. You are an opponent of my movement. Open the columns of the *N. Fr. Pr.* to me and I shall tell everything in public!"

He shouted: "That I shall never permit. I cannot take your point of view. There is no such thing as a Jewish problem, there is only a human problem."

I: "I pledge myself to explain the matter to our readers without compromising your point of view. What objection will you make to Jewish colonization?"

He: "I don't want the Jews to emigrate at all. Incidentally, the colonists perish. All the Russian Jews come back."

I: "Yes, from Argentina, because Hirsch tackled the matter badly."

He: "And the Palestine ones are *shnorrers* [beggars], all of them."

I: "Not true! The Palestine colonies are thriving. Just as you don't know this, your readers don't know it. Let me explain it to them."

He wavered a bit, but didn't give in.

Then I went to Benedikt, who spoke with more sugar-coating,

even declared that neither he nor Bacher nor Dóczy had had any suspicion against me. I had simply been incautious; I would certainly know what and whom (Newlinski) he meant. The consequence of this incident was that today the *N. Fr. Pr.* would publish a furious editorial against Turkey. This was the only way that gossip could be knocked on the head.

I closed in on him, too, with the Jewish cause, saying that he should let me write a series of articles. He said that could not be done. They could not give up the Austrian point of view. I told him: "You are a good Jew, aren't you? Why shouldn't I be able to get through to you? An awful lot depends on you. Go along with me and thousands will follow. Let me first explain everything that has happened in the past year. Then you will believe me."

He said: "We can certainly talk. You know that I enjoy having a heart-to-heart talk with you."

In short, the conversation closed on a peaceful note.

Still, I don't trust this peace. I had the impression that they are afraid of me and have got wind of my newspaper plans.

Perhaps that slanderous story is only a war ruse against me so as to foster the suspicion, in the event that I leave, that I was dismissed because of some dirty financial matter. Or do they want to separate me from Newlinski, i.e., from Kozmian and Badeni? Or make it impossible for me to leave the *N. Fr. Pr.*?

The next days will bring the answer.

October 11

Last night a serious altercation with Bacher.

At noon I had told him that I intended to challenge Dóczy to a duel because of his remark. Earlier still I had spoken with my colleague Vincenti and asked him if he wanted to be my second. Vincenti pretended a trip, but let me tell him the story "in confidence." Bacher explained to me that Dóczy had only circulated some confidential information as a friend (with a "breach of official secrecy"). Dóczy's statement had been friendly in character toward me as well. And if I challenged Dóczy, I would have t

challenge him—Bacher—as well. I said: "Certainly I would challenge you if you said something defamatory about me."

However, I dropped the whole thing after Bacher made this friendly declaration.

Meanwhile, Vincenti had blabbed in the "foreign" room. All the "foreign boys" were talking about the matter. In the evening Bacher sent for me and took me to task furiously:

"Mister, what have you got in your head? You have committed an act of disloyalty by spreading the story about. Dóczy could lose his job, etc."

It did not suit me to have a bad quarrel recorded as the cause of my resignation from the *N. Fr. Pr.* Therefore I answered resolutely but calmly: "I most firmly reject the charge of disloyalty. If Vincenti blabbed in spite of his promise of secrecy, that is not my fault. Incidentally, I saw Newlinski this afternoon and didn't mention Dóczy to him. I am convinced that Newlinski, too, had absolutely no part in this subvention story. But you will understand that I could not simply let the matter pass. In your editorial of today you demanded the partitioning of Turkey. This puts you in the clear, but I'm still in the woods."

Thereupon he calmed down and declared that I had not been compromised at all. Vincenti came in, was embarrassed because his blabbing had caused the fuss, but finally the big row did have a peaceful ending. Bacher gave me his hand with his grumpy, false good-nature, more than ever *bourru malfaisant* [a churlish trouble-maker].

However, I have the impression that they will soon forcibly squeeze me out of the paper. That would be a catastrophe, because the financial combinations for the founding of my paper have miscarried.

October 11

From Zadoc Kahn I received the information that the Hirsch people of the *Jewish Colonisation Association** are going to meet

* In English in the original.

on the 14th in Paris, but their power is said to be limited by an act of Parliament to which the Hirsch Foundation is subject.

I am answering him:

Reverend Sir:

At present it is not possible for me to come to Paris. Unfortunately I must also doubt that the gentlemen who are going to convene there will want to hear what I have to say.

You will surely recall from my letters how our cause stands, since I informed you of some of the main points. This information, coupled with your eloquent presentation, will be enough to give the gentlemen a picture of the situation.

I shall compress the result of my endeavors up to now into a few words: All strata of our people are receiving the idea of a Jewish State with enthusiasm. In Turkey there is disposition to permit colonization on a large scale if a lot is paid for it.

In the highest government circles of certain countries my plan is receiving serious and benevolent consideration.

If the gentlemen assembled in Paris care to go into the matter just as earnestly, I am at their disposal for further information.

In addition, I make the following positive proposal. Let the gentlemen found or buy one large daily paper in London and one in Paris. There are papers that yield a good profit and on which the Fund would not lose anything. The politics of the Jews should be conducted through these papers, for or against Turkey, depending on circumstances, etc. On the outside, the papers need not be recognizable as Jewish sheets. As editor-in-chief for London I recommend Lucien Wolf, for Paris, Bernard Lazare.

I consider this one of the next essential tasks. If the gentlemen understand what is now going on in Turkey, they will realize the historical greatness of the moment.

With sincere respect,
Herzl.

October 13

Today I got a phone call at the office from the Turkish embassy, saying that they wanted to talk with me in the afternoon.

I immediately wrote to Mahmud Nedim Pasha, expressing my regrets at being unable to call on him. But I would be home all afternoon.

The ambassador replied he had only wanted to deliver a document to me and "have a cigarette" with me.

The document apparently is the certificate of decoration and serves as a pretext to speak with me about the slander affair.

Probably the anti-Turkish editorial in the *N. Fr. Pr.* has caused consternation in Constantinople, too.

Once again I become involved in high politics unexpectedly and without my doing anything toward it.

According to a newspaper despatch from Constantinople of today's date, the Foreign Minister, Tewfik Pasha, has said that Turkey wishes to run a railroad through Palestine and construct a passage to India.

That was my proposal.

October 13

I must frankly admit it to myself: I am demoralized.

From no side help, from all sides attacks. Nordau writes me from Paris that nobody stirs there any longer. The Maccabeans in London are more and more Pickwickian, if I may believe the reports of my faithful de Haas. In Germany I have only opponents. The Russians look on sympathetically while I wear myself out, but none of them lends a hand.

In Austria, particularly Vienna, I have a few adherents. Of these, the disinterested ones are completely inactive; the others, the active ones, want to advance their careers through an editor of the *N. Fr. Pr.*

Added to this is the slander campaign, whose leader appears to be the worthy Scheid.

All the Jews who are well off are my opponents.

So that I am beginning to have the right to be the biggest of all anti-Semites.

I often think of Levysohn's words: "Those whom you want to help will start by nailing you rather painfully to the cross."

October 14

Today I went to see Mahmud Nedim Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador. He received me amiably with the decree of appointment to the Mejidiye order and said he hoped to be able soon to hand me the star for my chest as well.

I acted as though I felt greatly honored.

We then chatted. Mahmud Nedim again had his funny way of expressing himself: "*Imaginez-vous que vous n'êtes pas un homme politique et pas un Autrichien, et imaginez que je ne suis pas ambassadeur. Vous êtes un Chilien et moi du Perou—et maintenant parlons de la Turquie* [Let's pretend that you are not a political man and not an Austrian, and that I am not an ambassador. You are a Chilean and I am from Peru—and now let's talk about Turkey]."

What he meant to say was: let us talk freely.

So I gave him my opinion freely. I said there was only one salvation for Turkey: an agreement with the Jews regarding Palestine. In this way the finances could be straightened out, reforms carried out, and after a restoration of orderly conditions any foreign intervention could be permanently forbidden. All financial arrangements that are being proposed are short-term *expédients* and only serve to fill the pockets of a few stock market speculators.

Mahmud Nedim nodded uneasily to this and openly spoke about the desperate condition of the state finances. The Turkish people were utterly impoverished and no more taxes could be levied. Where there are no resources, the Sultan has lost his rights.* He, Mahmud Nedim himself, completely shared my point of view; he also thought that it would be possible to re-

* Translator's Note: An amusing play on the German proverb *Wo nichts ist, hat der Kaiser das Recht verloren.*

habilitate Turkey with the aid of the Jews. But he said he had no influence in Constantinople. He thinks the immigration of Jews into Palestine could, in any case, take place only if these Jews were willing to become Turkish subjects.

On the whole, he doesn't really seem to understand what I mean. I contented myself with inflaming his imagination by sketching with a few strokes a picture of Turkey's resurrection with the aid of the Jews. Turkey's heirs-apparent, who are rejoicing even now, would be done out of the expected partition. *La Turquie échapperait à ses heritiers* [Turkey would fool its heirs]!

Mahmud Nedim had also spoken with me quite openly. He said: "For two weeks I have heard nothing from Constantinople. That is a good sign. If no turn for the worse is reported of a sick man, one may hope again."

He was quite resigned, the poor ambassador.

Mahmud Nedim also spoke in a funny way of our religions. "The Moslems," he said, "are closer to the Jews than to the Christians. Among us anyone who makes an insulting remark about Moses or Abraham has his head cut off. Also, we are circumcized, like yourselves. You could pass for a Mohammedan, I, for a Jew. Christ we don't recognize as the son of God, at least not any more than anyone else. To us, all these are prophets."

October 16

Today there again is a murder-and-fire-alarm article on "Conditions on the Bosporus" in the *Neue Freie Presse*.

October 19

Young de Haas in London seems to be doing an effective job, to judge from his letters.

He has a hundred *stalwarts*,* who call themselves B'nai Zion and do plenty of agitating. He wants to win over the Hovevei Zion (3000 members), and march on from there. The English

* In English in the original.

provinces and America, he writes, are attaching themselves to his movement.

I am writing him that I am now trying to obtain an audience with the Emperor of Russia. Also, that I have spoken with Mahmud Nedim about the Turkish finances and their rehabilitation through Jewish money. I am asking de Haas whether he thinks that Montagu and Goldsmid would accept an invitation from the Sultan to make proposals in Constantinople.

• • •

Yesterday I sent Hechler the Russian translation of my pamphlet, which is finished at last, for the Czar. At the same time I sketched for him in a few lines what he should write to Duke Günther and Prince Heinrich of Prussia about the financial rehabilitation of Turkey and the preservation of the *status quo* with the aid of the Jewish migration.

• • •

An item from the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* of October 18, 1896:

"A Hundred and Fifty Millions
For Zionist Purposes"

In the *Dziennik Polski* we found the following item: "One of the most outstanding Zionist leaders in Lvov has received a letter from the well-known author of the pamphlet *The Jewish State,* Dr. Theodor Herzl, with the information that an English millionaire has the intention of sacrificing 150 million guilden for the restoration of the Palestinian state. However, the millionaire first wants to have proof that the Polish Jews are really prepared to emigrate. Dr. Herzl is now asking the Lvov Zionists to convene popular assemblies all over the country and collect as great a number of signatures as possible to serve him as proof and at the same time as a mandate for further negotiations with

the above-mentioned millionaire. Dr. Herzl's letter has given rise to tense scenes at a session of the Zionist Executive Committee. Some of the members expressed doubts regarding Dr. Herzl's love of truth and demanded that he should first send them the original letter from that English Croesus and also prove that he really had an audience with the Sultan and received assurances that the latter would give the matter of the founding of a Jewish State in Palestine his favorable attention. It was allegedly for these reasons that Dr. Herzl was not granted the desired mandate. The suspicion remains not unjustified that the Zionists were simply aware of the fact that they would not succeed in raising the requisite number of signatures."

October 22

Letter to Mahmud Nedim Bey:*

Your Excellency:

Permit me to express to you my gratitude for the decoration which His Majesty has done me the honor of conferring upon me.

Respectfully yours,
Dr. Theodor Herzl.

Enclosed letter to the Sultan:*

Sire:

His Excellency Mahmud Nedim Bey has been kind enough to deliver to me the patent of decoration which Your Majesty has done me the honor of conferring upon me.

In expressing my profound appreciation for that token of favor, I beg Your Majesty to continue to bestow your eminent benevolence upon the Jews. On the day when it will please Your Majesty to accept the services of the Jews, they will joyfully place their forces at the disposal of such a magnanimous monarch.

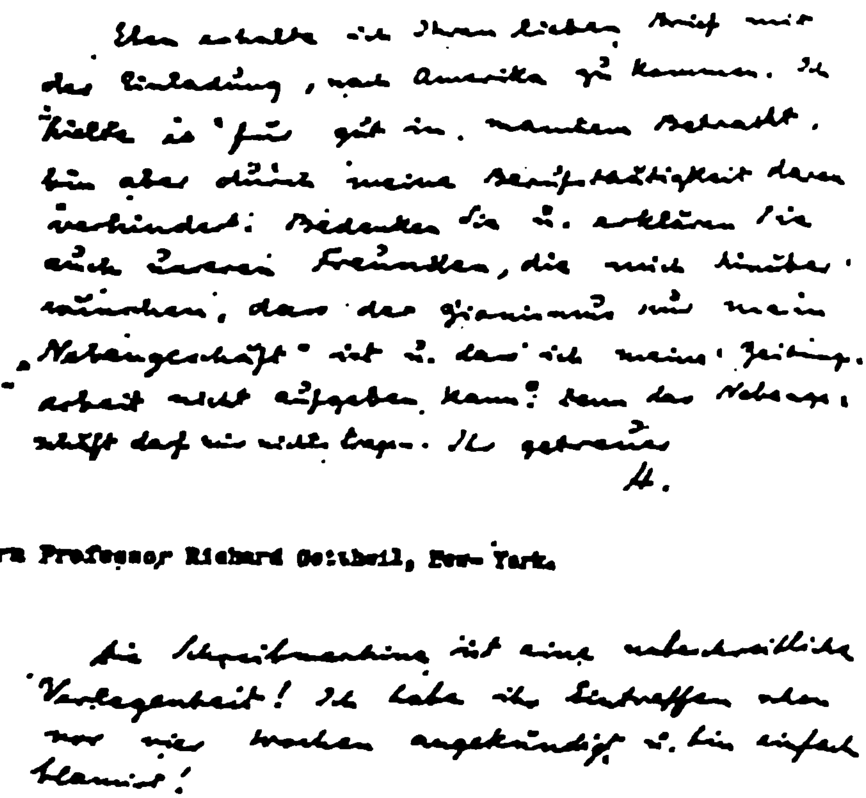
I am with the deepest respect, Sire, Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

* In French in the original.

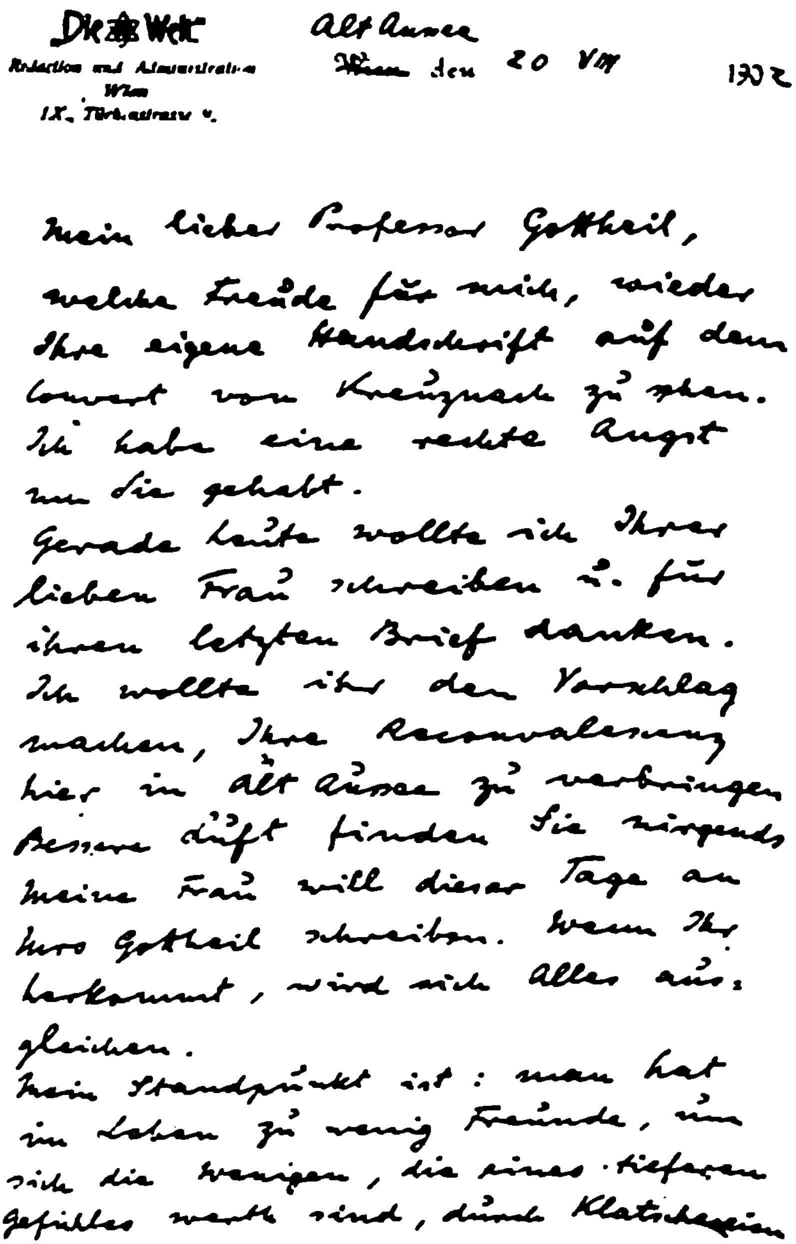
(The flowery complimentary close at the end,* which may be a bit extreme, I copied from the *Usages du Monde* [World Usage], Section on "*lettres à des personnages* [letters to important people]," by Baroness de Staffe.)

* In the French original: *Je suis avec le plus profond respect,*
Sire,
De Votre Majesté
Le très humble et obéissant serviteur."



Herrn Professor Richard Gottheil, New-York.

Facsimile of part of a letter by Herzl to Professor Richard Gottheil, New York, dated March 15, 1904. In it Herzl thanks Gottheil for his invitation to come to America and states that Zionism is only his "secondary occupation" and that he cannot give up his job on the Neue Freie Presse, because this "secondary occupation" must not yield him any income.

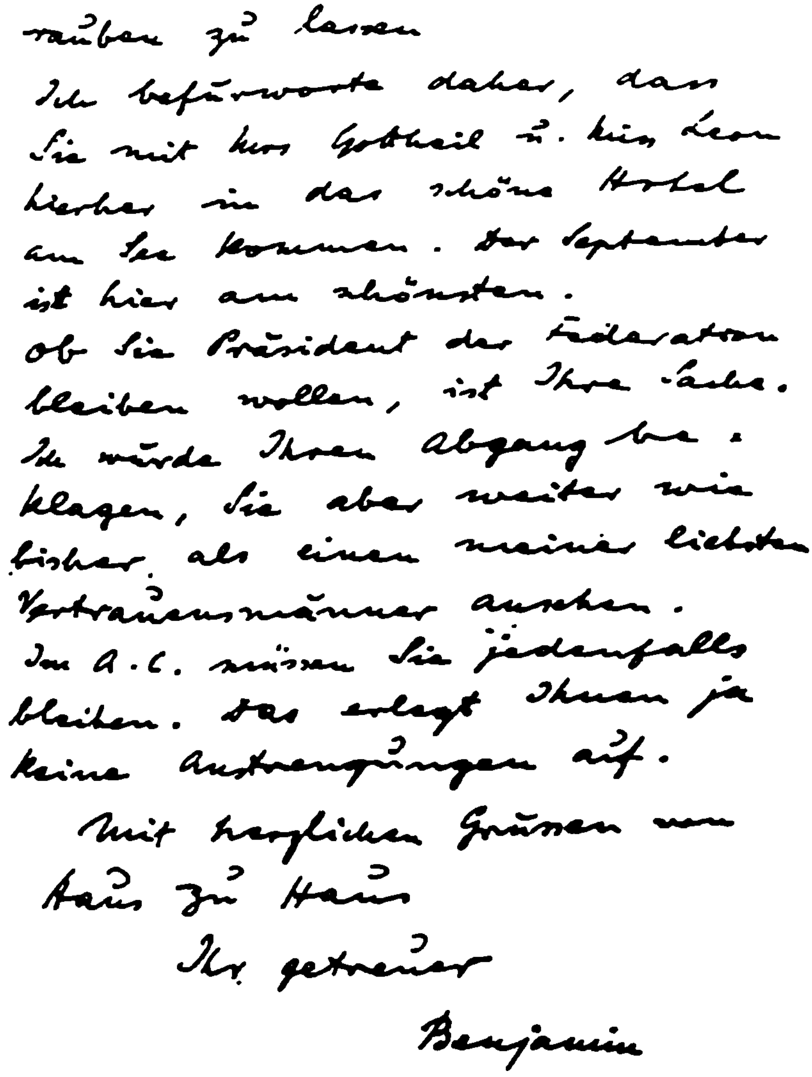


Die Welt
Redaction und Administration
Wien
IX., Türkenstrasse 9.

Alt Aussee
Wien, den 20 VIII 1902

Mein lieber Professor Gottheil,
welche Freude für mich, wieder
Ihre eigene Handschrift auf dem
Couvert von Kreuznach zu sehen.
Ich habe eine rechte Angst
um Sie gehabt.
Gerade heute wollte ich Ihrer
lieben Frau schreiben u. für
ihren letzten Brief danken.
Ich wollte ihr den Vorschlag
machen, Ihre Reconvalescenz
hier in Alt Aussee zu verbringen.
Bessere Luft finden Sie nirgends.
Meine Frau will dieser Tage an
Mrs Gottheil schreiben. Wenn Ihr
herkommt, wird sich Alles aus-
gleichen.
Mein Standpunkt ist: man hat
im Leben zu wenig Freunde, um
sich die wenigen, die eines tieferen
Gefühles werth sind, durch Klatschereien

Facsimile of a letter written by Herzl to Professor Richard Gottheil dated August 20, 1902. In it Herzl invites Gottheil to Alt Aussee. *The letter is continued on page 488.*



rauben zu lassen
Ich befürworte daher, dass
Sie mit Frau Gottheil u. Miss Leon
hierher in das schöne Hotel
am See kommen. Der September
ist hier am schönsten.
Ob Sie Präsident der Federation
bleiben wollen, ist Ihre Sache.
Ich würde Ihren Abgang be-
klagen, Sie aber weiter wie
bisher als einen meiner liebsten
Vertrauensmänner ansehen.
Im A.C. müssen Sie jedenfalls
bleiben. Das erlegt Ihnen ja
keine Anstrengungen auf.
Mit herzlichen Grüssen von
Haus zu Haus
Ihr getreuer
Benjamin

Second page of Herzl's letter to Professor Richard Gottheil dated August 20, 1902.

October 22

Yesterday afternoon Kozmian paid me a long visit—and on orders from Badeni. Badeni very much wants me to start a big newspaper and regards this as a considerable service for which he wants to be very grateful to me.

I wanted to talk diplomatically, but Kozmian asked with a certain rudeness:

"What do you want for it? Come right out with it. What do you want for yourself, and what for the Jews?"

He spoke in French, but I changed over to German, *pour faire sentir davantage les nuances* [to bring out the shades of meaning better].

He said:* "The government understands that you will be rendering it an invaluable service. You need a politico-social position which is to be created. What are your demands? Seeing that it isn't money? Would you like an office, a title, some distinction?"

I said: "It can't be a question of an office if I have to start a paper. Newlinski suggested a decoration for me, the Iron Crown, for example."

"What class?" he asked.

I said, "Third!," but should have said "Second." "But that isn't the main thing. It is a question of giving something to the Jews. For example, a word from the Emperor. Having conferred this distinction upon me, he would receive me and give me good news for the Jews, with authorization to make it public. What? We would agree on that then and there."

"That's hard!" said Kozmian. "One can't make the Emperor enter the discussion just like that. The Emperor hasn't anything against the Jews; he just doesn't like the stock-market gamblers. Badeni is likewise rather a philo-Semite. There certainly won't be any more persecutions of the Jews."

* The following conversation between Herzl and Kozmian is reported in French in the original.

I interrupted him: "I'm not afraid of persecutions, that no longer exists."

He: "Of course, I can't tell you anything definite as far as the Emperor personally is concerned. I'll talk to Badeni. I'll tell him what you've told me. He has a very practical mind. He wants the paper before the elections. He will hold the elections in February or March if he gets the budget passed now. And if they refuse, he will hold them right away. Therefore he needs immediately a great independent paper which won't be hostile to him, but will treat him objectively."

I finally said that I would consult with my friends on what we ought to demand.

He said that it was difficult to grant me anything in advance. I could have the promise of the Iron Crown, and Count Badeni would surely keep this promise even if he had to resign.

I invited Kozmian to dinner for next Monday. By then I shall have spoken with several friends.

Especially with Dr. Grünfeld, the President of the Israelitische Union, who recently asked me to give a lecture. This time I accepted, and so I shall make my first speech in Vienna. When Grünfeld visited me, I took the opportunity of telling him something about the pending negotiations with Badeni and how we now had the chance to found a Jewish party with the aid of the government.

But we'd have to have a paper, a paper, and for that one needs money, money. I have family funds in the amount of 400,000 guilders at my disposal. But a full million is needed.

• • •

Last night I attended a gala party of the Kadimah. A series of ovations. My name was mentioned ahead of the other guests of honor; I sat to the right of the chairman and was elected an "honorary brother." All the speakers referred to me. *On ne parle que de moi là dedans* [They talk about nothing but me in there].

I am only afraid that the intoxication of popularity will be followed by a hangover.

For the moment it is still very nice.

October 22

Today's *N. Fr. Pr.* contains a very poisonous editorial against Yildiz Kiosk, Izzet Bey, and Lufti Aga. The article will do a lot of harm to me in Constantinople and indirectly perhaps to Jewish colonists in Palestine as well.

The situation has really become untenable. *La situation n'est pas franche* [The situation is confused]. If only I had the money for the paper, we would be on top at one bound.

October 24

Yesterday Sidney Whitman, a friend of Prince Bismarck, Lenbach the painter, the Sultan, and Gordon Bennet, as well as the London representative of the *New York Herald,* came to see me. An original person. Appearance: a slouchy Englishman, lanky, stooped, and, I think, a bit of a sot. A head with character—a grandly conceived nose which suddenly stops before it has arrived at its planned end. A curious beard, full under the chin, square, greying. He speaks an excellent German, in the big-mouthed tone of a fault-finder. With a correspondent's braggadocio he tells about his adventures in Constantinople where he was at the time of the Armenian massacres. When he wrote, he always had a cocked gun lying on his table, for fear of an Armenian attack, since he was fighting the Sultan's battles. The Sultan gave him decorations and handshakes. It was Sidney Whitman who sent the word speeding to Europe that the Turks would murder all the Christians they could get hold of if the Powers intervened.

This "news" was evidently responsible for the preservation of the peace.

Whitman is now going to Friedrichsruh to see Bismarck, and he will endeavor to interest him in my plan.

• • •

Later Dr. Grünfeld brought Dr. Gustav Kohn, an attorney and District School Inspector, to see me. Dr. Kohn wants to set up the syndicate of financial guarantors for the newspaper which is to be founded. The first man he had mentioned was Baron Albert Rothschild, whom I rejected outright. The plan is this: the Jews found a paper which supports Count Badeni independently, and in return for this Badeni adopts an attitude more friendly to the Jews.

October 26

Today Kozmian was here for dinner. I was not able to give him a definite commitment for Badeni as yet. The latter wants the paper very urgently, because of the *N. Fr. Pr.* which is troublesome to him and whose virtual monopoly in Vienna he would like to break, and on account of the Reichsrat elections.

November 4

Part of my mood at this time is a feeling of enervation which increases from day to day. Dr. Gustav Kohn is supposed to organize the newspaper consortium. Those who decline will perhaps not keep silent about it, and so far no one has promised his adherence. Thus I am at the mercy of the dubious discretion of unknowns, and every day, when I enter the "Chief's Room," I am prepared for a declaration of war.

Kozmian-Newlinski, too, could let something slip. Already the rumor has circulated around the office that I have bought the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*.

November 8

Yesterday I made my first public speech in Vienna, in the Israelitische Union.

Kuhner's hall was frighteningly full. Because of the oppressive heat and my deficient preparation for the speech, I was not in good form, and I did have the feeling of gaps in my thinking to the end. Despite this, the success was tempestuous.

Professor Singer, whom I had annoyed by a reference to the social politicians who have now emerged—I referred to the Marranos of Spain as religious politicians—immediately announced a speech in rebuttal, whereupon I requested that a discussion of the latter be scheduled.

The president of the Union, Dr. Grünfeld, thanked me in his speech for explaining what had hitherto been considered a Utopia.

• • •

I spoke particularly in opposition to the projected Russo-French adjustment of Turkey's finances, because this would cut off the road to Palestine for us. I am sending this part of my speech to de Haas in London today. The main sentence goes as follows:

"The Jewish big bankers who would participate in this, without consideration for the sufferings of the penniless Jews and without using this opportunity to contribute to the solution of the Jewish Question, would incur a grave responsibility."

At the same time I am calling on Haas to agitate against it in England and America. He should, together with Rev. Gaster, Rabbinowicz, Ish Kishor, call a mass protest meeting in the East End.

At the same time I am suggesting the raising of a National Fund which is to make us independent of the big bankers.

November 8

Letter to Adolf Stand in Lvov who has announced himself to me as head of the Executive Committee. (In the introduction I express the desire for unification of all Austrian Zionist associations in the Zionist Federation of Vienna. Then, literally:)

"Zionism is now threatened by an enormous danger. You know that a Russo-French adjustment of the Turkish finances is being planned. If this comes about, the Sultan will be mediatized, incapable of action, and all hope of obtaining Palestine for ourselves will be buried.

"Therefore the Jewish big bankers must not help to bring this about!

"Yesterday I spoke against it in the local Union. My speech will appear in Bloch's *Wochenschrift*. I gave instructions to my Committee in England to initiate a big agitation against this loan.

"All that you in Galicia can do is to inform the masses of what is going on.

"However, I beg you to proceed sensibly and cautiously, so that no more such perfidious and ridiculous stories may arise as the one in the *Dziennik Polski*.

"You are now getting your first opportunity to demonstrate your effectiveness as the head of a country's Executive Committee.

"Seek contact with the most influential Orthodox rabbis.

"In my yesterday's speech, whose dissemination is desirable, I also made a suggestion that is important for the future:

"In all places where Jews reside, a National Fund should be started through collections, donations, etc. *The Fund will everywhere remain under the management of those who raised it*, or conditionally subscribed to it. Only statements of account are to be given to the central office. This way the latter will know what assets can be counted on the moment our plan is carried out. And we shall no longer be dependent on the good graces of the big bankers.

"Think over well and carefully whatever you do in carrying out this assignment.

With Zion's greeting,

Yours,
Th. Herzl."

November 10

A man from Jerusalem named Back came to see me. He is traveling around in Europe in order to found an agrarian bank for Palestine—a vest-pocket *Jewish Company,** evidently *his* vest-pocket.

He claims to be under the patronage of the Galician Wonder-Rabbi Friedmann.

• • •

Dr. Gustav Kohn informs me that his fund-raising efforts have failed.

So nothing comes of the great paper; the hopes which were attached to it are extinguished.

From this solid centre I could have achieved tremendous things. All this has now come to naught.

• • •

Levin-Epstein, the administrator of the Rehovoth colony in Palestine, came to see me.

He told me about Scheid, that he was trying to keep the colonies in economic dependence, and at all costs.

In Rishon le-Zion, he said, there is an official's family for almost every colonist's family. Therefore, prosperity is out of the question.

In L. Epstein's view, Scheid probably spread those false rumors in order to offer the Baron an excuse for the failure of the *baksheesh*-bought settlement in the Hauran.

The Armenian Devleth is said to have acted as *baksheesh*-giver in Constantinople.

November 14

Today I walked Benedikt home from the office and worked on him again. If he would take up the matter, I said, it would be accomplished.

On the way we ran into old coal-Gutmann who said, pounding

* In English in the original.

his paunch pretentiously, that today he had been offered the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* for purchase. He said that he had already invested a lot of money in newspapers, to be sure, but might buy it anyway, because 70 people could lose their livelihood. So he is even performing an act of mercy by buying this paper in which his dirty interests are then to be defended. A compounded disgrace.

After we had got rid of this bore, we continued our talk. I expounded to Benedikt my "plan for a graduated loan."

He said: "Things are beginning to clear up. You no longer go as far as you used to. Colonization on a large scale—without Zionism—is something that can be discussed. We'll come back to it later."

• • •

In the afternoon, Wolffsohn from Cologne called on me, a stalwart, likeable man who had already made a good impression on me when he had come to see me the first time some months ago.

I told him everything. He marveled at my accomplishments in Constantinople, London, here, and particularly in Karlsruhe, because from Cologne he looks up to the Grand Duke of Baden as though to a peak.

I told him about Scheid's intrigues, some of which he knew about. Through Dr. Holtzmann he wants to produce material on Scheid's mismanagement.

I told him about the attitudes of Edmond Rothschild and Zadoc Kahn. The latter, after all, informed me in his last letter that the Hirsch people took a more than cool attitude toward my undertaking and that it would be best if I dropped the matter henceforth.

But the good Wolffsohn was downright horrified when I described to him the broken-down negotiations with Badeni-Kozmian. What misery lies in the fact that I cannot raise the lousy million guilders required to found the great paper and thus to procure the support of Badeni, the entire Austrian government.

One single million guilders! Because of the fact that it is not available for the purpose now, the historical moment in which the solution of the Jewish Question is possible may be missed.

Badeni needs me now. Even if he still remains in office after the Reichsrat elections, he will then no longer need me and consequently not push me in Russia as well as in Turkey.

Et la chance est bien manquée [And the opportunity will really be lost].

Letter to Grande Duke Vladimir who is staying in Berlin at present:

Your Imperial Highness:*

His Royal Highness Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria told me in July at Carlsbad: "The only man in Russia who could help you is Grand Duke Vladimir!"

What is it all about?

It is about the solution of a question as old as Christianity, a great and beautiful cause, designed to delight the noblest hearts. It is the return of the Jews to Palestine!

I have developed the plan in a pamphlet which has been translated into ten languages. I have the honor of presenting to Your Imperial Highness a copy of the Russian edition. Since this publication I have taken some steps at Constantinople, where I have seen the Grand Vizier, and elsewhere.

His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden has done me the honor of receiving me at Karlsruhe and has been kind enough to take an interest in the cause.

I respectfully put myself at the disposal of Your Imperial Highness to explain the idea in its entirety, without the restrictions necessary in a book. It is easy to get information about me—I am an editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna—and to find out if I am embarrassing, if there is any reason to fear the slightest indiscretion on my part.

His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden can tell you.

* In French in the original.

If Your Imperial Highness is kind enough to accord me the favor of receiving me, I shall come to Berlin, to St. Petersburg, it does not matter where.

The solution of the Jewish Question is a superb project.

The Jews can come to the aid of the broken-down finances of Turkey. This would facilitate the reforms that are indispensable for the relief of the unfortunate Christians in the Ottoman Empire. For countries where people would like to see the Jews move out, it would be a relief no less beneficial.

The masses of penniless Jews accept the idea with enthusiasm; I have many proofs of this.

Nearly the whole world would be satisfied; so it is the solution!

I am with the deepest respect

Your Imperial Highness' humble and obedient servant,

Dr. Theodor Herzl
November 15, 1896

(Complimentary close, compare p. 486.)*

To His Imperial Highness,
Grand Duke Vladimir,
Berlin.

November 17

In the *Jewish World* an extract from my Union speech appears under the heading "The Jewish State. Dr. Herzl Throws Light on His Scheme."

I am sending this clipping to the Grand Duke of Baden, together with the following letter:

Your Royal Highness:

Although I have not had the distinction of receiving a reply to my respectful letter which I sent you a few months ago, I permit myself to revert to the Jewish Question once more.

The enclosed clipping from a London newspaper will give Your Royal Highness in brief the present state of the matter.

There is truly something miraculous about the development

* Translator's Note. See entry of October 22.

of the movement for the return of the Jews. Received with enthusiasm by the penniless and young Jews, this idea has already spread around the world, as is evidenced by countless manifestations of support. And at the same time the idea can also serve to resolve the present Turkish difficulties.

It is to the greatest interest of those Powers who desire the maintenance of the *status quo* and at the same time the cleaning up of conditions in Turkey that the projected Russo-French financial adjustment *not* come about. For in actuality that would be a Russian annexation of Turkey, similar to the protectorate which Russia managed to secure over China through financial intervention after the Japanese war.

This supposed adjustment would amount to a fresh stock-exchange speculation from which France (in evacuated Egypt) and Russia would gain all the political advantages and a few stock-market jobbers the financial ones, while in Turkey everything would remain the way it has been.

In contrast, the national Jewish arrangement means—quite apart from the worldwide and promised fulfillment that it embodies—a genuine restoration of Turkey. The return of the Jews is the protection of the Christians in the Orient.

Royal Highness! I have only poor words at my disposal to influence the will of the mighty of this earth. Perhaps today I have hit upon the tone that convinces. If the German Kaiser's good, wise counsellor recommends to him that he listen to me, His Majesty will summon me to Berlin for a secret conference. Infinitely much would be gained by this.

When I was in Karlsruhe, Your Royal Highness graciously permitted me to report from time to time about my work on the Jewish cause. For fear of being burdensome in the future, with today's letter I shall terminate the use which I have been making of this permission if I do not receive any sign of encouragement.

In deepest respect for Your Royal Highness I remain

Gratefully yours,
Dr. Theodor Herzl.

December 1

Dr. Rothfeld of Pest tells me about a rumor which circulated there. People said that for the publication of *The Jewish State* I had received a large honorarium from an English land company that wants to do some business in Palestine.

This is how incredible it appears to our Jews that someone could do something out of conviction.

December 1

Letter to Hechler for Lord Salisbury:

Dear Friend:

Your view that I ought to expound the Jewish plan to Lord Salisbury seems to me to be right. However, I don't want to approach him directly. If you think it proper, you will bring the contents of this letter to his attention.

For you, my dear friend, the Jewish cause is a theological matter. But it is also a political one, and a very timely one. You know that religious feelings, and, most recently, anti-Semitism which is emerging everywhere, have aroused a strong yearning for Palestine among the broad masses of the Jews of all countries. As you know, hundreds of thousands are ready for immediate migration and it may be surmised that hundreds of thousands more would follow them later.

This is a factor—a new one, to be sure—which English policy in the Orient could and should reckon with. Lord Salisbury could execute a masterly stroke with it. With the present situation of the world, one dominated by the Russo-French entente, a partition of Turkey would put England at a serious disadvantage. For England such a partition would be a loss now; therefore she must desire the *status quo*. It can be preserved only if Turkey's finances are straightened out. This is why Russia has just frustrated the proposed financial arrangement. Russia wants the decay and self-dissolution of Turkey.

Now, there is a method of straightening out the Turkish finances and thus preserving the status quo for a while longer, and at the same time of creating a new route to India, the short-

est one for England. And all this without England's having to lay out a penny or committing herself visibly anywhere.

This method is the creation of an autonomous Jewish vassal state in Palestine, similar to Egypt, under the suzerainty of the Sultan. As you know, I laid the groundwork for this last summer when I was in Constantinople. The matter is possible if we have the backing—and I repeat expressly, the invisible backing—of a Great Power. Since the Sultan is still the undisputed sovereign, no power can prevent him from inviting the Jews to immigrate into Palestine. In return for this we would obtain for him a big loan on the tribute which is to be paid by the Jews and will have been secured in advance.

England's advantage would be that a railroad would immediately be built across Palestine from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, or connecting with the railroad, soon made necessary by communication needs, through Persia and Baluchistan (possibly Afghanistan) to India.

England would have these benefits *sans bourse délier* [without expense] and without the world's learning of her participation. While, in the North, Russia is preparing a railway line to Asia, in the South, England would have a neutral reserve route to India, in case difficulties arose at the Suez Canal.

Should Lord Salisbury wish to examine this idea more closely, I am at the disposal of his ambassador or of himself in London if he sends for me.

If he considers the matter too fantastic, I can only regret it. But the movement really exists, and a skillful, great statesman will know how to utilize it.

With cordial regards,

Yours faithfully,
Theodor Herzl.

December 11

On my way to the office today at noon I ran into Newlinski. Since the failure of the project to found a paper he now always

has a good-natured, roguish grin on his face when he sees me. This means: "You've put one over on me! I fell for it, but I don't hold it against you, because you were so clever about it."

Je lui remets toujours du coeur au ventre [I always put heart into him]. I tell him: "It's a bad period in our work. Just be patient. We shall weather it. One recognizes one's friends by the fact that they don't begin to waver in difficult times."

He always winds up by assuring me that he is holding fast—and then he adds ironically: "I am your sole adherent."

He told me that Izzet Bey has fallen from the Sultan's grace. He has not been received in ten days. Tahsim Bey now seems to be on top. Newlinski wrote to the latter that he should repeat the Jewish proposal to the Sultan. There is talk of Rhagib Bey as Izzet's probable successor.

• • •

The Danish literary light Georg Brandes acknowledges receipt of *The Jewish State* in an evasively polite letter. He tells me the old anecdote about the banker who would like to become the Jewish ambassador at Berlin.

I am sending him an ironical reply: I had expected a different reaction from him to the beautiful idea of a Jewish renaissance. I did not believe the idea would be realized the way I had outlined it in my pamphlet. But I did believe that a Jewish State will come into being, with a partial continuation of the Diaspora, because all peoples now live in such a diaspora.

December 12

Hechler came to see me and brought me a newspaper clipping to the effect that the German Kaiser will go to Palestine next autumn.

We agreed that I shall write him, Hechler, a letter intended to be submitted to the Kaiser. The moment, to be sure, is not propitious. The scandal trial which followed in the wake of the falsification of the Breslau Czar toast has probably put the Kaiser in a bad mood and made him suspicious of journalists.

December 13

I read in the morning paper that the former Prussian Minister of War Verdy du Vernois has arrived here.

I am writing him as follows:

Your Excellency:

In August I learned from a gentleman who had met Your Excellency in Therapia that you are interested in my outline for Jewish migration to Palestine.

I have just read in the paper about your presence in Vienna.

If the first-mentioned information was correct, I request the honor of being received by Your Excellency. From my pamphlet *The Jewish State* the present status of this great cause cannot be apprehended. A great deal has happened in the meantime, and a lot has—*malgré moi* [despite myself]—been neglected, too. This movement, which people underestimate, circles the globe today. The blessing it contains, and not only for the Jews, is as yet not being appreciated.

If I were granted the opportunity of having a thorough talk with your Excellency on the subject, I could give you certain information which is not suitable for publication; and, above all, I am hoping for advice from such an expert on the Orient as yourself.

I do not have to tell you that no journalistic indiscretion needs to be feared from me in a matter so sacred to me. I am at your disposal whenever and wherever you please. I can be reached through the telephone number 12 287 at my private residence, Vienna IX, Berggasse 6. Your hotel clerk can call me up there.

In any case, I shall be at home this afternoon until four o'clock.

Once again I make the proviso of the first report mentioned above; if it was incorrect, kindly excuse me and regard this letter as *non avenu* [not arrived].

With the expression of my high esteem,

I am, Your Excellency,

Respectfully yours,
Dr. Theodor Herzl.

• • •

The messenger brought this letter back from the Hotel Bristol—the general had already departed. *Non avenu*, then. Into the waste-basket.

December 14

Hechler has received a mild reprimand from Lord Salisbury for sending him my letter: *"Lord S. cannot grant Dr. Herzl to interview him."* *

The only interesting thing about this refusal is the English business-like way in which the *"return of the Jews"* * is mentioned.

December 20

I feel myself getting tired. More frequently than ever I now believe that my movement is at an end. I am fully convinced of its feasibility, but cannot overcome the initial difficulties.

Only one million guilders would be needed to put the movement squarely on its feet. This bagatelle (considering the greatness of the cause) is wanting—and that is why we shall have to sleep although it is daylight.

December 21

Ran into Güdemann, who has been evading me for months, on Herrengasse. He passed so close to me that we had to stop.

He acted piqued because I no longer called on him; after all, he said, he had followed my call to Munich, had introduced me to Adler in London, etc.

I told him gruffly and point-blank: "You've turned tepid and vapid—so I've simply given you the cold shoulder."

He would like to have a "heart-to-heart talk" with me again.

I shall confront him with a dilemma: for or against!

* In English in the original.

January 6, 1897

So we have moved on into the year 1897—one of the "critical" years of my friend Hechler.

I have become lax in keeping this diary. Many a day brings something worth recording, but the general torpor of the movement is gradually getting into my bones too. Besides, I write numerous letters, for I reply to everyone; and answering these letters blunts my slight desire to write.

I receive visitors from all over the world. The road from Palestine to Paris is beginning to pass through my room. Among the more interesting people who passed through in the last few weeks were: Schoub from Palestine, a tall, full-bearded man with the eyes of a visionary; Dr. Holzmann from Berlin, who brought along some of Berlin Jewry's pettiness in his dress; Landau from Przemysl, an intelligent semi-Hassid with *peyes* [ear-locks] brushed behind his ears; and Dr. Salz from Tarnow, who resembles Newlinski with his pale reddish moustache which droops in Polish fashion, his bright eyes, and his big bald pate.

To each of these four I gave assignments. Schoub is to speak with the Sultan's Jewish personal physician, whose name is Eliahu Pasha, if I still remember correctly.

Dr. Holzmann is to write to the B'nai Moshe in Jaffa, with whom he is affiliated, and tell them how matters stand and that without means for agitation in the press our cause will bog down completely.

Landau from Przemysl offered to negotiate with the Wonder-Rabbi Friedmann of Czortkow. I gave him a letter in which I invite Friedmann to send me his son.

To Dr. Salz I outlined the present state of our affairs, which could become great the moment we had a million for purposes of publicity.

And this is how things really are. With that million a great newspaper could be created. With such a great paper governments negotiate as one Power with another.

I fear the best moment has passed. That came in the months

that have gone by since my stay in Constantinople, when Izzet Bey was still the Sultan's favorite and I was still able to negotiate with the pashas on the basis of my initial prestige.

The financial arrangement through French bankers hangs over Zionism like a threatening cloud. Our only chance lies in the repugnance of the Porte to the interference of foreign financiers who are backed by the Great Powers, and in the policy of Russia which would like to see Turkey rot alive like a leper.

Meanwhile, unless I am mistaken, Zionism is gradually managing to gain the respect of the general public in all sorts of countries. Little by little people are beginning to take us more seriously.

The well-to-do Jews, it is true, behave miserably now as before. And as my loyal de Haas writes from London, "*everybody is waiting to see how the cat will jump.*" *

I frequently talk about the cause with Benedikt. Before Christmas, when he asked me if I didn't know a good subject for a holiday article for him, I said: "Oh yes, write about the solution of the Jewish Question through the colonization of Palestine, which would also be a settlement of the Oriental problem through a restoration of Turkish finances."

He remarked: "That would be a fine article, to be sure, and a success, too. But today I can no longer write such an article, because your pamphlet is available in which you speak about the Jewish nation."

I replied: "All right, so you don't write the article this year—perhaps you will write it at Christmas time next year. We can wait."

I was with Güdemann the evening before last. Again the old rigmarole. He still acted as though he were offended. But when I filled him with enthusiasm again in the course of my reasoning he said: "I am all yours!"

"All right," I said, "then preach about it in the synagogue!"

"I beg your pardon," he cried quite horrified, "that can't

* In English in the original.

be done. I've kept my ears open; people don't want to have anything to do with it."

"Are you the shepherd of your flock?" I asked him. "I permit you to be as discreet as you please. For all I care, you can speak out against Zionism, but don't keep silent about it. One can bring something to people's attention by combating it clumsily, and in many other ways. This is the art of oratory."

But the unctuous creature, whom I know quite well by now, merely wrung his hands and wailed that it was impossible.

So I said to him, "Stay well!" and left him, probably for the last time.

• • •

A new figure has emerged in my combinations: the painter Koppay, whom I have known for twenty years. He has done several portraits of the Empress of Russia as well as of other crowned heads. I should like to make him an agent of my idea and pay him with publicity. It will be the first time that I have made propaganda for someone; the cause is worth it. I am going to Koppay today.

January 7

The Koppay idea is taking a funny development. I went to see him yesterday. An *up-to-date** artist's studio, a bit fixed up for glitter. The master has faded—physically, that is—since I first knew him. But he is a capable artist and, I think, a decent fellow, too.

He did not paint the Empress of Russia recently, but when she was the Princess of Hesse. It is a quite ordinary art dealers's trick that presents him as the painter of the Empress's portrait.

The pictures of the Empress are elaborations of sketches which he once made at Darmstadt.

Nevertheless, I want to use Koppay, and all the more now. The Princess had smiled when he had mentioned the rumor

* In English in the original.

to her that she was going to become Empress of Russia. He had said jokingly: "If Your Highness becomes Empress, you must make me court painter!" And she had smilingly agreed.

Now I want to beat the big drum for him to become court painter; and when he is, he will have to serve the Jewish cause at the Russian court.

I must manufacture my own instruments with which I shall then do the work.

Will he not forget his moral obligation after I have made him? I shall risk ingratitude anyway.

January 10

Newlinski joined me for breakfast today.

He informed me that the Sublime Porte was "angry" at me because I was not coming through with the press support which I had promised in Constantinople that time. In fact, it was even believed that the attacks of the European press on the Turkish government were emanating from me, out of revenge for their not wanting to sell Palestine to us.

This erroneous assumption of the Turks would not displease me, because it would be proof that I am regarded as a power there. I believe, however, that Newlinski, who gave me this information with diplomatically lowered eyes, would only like to extort small journalistic favors which he will then probably have booked to his own credit.

I told him that the promise of press support was, of course, only a conditional one. If Turkey entered into negotiations with us, we would defend her in the newspapers. *Donnant, donnant* [Give and take]. We don't want to be the dupes of the Turkish policy of promises without real performance.

Newlinski said: "If Turkey is attacked in the papers, it will probably turn anti-Semitic."

I am not afraid of that. If the Porte becomes anti-Semitic, it will provoke all stock-exchanges against itself and will never again get any money. Then all the big bankers will line up behind me, too.

January 18

L'État juif [The Jewish State] has appeared in Madame Rattazzi's *Nouvelle Revue Internationale* of January 1, 1897.

After it had been impossible to place the tract at all in France for a year, it now seems to be making a great stir.

Today three Paris friends sent me the *Libre Parole* of January 16 in which Drumont gets off a highly flattering editorial about me and promises more.

It was a good idea that I prevailed upon old Madame Rattazzi, to publish the pamphlet when she was here and got me to see her about some advertising.

Now Alphonse Rothschild, too, the most faithful reader of the *Libre Parole,* will take cognizance of the matter. After all, the *haute finance* [high finance] reads nothing but this whiplash paper.

January 26

This morning the *N. Fr. Pr.* received the news that the financial arrangement with Turkey "under the guarantee of all Powers" has been completed.

At first I didn't believe it and telephoned to Newlinski who only affirmed: "*C'est mauvais pour nous* [It's bad for us]."

Then F. Schütz came to see me. He also doubts the story, because he has news from Russia according to which the Russian government declined to respect the wishes of the French financiers (who desire this arrangement). In fact, Schütz added that the new Minister Muraviev was going to Paris on an inaugural visit only in order to strengthen the Méline administration. And after such a visit the stock-exchange could not dare to make anti-Russian demonstrations.

Meanwhile, in the evening further despatches arrived from all over saying that the arrangement had been completed. To begin with, the Turks are to be given four million pounds. In any case, they are "above water." Still, there is something good in this bad turn of affairs. The arrangement means a further increase in the

power of that *dette publique* [public debt], which, as it is, is already a thorn in the Sultan's flesh as well as that of all pashas. This will make the *dette publique* even more hated, and the money that the Turks are getting has long been earmarked anyway. Therefore it won't last too long, and the *dèche* [beggary] will be there again.

Mr. Charriant, the secretary of Madame Rattazzi, who arrived here from Constantinople today and wanted to see me, called on me. I have a cold and therefore cannot go to see Mme. Rattazzi. Charriant told me Izzet Bey still was in the Sultan's favor, as he learned six days ago from the French ambassador Cambon.

Later Sidney Whitman and Newlinski came to see me. Sidney wants to push my *Jewish State,* which he read only recently, through the *New York Herald.* (*J'allais le lui demander* [I was going to ask him to].)

Newlinski spoke about the financial arrangement with bitter verve.

The pashas, he said, will take it as a real insult. For the money will go to its real destination. They will consider it an outrageous loan which has not been made for Djavid Bey and Izzet Bey, etc. Danusso and Take Margueritte will fall from grace! It is unheard-of.

So he joked with magnificent cynicism.

He also said that before Ramadan everything could be fixed with a tenth part of the money. That's when they needed money for the officials, the soldiers, and the feasts. Then 100,000 pounds were as much as a million at other times.

Newlinski went on to tell some amusing details about the mismanagement at the Porte. Hassan Pasha, the Minister of the Navy, pockets *everything.* He sells the copper boilers from the ships and has the medicinal wines of the hospitals stored in his own cellars. The toll from the bridge between Stambul and Galata is remitted to the Navy Ministry—i.e., 25 million francs.

The civil list is based on the toll revenue; however, in the last 20 years it has declined from three million pounds to one million

Newlinski tells such things in a peculiarly grand tone. He is no ordinary person.

January 27

The Turkish loan is being denied by some papers. The *N. Fr. Pr.* is upholding the news, which incidentally, did not come from Paris, but the local Foreign Office. The fact of the matter is that the *ambassadors* at Constantinople have agreed on the loan. From that to the completion of the agreement is still a big step.

I hope that the Sultan will not stand for this and that the pashas, who did not receive any *baksheesh*, will remind him of his threatened Caliph's dignity.

The only true thing seems to be that the Banque Ottomane has given an advance of 300,000 pounds. With this the Turks will hold their Ramadan and sing the praises of Allah.

The boys at the Ottoman Bank, for their part, will play around at the stock exchange for a few months with this news of a loan. Now the loan is going to come about, now it is going to fall through. This is going to supply the desired boom and slump. In this way they will amply compensate themselves for the gamble of the fresh advance of 300,000 pounds—at least the "house" will.

The *gogos* [sucker investors] will be fleeced one way or the other. The yellow press will accompany this game by thumping the tom-toms.

January 28

Sidney Whitman pays me a call every day and sits with me by the hour. He wants to promote the Jewish cause in the *New York Herald*.

The strange thing is that he seems only now to be getting acquainted with the matter. I had thought last July that he was working for me.

• • •

In the *N. Fr. Pr.* we had a *feuilleton* by Flammarion: "Is Mars Inhabited?" At the office they were discussing Mars. Bacher said to me in a superior tone: "Maybe you can set up your Jewish State on Mars."

Laughter among the smart boys.

January 28

Today Dr. Bloch called on me in order to ask me "as the party boss" for support of his candidacy for the Reichsrat from Sereth-Suczawa (I think).

I had predicted this supplicating visit of his some time ago.

January 29

Bloch's appearance gave me the idea of sending a Zionist delegate to Parliament.

I sent for Schnirer and Kokesch to discuss Bloch's request. Berkowicz happened to come along too. All three agreed that Bloch must not be supported. They said he was unreliable and had always behaved badly toward us.

My proposal to seek a seat for a Zionist was received with approval. I named Prof. Leon Kellner who had recently made a speech before "Zion" at my request. However, they wanted me to be the candidate, saying that my election was assured in Galicia and would cost much less than that of Kellner or anyone else. I declined outright and categorically.

Thereupon they accepted Kellner as a candidate. I had Dr. Salz of Tarnow and Stand of Lvov invited to Vienna for an election conference on Tuesday. We shall look for a constituency and send our young people there as campaigners. The problem remains of how to obtain election funds.

• • •

"The Palestine Pilgrimage." *

To the Editor of the *Jewish World.*

Sir,—The "Message" of Dr. Herzl to an East End meeting, dealing with this scheme, is so charged with that intense zeal and enthusiasm which marks all the utterances and proceedings of this remarkable man, that it seems almost a pity to have to repudiate some of the ideas which he has gathered—I know not where—about the movement.

It is due, however, to those who are taking part in the Pilgrimage to say, that they have no such far-reaching scheme on foot as Dr. Herzl's fervid imagination would attribute to them, and that they have neither political objects to serve, nor even scientific researches to make, in connection with their visit.

The Pilgrimage is what its name denotes, and not an "Expedition" nor an "Investigation Commission," as Dr. Herzl suggests; and it will have served its purpose, if it enlarges the interest of Western Jews in the land with which their history and traditions are so intimately bound up, and if it operates as an encouragement to similar pilgrimages in future years, so that the reproach that Palestine is less visited by Jews than by any other denomination may be removed from our people.

I hope you will permit me to take the opportunity to say that the success of the Pilgrimage is now assured by the adhesion of the necessary numbers; and it is hoped that our party will be completed up to its maximum limit (30) within the next few weeks.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully

Herbert Bentwich.

The Holm, Avenue Road, N. W.
27th January, 1897.

February 4

Fresh unrest on Crete. This news gives me a peculiar presentiment: that it may be the beginning of the liquidation of Tur-

* The following is in English in the original.

key. With these Cretan disturbances, which evidently have again been arranged diplomatically, I connect the last extraordinary Berlin journey of our Minister Goluchowski who is taken for an English go-between, as well as the trips to Paris and Berlin of the Russian Minister Muraviev. I have a presentiment, I don't know why.

February 4

I am writing to de Haas in London that he should try to have the South African goldmine billionaire Barnato won over to our cause through the Sephardic Chief Rabbi Gaster.

February 5

In our election conferences we have reached the conclusion that Kellner would have less chance of being elected than Dr. Salz. I was importuned from all sides to run and told that my election was certain. However, I declined. I think that if I had relented, the same people who tried to persuade me would have inwardly despised me.

We finally decided to nominate Kellner and Salz—Kellner in the Drohobycz city district, Salz in the fifth (general) legislative-assembly district of Kolomea.

• • •

Jewish Chronicle, February 5

*Correspondence.**

"The Palestine Pilgrimage."

Sir:—The correction by Mr. Herbert Bentwich, who wishes to lead a pilgrimage to Palestine on a much narrower programme than I believed his intention to be, compels me also to say a few words. Mr. Bentwich envelops the thorn in a rose-leaf, still I feel it. He means that in my letter to the East End meeting I put

* In English in the original.

the matter upon an impossible plane. How has that come about? I was requested, from London, to write a letter on Mr. Bentwich's expedition. This letter was to be read in public, in order to make the Pilgrimage and its objects widely known. I wrote the wished-for letter on hints which I had received from London. In it I said nothing either impossible or fantastic. On the contrary, I recommended the greatest possible sobriety. Apart from this, I requested the recipient of my letter, for greater precaution, to communicate my letter to Mr. Bentwich, before giving it publicity. In this way I thought to prevent any possible misunderstanding. It, however, appears that my precautionary measures were not closely followed.

I feel bound to make this communication, as he who, as I am, is accused in any case of too lively an imagination in my scheme, can really not be sufficiently careful.

As for the rest, there is a difference of a few degrees of warmth between Mr. Bentwich's scheme and that sketched out by me. It is enough for me that he is not at freezing-point, and I can assure him that my blood does not boil.

Yours obediently,
Th. Herzl.

Vienna, February 1st, 1897.

• • •

Jewish World, February 5

"An ex-premier on Dr. Herzl's Scheme." *

His Excellency Prince Demeter Stourdza, who, to within two months ago, was the Minister-President of Rumania, has been interviewed by the Special Vienna Correspondent of the Paris edition of the New York Herald. After a talk on Continental politics, the interviewer says: "Our conversation finally took a turn towards the affairs of Austria proper, the coming elections, the growth of anti-Semitism, and the proposal put forward in connection therewith by a Dr. Theodor Herzl, a doctor-of-law in

* In English in the original.

Vienna, which has already the sympathetic approval of Zionists in all countries, for founding a Jewish State in Palestine. His Excellency expressed himself as follows:—I consider this an excellent idea; in fact I may say the one and valuable way of solving the Jewish Question. (It must be borne in mind that Rumania has an enormous Jewish population.) The Jews are the one people who, living in foreign countries, do not assimilate with the inhabitants as others do. The causes of this are neither here nor there, but the very fact of the Jews at last forming a State of their own would completely alter the present anomalous condition of things, even if a large number were to remain behind in Europe."

February 20

Again a period during which I was not in the mood to enter anything in this diary.

Yet every day brings something.

In the last few weeks I have repeatedly been urged to run for the Reichsrat. In Galicia I am offered three seats as certain: Kolomea, Drohobycz, Stanislau. I stick to my refusal.

Among the visitors of recent days Prince Friedrich Wrede is notable, a young dabbler in literature who would like to see himself in print in the literary section of the *N. Fr. Pr.* Since I would like to have my project discussed in high aristocratic circles, I took the trouble to tell him everything.

He said: "We need the Jews, because there must always be discontentment. If people did not rail against the Jews, we would have a revolution."

This confession was downright charming in its naiveté.

• • •

Yesterday Dr. D'Arbela from Jerusalem came to see me. He is the director of the Rothschild hospitals. An interesting person who looks like a cavalry colonel—tall, bold nose, moustache, energetic chin. He told me wonderful things about Palestine,

which is said to be a magnificent country, and about our Jews from Asia.

Kurdish, Persian, Indian Jews come to his office. Strange: there are Jewish Negroes who come from India. They are the descendants of slaves who were in the service of the expelled Jews and adopted the faith of their masters.

In Palestine one sees not only Jewish agricultural workers and day laborers of all kinds, but Mountain Jews and Jews from the steppes who have a bellicose air.

We are popular among the Arabs and Kurds. Quarreling Arabs occasionally go to a Jew rather than to a Turkish judge to have their disputes settled.

All Palestine talks about our nationalist plan. After all, we are the hereditary lords of the land. The Turkish occupation forces of Jerusalem are weak at present—about 600 men.

Even now the Jews constitute the majority of Jerusalem's inhabitants, if I understood D'Arbela aright. We spoke so quickly and about so many things that I did not even go more closely into this point.

The climate is excellent, the soil not barren, only the humus layer has been washed into gorges from mountains where once there were terraces of fruitfulness.

Now oranges are blooming in Palestine.

Everything can be done in that country.

We shall make a note of this splendid man for future assignments.

I told him that at the Zionist Convention in Zurich at the end of August I shall also put the question of the Haluka on the agenda. The Haluka shall be changed to *assistance par le travail* [public works]. D'Arbela will work up a report about conditions up to the present, make proposals, and get together a committee in Palestine for the reorganization of the Haluka.

February 21

Yesterday I ran into Newlinski at the theater.

He considers the situation which Greece has created on Crete

—actually, the *fait accompli* of breaking away—very serious, the beginning of the end of Turkey. The prospects for the Jews will then be bad. Russia is against us.

He told me—I don't know whether I should believe it—that he had spoken with the local ambassador Mahmud Nedim about having my friends procure for the Sultan, who is now in the greatest financial embarrassment, a loan of 2-300,000 pounds sterling. Mahmud Nedim telegraphed this to Yildiz Kiosk and received the reply that he must not have any dealings with me, because I had made the demand for an independent Palestine.

Newlinski also told me that 250 families had just been denied settlement in Palestine. The poor people had to turn to the shores of the Red Sea.

• • •

Prince Wrede sent me his play, which shows great talent. I did him an injustice when I took him for only a dilettante. I am all the more pleased at his writing me that he intends to include my whole Jewish plan in his novel *Israel*.

March 9

A few days ago Prince Wrede sent me from Salzburg an article about "The Zionists" which I was supposed to send to the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* or the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The article will presumably cause a stir because of the name of its author. I had it offered to the *Kölnische Zeitung* through Sidney Whitman. Results still pending.

March 10

If nothing happens, I am too ill-humored to enter anything in this notebook. If something happens, I have no time for it.

In this way many moods and events are lost which could be of interest to myself and to others at some future time.

On Saturday the 6th and Sunday the 7th of March a few Zion-

ists from Berlin were here, as well as Dr. Salz from Tarnow and Dr. Ehrenpreis from Diakovar.

The Berliners came to discuss a proposal to found a big publishing house, for which I was to raise 300,000 guilders among my acquaintances, provided they raised 700,000 for the purpose.

Those who came were Willy Bambus of Berlin, Dr. Thon, Dr. Birnbaum of Berlin, Moses of Katowice, Turow of Breslau.

Turow is a shy and confused scoffer, and, incidentally, under the pseudonym Paul Dimidow, the author of a pamphlet, *Wo hinaus [What Way Out]*?

Birnbaum was more self-assured and inwardly more hostile toward me than ever. He wanted my financial and moral support for his candidacy in the election district of Sereth-Suczawa-Radautz, a candidacy that had been offered to me as well, which I refused and he undertook at the last moment. Considering the late date—there is only one week to the election—I denied him my support, because an unsuccessful attempt could compromise the mystical prestige of our movement in Galicia. He will never forgive me for this No. Incidentally, just for the sake of being elected he wanted to make personal compromises with social politicians, Social Democrats, and others, and run as a representative of a Jewish People's Party (which does not even exist).

Dr. Thon seems to be a gifted, but still not fully matured young modern theologian.

Moses is an easy-going old fellow.

The most outstanding of them all is Willy Bambus, a quiet, clear-thinking organizer, who, however, would like to be a leader.

With Bambus I discussed important points and I learned interesting things from him.

The *Jewish Colonisation Association** is currently negotiating with a Greek family (Soursouk is the name, I think) for the purchase of 97 villages in Palestine. These Greeks live in Paris, have gambled away their money, and wish to sell their real estate (3% of the entire area of Palestine, according to Bambus) for 7 million francs.

* In English in the original.

The I. C. A. has turned away from Argentina and now makes investments only in Palestine.

Bambus told me something interesting about the most recent session of the I. C. A. Zadoc Kahn, whom I seem to have done an injustice in this regard, really presented my proposal to buy one newspaper each in London and Paris for the Jewish cause. This took place in the unofficial session. At that point Claude Montefiore, Lousada, and Alfred Cohen, the English members, declared they would leave the meeting if such a proposal was made in the official conference, and Alfred Cohen even threatened to make a complaint to the British government because of an infringement of the statutes. Zadoc Kahn thereupon withdrew, hurt.

With Willy Bambus I established good rapport—if he is sincere, this can have the best of effects.

On Sunday at the Zionist Association we held a conference on the General Zionist Congress which I planned to convene at Zurich.

It was decided, however, to go to Munich, because the location of that city is more convenient for the Eastern Jews, because the Russians would not dare to come to Switzerland, which is suspected of nihilism, and because there are kosher restaurants in Munich.

Therefore we shall meet at Jochsberger's where in August, 1895, I started my discussions with Güdemann and Meyer-Cohn.

How big the movement has grown since then!

After lengthy, idle talk an organization committee was appointed and I was charged with convening the Congress. It will have both public and closed sessions.

One thing is already clear: Bambus and I are going to do all the work. The others are going to watch.

March 10

Yesterday's elections in the new fifth legislative assembly district brought the victory of the anti-Semites all along the line

in Vienna and Lower Austria. In its editorial yesterday, the *N. Fr. Pr.* recommended the election of the Socialists. This is the policy I had recommended from Paris four and a half years ago. Now it is too late.

Incidentally, I reminded Bacher and Benedikt of the advice I had given then.

When I read my Jewish plan to him a year and a half ago, Bacher said to me: "We shall keep silent about it. We have kept silent about Social Democracy too, for 25 years."

And yesterday they went to the polls arm in arm with this suppressed S. D.

Is it expecting too much to think that the *N. Fr. Pr.* will go arm in arm with Zionism as well—although maybe also too late?

• • •

Last week, incidentally, Bacher said a funny thing.

I told him that the wife of our colleague Steinbach was in the habit of going to the Zionist Association on Tuesdays.

The last time Dr. Ehrlich's wife wanted to accompany her. "We shall soon have the distaff side of the *N. Fr. Pr.* on our side," I said.

Bacher laughed. "You'll get the men, too, as soon as you have success. We bow to success."

March 10

The Jews of Vienna are depressed today.

Dr. Grünfeld invited me to take part in today's officers' meeting of the Israelitische Union.

They want to have a big rally (of lamentation?).

March 10

Yesterday's meeting was depressing. A few old Philistines who "don't wanna idennify" themselves as Jews and who are enduring the kicks.

March 11

De Haas sends on to me a letter from Colonel Goldsmid at Biarritz, intended for me. Goldsmid avers that he did not make a speech against me in Cambridge, as the *Jewish Chronicle* said, but only defended his historic flag, on which the twelve tribes are symbolized, against my seven-star one.

So we already have a flag problem.

For the rest, Colonel Goldsmid's rapprochement is welcome in view of the Munich Congress.

March 14

A letter-card from Hechler. He writes that upon his return from Merano he found waiting for him an invitation from the local German ambassador Eulenburg, who is greatly interested in our cause. Has Hechler dreamed this? It could be true. As a literary dilettante Count Eulenburg in any case knows my name. He is a confidant of the German Kaiser. If I win him over, he can bring me to the Kaiser at last.

The Jews' turning to the Social Democrats in the Viennese elections of March 9 probably made some impression on those in power everywhere.

We shall see.

March 14

Newlinski had breakfast with me today. He again had all sorts of stories about the Turks. The drollest thing was a story about the war treasure. After the Russo-Turkish War the Minister of Finance started a secret war chest, which, strangely enough, was not stolen. The present Finance Minister was privy to the secret, and when the Cretan crisis broke out, he informed the Sultan that 14 million francs were on hand. The Sultan bestowed the Ifrikar order on the incomprehensible man—and *now* the war treasure is stolen. Arrears are paid. Some is embezzled, the am-

bassadors get to see money again, and Newlinski got some, too.

However, Newlinski thinks that in the immediate future they will need money again. Why didn't the Jews make a loan? I told him that a loan could not be raised for no good reason. However, (here Bambus' story about the land purchase occurred to me) if the Sultan wanted to sell landed property in Palestine, together with permission for 2000 families to settle there, something could perhaps be done. We agreed that I should write to Berlin, Paris, and London, in order to elicit an unofficial offer of purchase. If the managers of the Jewish Colonisation Association offer so much per hectare, Newlinski will telegraph this to the Sultan and get a reply as to whether the proposal might be made officially.

I immediately wrote almost identical letters to Bambus, Zadoc Kahn (for communication to Leven), and Dr. Gaster (for Montefiore, Lousada, Alfred Cohen). I said that such a land purchase ran counter to my views on infiltration, to be sure, but that I considered it a stepping-stone to our larger goal. I said I had also broached to my informant the question of a police of their own for these settlers and that he thought it possible that we would be permitted to recruit Mohammedans as policemen.

I keep raising the question of a security police, which after D'Arbela's information about the valor of the Jews in Palestine is really pointless, in order to let the negotiations be wrecked on it if need be, if those with the money leave me in the lurch.

In my letter to Zadoc Kahn I indicated that *this* transaction could be performed without the suspect *baksheesh*, which, after all, probably doesn't always get into the right hands.

In the letter to Gaster I admonished the English I.C.A. gentlemen not to treat the distress of the penniless Jews in too refined a fashion.

In both letters I emphasized the point that the settlers ought to be recruited from those registered with the various Zionist associations, who want to go to Palestine at their own expense or with nominal financial assistance.

March 15

I wrote to de Haas in London to stoke matters a bit through a brief item in the *Jewish World*. Montefiore and Company should be given a sledgehammer hint that if necessary we shall line up the masses against them.

March 17

Yesterday the first public Zionist meeting took place here. I stayed away on purpose, in order to see how the Vienna Zionists would get along without me. It was a great success. The Ressource Hall, which holds 400 people, was overcrowded. 800 to 1000 are said to have been present, and they stood packed like sardines. Many had to be turned away because the hall was too full.

Professor Kellner presided and did an excellent job, I am told.

Credit for convening the assembly, organizing it, etc., belongs to Dr. Landau and Rosenbaum.

A few Socialists spoke in opposition to Zionism, using old arguments.

The Zionist resolution was carried with only 50 voting against it. Then the Socialists intoned the "Lied der Arbeit [Hymn of Labor]," whereupon our people responded with the "Bundeslied [Song of the Covenant]," which deeply moved everyone.

March 17

Today I spoke with Bacher about Zion. He said in a mellow tone: "*Il ne faut jurer de rien* [You never can tell]."

I accompanied him to his home and told him the latest developments. He finally said: "I shall probably not live to see it."

I said: "You won't be around to see the King of Palestine, and neither will I. But we can both live to see the beginnings."

He further said that he would really like to take a trip to Palestine with me some day (similar to what Benedikt said).

On parting I cried: "I'll convert you yet. *Vous serez la plus*

noble de mes conquêtes [You will be the noblest of my conquests]!"

Whereupon he squeezed my hand, touched. And it didn't occur to me till later that I had said something funny to him, reminiscent of the saying: *la plus noble conquête de l'homme, c'est le cheval* [man's noblest conquest is the horse]."

I consider it possible that the *N. Fr. Pr.* will take up my idea after all. For didn't Commercial Councillor Zucker today offer me the presidency of the Jewish bourgeois association Union? I declined; but the offer is indicative. A year ago the Unionists were mocking and opposing me.

• • •

Bambus replies that he immediately transmitted my land-purchase proposal to Paris and London.

March 18

Ran into Güdemann on the street. He accompanied me to the door of my house and opened up with gestures and in tones of despair: "Explain Zionism to me. I don't understand it."

I said: "No, I won't explain anything to you any more. Every word is wasted."

He had some grotesque ideas: he would rather let himself be killed outside the Seitenstettengasse synagogue than yield to the anti-Semites. He "will not take flight," and all the other old chestnuts. He also spoke about the "mission of Jewry," which consists in being dispersed throughout the world. This mission is talked about by all those who are doing well in their present places of residence—but they are the only ones.

March 19

Another talk with Bacher. Now we always leave the office together. He would like to take a trip to Palestine with me; and when I showed him the prospectus of the tour which Cook has

arranged for the Maccabean Club, he told me an old Prague legend which he had heard in his youth.

A Jewish woman was once sitting in her room and looking out the window. She noticed on the opposite roof a black cat in labor. She went over, took the cat, and helped her to give birth. Then she made a bed of straw on top of the coal bin for the cat and her kittens. A few days later the cat, which had recovered, disappeared. But the lumps of coal on top of which she had lain were turned into pure gold. The woman showed them to her husband, and he said that the cat was sent by God. So he used the gold to build a synagogue, the Altneuschul. This is how that famous edifice came into being. But the man was left with one wish: as a pious Jew he would have liked to die in Jerusalem. He also wished he could see the cat again, for he wanted to thank her for their prosperity. And one day the woman was again looking out the window and saw the cat in its old place. She quickly called her husband, saying: "Look, there sits our cat again!" The man ran out to get the cat, but it jumped away and disappeared into the Altneuschul. The man hurried after it and suddenly saw it vanish through the floor. There was an opening there, as though to a cellar. Without a moment's hesitation the man climbed down and found himself in a long passage. The cat enticed him on and on, until finally he saw daylight ahead again. But when he emerged, he was in a strange place, and the people told him he was in Jerusalem. On hearing this he died of joy.

This story, said Bacher, shows how national consciousness has been preserved within the Jews in all places and at all times. Actually, he said, it lies beneath the level of consciousness and flickers through in him too. And he said he had told me the story because he, too, had discovered within himself a desire to go to Palestine.

What a transformation in one year!

I believe it is only a matter of months before the *N. Fr. Pr.* turns Zionist.

March 21

I am sending *The Jewish State* to Herbert Spencer with a request for his opinion. I am closing my letter with the following words:

We are guests upon the earth at the same time. In the natural course of events you may depart sooner than I, the 37-year-old. Therefore, since I am even today convinced that the Jewish State will materialize in one form or another, though beyond the limit of my life, I should like to know and determine how the beginning of this undertaking was reflected in the great mind of Herbert Spencer.

With sincere respect,
Th. H.

March 24

The Egyptian emissary, Mustafa Kamil, who has visited me once before, called on me again. He is on another tour to create favorable feeling for the cause of the Egyptian people, who want to rid themselves of British domination. This young Oriental makes an excellent impression; he is cultivated, elegant, intelligent, eloquent. I note him down, because he will some day probably play a role in the politics of the Orient—where possibly we shall meet again.

This descendant of our erstwhile oppressors in Mizraim is now himself sighing over the sufferings of bondage, and his road leads him past me, the Jew, whose journalistic aid he seeks. Since at present I can do nothing more for him, I assured him of my good wishes.

Although I did not tell him so, I feel that it would be good for our cause if the English were forced to leave Egypt. For then they would have to seek another road to India in place of the Suez Canal, which would be lost to them or at least rendered insecure. At that point a modern Jewish Palestine would be an expedient for them—the railroad from Jaffa to the Persian Gulf.

March 24

Dined yesterday with the Turkish ambassador at Newlinski's. Mahmud Nedim was sulky with me at first, apparently because of the anti-Turkish attitude of the *N. Fr. Pr.* I utilized a turn in the conversation to drop the remark that newspapers could never pursue a foreign policy different from that of the government of their country. Then I praised the vitality of Turkey, a country that would yet see great days if it chose to favor Jewish immigration.

The poor ambassador said quite candidly: "It can't get any worse than the situation we are in now."

The milieu in which I found myself there was curious. It is the diplomatic demi-monde. Next to the ambassador sat Director Hahn of the Länderbank—financial demi-monde. On the other side of the hostess sat Fürth, currently the secretary of the Prince of Bulgaria. After Fürth had left his job with Hirsch in Paris, he was on the point of becoming a *remisier* [outside broker] at the stock-exchange—I remember his telling me in the carriage on the way back from the Bois that he was just then acting as the agent of aristocrats for stock exchange transactions in gold-mine shares— when he received the position with Prince Ferdinand, through the good offices of the Jesuits, I believe, as a reward for his conversion.

Newlinski is a great figure himself—I don't know whether I have already sketched him in my notes. In Constantinople my diary entries were restricted by the possibility that during our intimate trip he could some day get his hands on my diary. He is a *grand seigneur déchu* [fallen aristocrat]. One day he lost the outward support of his native surroundings and got into a lower stratum, whose virtues and vices he does not have, where he is misunderstood and slighted.

There are curious perceptions in him. He possesses the technique of diplomacy, all the finest and deepest requisites for a "career"—but these are absolutely out of place in bourgeois life. This makes his a half-ruined life and produces a suspicious impression.

With it all he has that great Slavic charm, and now as before I am under the spell of his great intellectual qualities.

But despite this I see clearly that it is diplomatic *demi-monde* —from the pitiful ambassador of the ailing Emperor of Turkey on down. But even this poor ambassador and his poor master are genuinely likeable figures to me.

March 24

Walked home from the office with Benedikt today. Again, as always, steered the conversation to the Jewish cause. I now employ the strategy of alarming him, because I have noticed that he is susceptible to being frightened. Naturally, I can only make veiled threats.

However, by now I really am apprehensive that the Jews in Vienna will be too late in going along with my plan. They will no longer have the political elbow-room, nor perhaps the freedom of movement—of persons as well as of property—to be able to look or go to Zion.

I told Benedikt: "The most immediate consequence of anti-Semitism, even before the legal and administrative chicanery, will be a war of the Jews against the Jews. The strata of Jews that are already oppressed and threatened will turn against the big Jews who are buying themselves off from governments and baiters with money and services."

He understood this and said: "If only this does not turn into a fight against the rich in general."

I replied: "Once the fight has started, it can't be confined any more. Those who have failed to read the signs and have turned a deaf ear to the cries of distress will have nobody to blame but themselves."

And then I told him something that had just occurred to me, because I had had the lists for the invitations to the Congress picked up from Schnirer—namely, that at a Zionist rally we had collected the names and addresses of university graduates who are our adherents. (This is the mailing list that was prepared for me on the occasion of the publication of *The Jewish State*).

At that point I saw an expression of fright on his face.

I had dealt a blow to his imagination. I guessed what suddenly came into his mind in his fright: these are the addresses of the subscribers to the rival paper of the *N. Fr. Pr.*

• • •

The day before yesterday, Monday, following the election in the Leopoldstadt, when the anti-Semitic candidate was defeated by the "Liberal," there was a disturbance in this Jewish district.

Some gangs of hoodlums roamed about, smashed windows of coffee houses, plundered a few small shops. Also, Jews were abused and beaten on the street. When people read about this in the morning papers, I believe it gave the Jews a shock—which, however, was quickly overcome. Things must get worse, they will get worse. Of course, the millionaires will easily escape the mishaps; and the Viennese Jews are, like most of our people, ghetto types who are glad if they get off with only a black eye.

March 26

Received a charming letter today from Alphonse Daudet. He still remembers our talks. If he is still around when the Jewish State comes into being, he wants to come to us to give lectures.

• • •

March 29

Paul Lindau visited me at the office and, among other things, told me the following. The Duke of Meiningen had shown him a map of Berlin on which Jewish-owned land was marked in red, Christian-owned land in blue, and doubtful property in white. The entire Tiergarten district, said Lindau, "was as though dipped in blood."

Curiously enough, a similar propaganda map is to be produced by the People's Party in Hungary, as I heard recently.

• • •

The local "Union" invited me to a preliminary discussion of the proposal to call a big meeting in which the situation of the Jews in Austria is to be discussed.

I managed to get a decision in favor of the meeting. A committee was appointed to prepare it—and this committee decided to adjourn.

I lost two times three hours with arguments which would have softened stones.

In the first discussion on Tuesday I said that Count Badeni would soon give way to a more clerical Prime Minister. An attorney named Dr. Elias gave a superior smile: "Badeni will dissolve the Reichsrat if he has no majority."

The day before yesterday, Friday, there was the committee meeting which I had successfully fought for on Tuesday. And Friday at noon Count Badeni had handed in his resignation—to everyone's surprise.

• • •

From Schaulen, Russia, came two letters from a colonist in Rishon-le-Zion. Her name is Helene Papiermeister, and she paints a glaring picture of the mismanagement and embezzlement of the Rothschild director Scheid. I am sending the accusations to Bentwich for him to investigate, if possible, during his Palestine *Pilgrimage*.*

To Mrs. Papiermeister I am writing that she should bring the complaints against Scheid before the Munich Congress in affidavit form.

This Congress will be made into a forum for the poor victims of our "benefactors" and their officials.

• • •

A dispirited letter from de Haas in London. Col. Goldsmid, he writes, sent for him and implored him to stay away from the Congress, so that there might be no "split" in the ranks of the

* In English in the original.

Hovevei Zion. Instead, I should attend the delegates' conference of all Zionists in Paris next autumn.

I am writing Haas to start marching with his followers, without delay and undaunted.

A split—*tant pis* [too bad]!

I've had enough of all these Pickwick Clubs and *"headquarters."* *

• • •

I also received a letter from Col. Goldsmid who writes me the same things he told Haas, implores me to unite my forces with theirs, and assures me of his sincere friendship.

I am answering him:

My dear Colonel:

Thanks for the cordial tone of your letter. I, too, am sincerely devoted to you and only regret that you fail to understand me.

The Munich Congress is a settled affair from which I can no longer withdraw. But it is a necessity as well. Ask Rev. Gaster to show you the letter in which I recommend to the I.C.A. making a land-purchase with immigration rights, which is possible now. My proposal, as Zadoc Kahn has written me, was placed *ad acta* [on file]. These gentlemen want to do and will do nothing.

I have waited long enough. In August it will be two years since I took the first practical steps in the Jewish cause. I wanted to act without stirring up the masses, through direction from above, in cooperation with the men who had already played a prominent part in Zionism. I have met with no understanding, no support. I have had to go on alone. At the Munich Congress I shall call upon the masses to resort to self-help, since no one else wants to help them.

As for your proposal to make the participation of the Hovevei Zion contingent upon the Paris Central Committee, I consider it pointless. I know the Paris decision in advance. It will be a refusal. Someone is at work behind the scenes whom I shall engage

* In English in the original.

neither in a competition nor in a dispute. You will learn his identity from the enclosed letter. I am entrusting this letter to your discretion as a gentleman. Send it back to me.

This man has been intriguing against me for a good long time. At first I thought he was worried about losing his job, and therefore I felt only pity for him. But for some time such complaints have been coming to me from the most various sources. Now I understand everything.

In any case, he will exert every effort to frustrate the Congress. He will invent the most high-minded arguments to keep the Paris Committee away from Munich. As a "man who knows the Orient" he will arouse apprehensions, etc., etc. He will say that publicity is detrimental to our endeavors. All untrue. The Sultan and his counsellors know the Jewish plan. I have spoken quite openly with the Turkish statesmen, and they did not take offense. They will not give us Palestine as an independent state at any price; as a vassal state (perhaps like Egypt) we could obtain the land of our fathers in a very short time. We would have it today, if the proposals I made in London and Paris had been taken up last July. Can you understand my anger and my impatience?

You, Colonel, ought to enter the Turkish service as a general, like Woods, Kamphövener, v. d. Goltz, and other foreign officers, and in that capacity you would be in command in Palestine under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Upon the break-up of Turkey, Palestine would then fall to us or to our sons as an independent country. Was the plan so senseless? The financial arrangement was even simpler, if the money magnates had joined with us the way I had proposed it. Montagu gave his approval to my loan project.

Since it didn't work out that way, it must work another way. I believe you are mistaken if you expect no financial strength from the masses. Each man has only to make a small sacrifice and the amount raised will be enormous. That will be the job of the world-wide propaganda which is to have the Munich Congress as its starting point. This being a financial matter, it will not be my

concern. In Munich there will also be financial experts who will take care of this part of the task.

After a long time a Jewish National Assembly will again be held in Munich!

Isn't this something so great that every Jewish heart must beat higher at the thought of it? Today still in a foreign land, *leshonoh haboh* [next year] perhaps in our ancient home?

As for you, Colonel Goldsmid, who moved me so deeply that evening in Cardiff when you told me the story of your life and began with the words, *"I am Daniel Deronda"* *—don't tell me that you are unwilling to take part in this Jewish National Assembly. I could understand it if you had to have regard for your personal position as an officer. But from a Zionist point of view you cannot possibly have any objections.

That I have no *selfish aims** you must believe. Just now, at the parliamentary elections, three seats were offered me in districts where the Jews have a majority. I declined. I have no personal ambition whatever in the Jewish cause.

Put me to the test. Once again I make the following proposal: join forces with Edm. Rothschild, Montagu, and anyone else you please. Give me your word of honor that you will carry out what I initiated in Constantinople—and I shall pledge my honor to withdraw permanently from the direction of the Jewish cause.

If you find this impossible, then combine your strength with me. Let us work together!

However, if it should come to a split between the "big" money-Jews and ourselves, it is not we who shall be badly off, but they. On the other side will stand a few money-bags with their *shnorrers* [beggars] and lackeys—on this side, we with all the noble, courageous, intelligent, and cultivated forces of our people.

With Zion's greetings,

Your sincere friend,
Th. Herzl.

Enclosure: letter from Mrs. Papiermeister, Schaulen.

* In English in the original.

April 5

The Emperor did not accept Badeni's resignation. The Ministry "will govern only with the cooperation of the landed proprietors loyal to the Constitution."

The Jews of Austria will once again consider everything as saved. But the anti-Semites are furious. Badeni, who has no majority, will have to show them more favors than a clerical government would have.

The Jews will soon be groaning again.

April 12

Baron Manteuffel, a Christian Zion enthusiast who has young Jews trained to be wine growers at San Michele all' Adige, writes me that he wants to go to Palestine in order to study conditions there.

I am charging him with a confidential investigation of Scheid's mismanagement which Mrs. Papiermeister has pointed out to me.

Unfortunately it is a fact that the statements of an Aryan Baron influence the *upper Jews** more strongly than anything our own kind could say.

• • •

Haas reports from London that he and his comrades are ready to march.

They will split Goldsmid's Tents if he does not come along to Munich.

At the same time Haas sends me a letter from the Prague Rabbi Kaminka opposing the Munich Congress. This Kaminka will have to be remembered as the model of a weather-vane. Now he is for, now against us.

His chief worry, however, is whether "distinguished"—i.e., rich—people will be there.

This cleric deserves to be memorialized in my diary.

• • •

* In English in the original.

An hour after I had made the above entry there came a letter from Kaminka, in which he offers me "congratulations on your initiative."

So, after having been unable to wreck the thing through vilification, he offers congratulations on it. A type!

He even asks to make a report on the Hebrew language, for he definitely wants to attend the Congress.

April 14

The 62nd birthday of my dear father.

• • •

For the Congress:

The rich Jews need to contribute only as much each year as they normally budget for charity. In return we take the poor to Palestine.

• • •

Notice to publishers who want to issue the stenographic proceedings of the Congress. Offers to be directed to "Zion," Vienna.

• • •

I shall invite all the big papers to the Congress. But those who want to have places reserved will have to register in advance. This way I may force all of them to write about the Congress—for fear of competition.

Including the *N. Fr. Pr.*

April 17

Dr. Güdemann has published a malicious counter-pamphlet entitled *Nationaljudentum* [*Jewish Nationalism*]. Evidently at the behest of the local *upper Jews.** He confines himself to vague, cowardly generalities, but with the obvious intention of providing ammunition for bolder warriors.

* In English in the original.

I shall answer him—and, following the Machiavellian precept, it will be devastating.

• • •

The publisher Breitenstein, who naturally accepts anything and has only his business in view, tells me that as soon as Güdemann's tract appeared, Rothschild sent for thirty copies.

April 21

The Greco-Turkish war, which in the last few days has changed from a cold to a hot war, will in its further course probably affect our cause as well. How?

If a peace congress for the settlement of the Greco-Turkish differences comes about, we shall present our request to the congress of the Powers.

If Turkey is victorious, which is probable, and if she receives reparations in cash from Greece, which is even now financially unsettled—something improbable, to be sure—the Turks will have less need of Jewish aid.

April 23

Bodenheimer-Cologne had a splendid idea: to make a collection for the wounded Turkish soldiers, so as to show the Sultan the sympathy of the Jews.

I immediately took up this idea and launched it among the local Jews, including non-Zionists.

• • •

Schalit of the "Kadimah" came and asked me to give him a recommendation to the Turkish ambassador. He wants to leave for the theatre of war with several medical students, as volunteer doctors.

I wrote Mahmud Nedim a letter informing him of the volunteer doctors and the collection for the wounded soldiers.

April 24

Perfidy on the part of Bambus.

Today he informs me that he has sent a correction of my Congress announcement to several Jewish papers.

His purpose is clear: he wants to make me appear as an *hableur* [braggart], to undermine the Congress, perhaps on Scheid's orders.

Bambus gives as a pretext that the Munich Jews are beside themselves and are protesting against the holding of the Congress in Munich.

To what extent this is true, whether the intrigues of Scheid, who feels himself threatened, aren't behind this as well, we shall yet find out.

Perhaps it is only plain envy on the part of the Berliners who are afraid that I shall get all the leadership in my hands.

I am writing to Bambus immediately, demanding that he retract his correction, otherwise I will break with him.

At the same time I am writing to Bodenheimer-Cologne, informing him of the intrigue and asking him for an assurance of his constancy. If needs be, Cologne will become the capital of German Zionism.

• • •

If they give us trouble in Munich, I shall take the Congress to Zurich.

April 25

The first great literary form of neo-Jewish culture will probably be the comedy—no matter in what language. After all, Labiche's plays, too, are translated into all languages.

This thought occurred to me yesterday when I had quite a good time. It was the first enjoyable day that I have Zionism to thank for—otherwise, all it has got me so far is palpitations, excitement, shocks. Even the demonstrations of support don't give me any pleasure, because behind the masses who are applauding

me I already see the ingratitude, the future envy, and the possible vacillation of the next day.

But yesterday there was pure delight. Since I am managing the collections for the Turkish wounded, I called some gentlemen to my home.

At first only the assistant rabbi Gelbhaus and Dr. Bloch came. Subject of our conversation: my article against Güdemann in the last number of Bloch's *Wochenschrift*. The article is said to have caused quite a stir. Bloch told me that he went to the Concordia Club in order to hear the views of the journalists. A financial-news gatherer in the employ of bank director Taussig declared that "such an article should not be published." The others were in favor of it, and they only regretted that I had attacked Rothschild. Bloch denied that I had meant Rothschild by "men behind the scenes." Whereupon Julius Bauer said: "Am I God for you to try to hoodwink me?"

Gelbhaus, for his part, told us about the sensation which the article had created among the Jews at the synagogue. They formed *raydlikh*, i.e., groups, in the courtyard, and all they talked about was the demolition of the Chief Rabbi. Before and after the sermon they came to Gelbhaus to tell him that Güdemann was "morally dead"; he had been convicted of being a muddlehead, in fact, of no longer standing on the soil of Judaism at all. Gelbhaus, however, spoke about Güdemann's execution without perceptible grief.

Bloch *abondait dans le même sens* [was of the same opinion] and explained to me the meaning of the defense of Güdemann's stand through quotes from the Hungarian Chief Rabbi Chorin, which was contained in the same issue of his weekly. Chorin is actually regarded as a *goy* by the pious.

And Gelbhaus said cheerfully:

"You've killed him with your opposition, but the proof of his agreement with Chorin has buried him."

Now that he was alive to the humorous aspects of the matter, Bloch told us that by reviewing Güdemann's pamphlet in the *Wochenschrift* he had only intended to goad me into a reply.

That is why he had Feilbogen, to whom he had assigned the review, emphasize that "the fourth section ought to be entitled: Dr. Güdemann contra Dr. Herzl."

Of course, I don't believe that. I am more inclined to believe that Feilbogen wanted to trip me up, and that Bloch, considering the turn in my favor which the matter seems to be taking, wishes to be on the side of the stronger.

Should I be defeated in an encounter in the near future, he will desert me.

He also casually mentioned the reason for his hatred of Güdemann. The latter had treacherously deserted him on the seminary question. And now he talked at great length about the uninteresting seminary question which agitates these gentlemen about as much as the Jewish Question agitates me. This is how through passion even the smallest matter can drive people to hate or to love.

When I asked them about Güdemann's reaction to my article, both gentlemen confessed naively that they had not been able to find out, although they had sent their wives to Güdemann to congratulate him on the Franz Josef Order which he was given three days ago.

Then came little old smart Sigmund Mayer, and we fixed the composition of the committee for the collection. This was the high point of our conversation. In the process I got to know some personalities. For in the case of each name misgivings were voiced and the men again showed with an involuntary naiveté what a low opinion they have of the "notables."

The name of a millionaire was mentioned. Mayer thought that not everyone would want to sit in his company. I asked why, because I didn't know him. None wanted to come out with it.

Gradually they made hesitant remarks which sounded like excuses for the man. They said that he had given some building credits, to be sure, but that one couldn't really say that he had practised usury. And bit by bit there emerged the portrait of a usurer, so that I laughed and said: "Now I know who the man is."

And this is how it went with others. As the committee list was put together, I learned a lot of details about a lot of people.

A veritable scene out of a comedy. For after they had been run down, they were finally co-opted into the committee after all, a committee that is supposed to create illusions for the public, and itself has no illusions.

April 27

Yesterday, at my place, the constituting session of the committee for the Turkish collection. Representatives of the Turkish-Israelite community were on hand, too. After a lot of talk it was decided that the Turkish Jews who live here shall place themselves at the head of the action and co-opt the others into it.

April 28

Letter to Mahmud Nedim Pasha:

Confidential

Your Excellency:

I beg to congratulate Your Excellency on the splendid victories of Turkish arms.

The desire of several Jewish students to attach themselves voluntarily to the armed forces of His Majesty the Sultan is a small token of the friendship and gratitude which we Jews feel for Turkey.

Here and in several other places I have organized committees to initiate collections of money for wounded Turkish soldiers. The yield of the collections will be handed over to the ambassadors of H. M. the Sultan in various countries.

Here in Vienna, the Turkish-Israelite community will at my suggestion head the action and co-opt various other persons. In this way the aspersions on the part of the anti-Semites that we are not making the collections out of humanitarianism, but in opposition to the Christians, shall be deprived of any pretext.

Nevertheless, the collection is delicate in nature, and many Jews will be afraid of taking this particular opportunity of expressing their sincere sympathies for Turkey.

In the western countries this is virtually impossible at this time, because the Jews must not make any demonstrations against their fellow citizens. Therefore, nothing may in this particular case be expected from the English and the French Jews who are of the greatest importance financially.

Yet we Jews are gladly using this opportunity to show the Turks our devotion. Under more favorable circumstances, when there are no external political hindrances, the sympathies of the Jews would be on a far grander scale—to the blessing of Turkey as well as of the Jews.

If this realization gains ground in Yildiz Kiosk, where, it seems, I have been slandered—I shall feel great satisfaction.

Enclosed are samples of the appeals which we have circulated. Appeal Number 3 I drew up for the public committee. The latter will meet again on Saturday, May 1st, and transmit an official notification to Your Excellency. The present letter is confidential information.

Begging Your Excellency to accept these expressions of my deepest respect, I am

Yours sincerely,
Dr. Th. Herzl.

May 2, my 38th birthday*

I have been to Brünn. They gave me a gala party in the Deutsches Haus which was announced on street-corner posters. I made an impromptu speech of almost an hour, and they told me it was good. In it I addressed myself to manufacturers and matrons.

• • •

On my return home I found a letter from Bambus who pulls in his horns a bit.

• • •

The collection for the Turkish wounded has been taken in hand by the local Sephardic community. The leaders impress

* Editor's Note: Herzl made a mistake here. May 2, 1897 was his 37th, not 38th, birthday.

me as being covetous of decorations, particularly President Russo. It's all right with me if they are decorated, as long as they don't denature the project and turn it to the account of their community.

• • •

Mahmud Nedim didn't answer my letter. However, I wrote the whole story to Sidney Whitman who is in Constantinople now and goes to Yildiz every day.

May 9

The Berliners "dissociate themselves from the Congress." I suspect that a Scheidian intrigue is behind this.

Bambus and Hildesheimer disavow my Congress announcement in the Berlin Jewish papers.

"Germany.

"Berlin, May 5. A few weeks ago Dr. Theodor Herzl published a preliminary announcement in Vienna, to the effect that a "Zionist Congress" is to take place on August 25 of this year in a city in Southern Germany. Among the speakers who were listed as making reports there figured also the publisher of this paper who was scheduled to speak about the subject "The Tasks of Jewish Philanthropy in Palestine." A local Jewish paper reprinted this announcement, but in its next number published the following communication from Mr. W. Bambus, himself a member of the committee entrusted with the preparation of the planned Congress:

"Deliberations are actually taking place on the convening of the big Congress which will have to occupy itself with general Jewish problems, such as the emigration of the Russian Jews, etc. Whether it will be a Zionist Congress, according to the suggestions put forward by Dr. Herzl, or, following proposals made by others, a conference of the Palestine associations, or whether

it will take a still different form, cannot be determined as yet, for the entire affair is definitely in the stage of preliminary discussion. This invalidates all inferences based on Dr. Herzl's plan.

"Since Dr. Herzl despite this continues to send out his preliminary announcement, the publisher of this paper is obliged to make the declaration that of course he has never had any intention of attending a Zionist Congress, but has held out the prospect of his presence and his participation only and solely in the event that the planned assembly would be devoted to a discussion of the manifold tasks of the Palestine aid project, particularly colonization. Apart from our point of view which is basically different, we feel we must all the more emphatically decline to participate in an assembly discussing "Zionist" theories and future plans, because we are convinced that it threatens to produce grave harm rather than the hoped-for benefits, as well as to compromise and seriously damage more obvious and realizable endeavors. The hope may still be harbored that better judgment will prevail and that the expenditure of energy and resources will be placed in the service of those tasks which are regarded as the most immediate by ourselves and even by men who basically share Dr. Herzl's point of view. Only in this event can the assembly, which has undoubtedly been planned with the best of intentions, truly bring blessings."

At the same time Landau informs me of a letter in which Hildesheimer writes him in confidence that he has to disavow me in order not to lose his prestige with his circle of donors.

• • •

My answer to Hildesheimer's knavery is in the copy book, p. 16f.

May 21

Today there comes news from the war area which leads one to expect an armistice and a peace between Turkey and Greece within the next few days. This sends our collection for the

wounded soldiers down the drain. However, I will try to salvage what can be salvaged, and I am writing to Sidney Whitman at Constantinople to tell them in Yildiz that we had started our collection.

Yesterday the vacillating Prague Rabbi Kaminka joined the Congress committee. First I gave him a good dressing-down and administered a sort of loyalty oath to him before the assembled members of the Actions Committee.

• • •

Yesterday in the closed committee meeting at the "Zion" Dr. Schnirer suddenly moved the appointment of an Executive Committee. I believe that he had discussed this proposal in advance with Prof. Kellner and Dr. Kokesch in order to relieve me of "one-man rule." However, I was delighted, because they are only going to lighten my work load, provided that this is more than committeemanship. Schnirer, Kellner, Kokesch, Steiner, Kremenezky, Seidener are friends of mine on whom I gladly lean. If I had anything against them up to now, it was the fact that they did not help me out more. Their volunteering for work now is welcome to me. Incidentally, at the same time they recognized me as president of the party.

• • •

Later on I asked whether I should take steps to get an official delegate or an observer of the Sultan sent to the Congress. They all beamed and gladly agreed.

May 12

Several circumstances—Hildesheimer's attack; the acquisition of a local Monday sheet by the Zionists Kohn and Rappaport, who that same instant broke with us; finally, the humiliation of being dependent for every little notice or correction on Bloch's good graces—make the founding of our own organ a necessity that can be deferred no longer.

I asked Dr. Landau what his estimate of the editorial costs would be. He made a tabulation in which he figures with 50 guilders a month. Then I got Heinrich Steiner to make an estimate of the production costs for me. Steiner calculates them at 11,000 guilders a year. After that I also asked my father whether he agreed, and when he replied in the affirmative, I decided to create the paper which has been talked about so often in the past year-and-a-half and for which the funds could never be raised.

I saw everything clearly right away—except for the name.

May 13

Informed Prof. Kellner and Dr. Kokesch of my decision last night. They were surprised. Kellner said: "You astound people by the speed of your march—a veritable Moltke."

The gentlemen wanted to begin by calling a committee meeting. I proposed to Kellner that he join the paper as publisher or responsible manager. He declined the risk in view of his position. Kokesch said he was willing to act as publisher.

Overnight the name for the paper occurred to me: *Die Welt*, with a *Mogen Dovid* [Star of David], inside which a globe should be drawn, with Palestine as the central point.

Landau came and suddenly raised his demands when he saw that the paper for which he had begged me for a year-and-a-half was about to come into being. He said he had to "charge for lost time, loss of other income, etc." Thereupon I invited him to formulate his demands in writing. In the afternoon he brought a document in which, in addition to fixed salary of 50 guilders—which, after all, would be modest—he demanded 20% of the net profits. Steiner, whom I had offered a share in the net profits, had declined and also advised me to refuse Landau's request, since, after all, it is my intention to use any profits for the expansion of publicity.

In the afternoon Kellner, Steiner, Schnirer, Kokesch, and Landau got together at my home. Steiner brought along a charm-

ing sketch for a masthead: *Die* ✡ *Welt* [The World], which won general approval.

Incidentally, strangely enough, a current of opposition to the paper seemed to be stirring among the gentlemen. At first it was not expressed; I merely sensed it. Kellner spoke against starting the paper, calling it premature.

Schnirer recommended that we go ahead.

Steiner thought it should perhaps be preceded by a "tour of the synagogues" and by enlisting subscribers in the various countries.

I pointed out that months ago I had suggested that we go ahead and get subscribers, thus making sure of having a basis for the organ of the movement which everyone desired so urgently. This had not been done any more than other things I had recommended, unless I had done them myself. Therefore I decided simply to create the paper myself, with my money and my labor.

Thereupon the gentlemen, who a moment before had still expected too little, changed over to excessive expectations at one bound. Kellner chewed over the idea a bit that I, as the entrepreneur, could very well put my labor into the paper gratis, whereas others would have to put themselves on a paid basis.

After that I begged the gentlemen to enter into a relation of co-ownership with the paper by investing in it either money or labor. None of them wanted to give money; but Kellner promised to contribute his work in return for a share in the profits, and with this I was quite content.

May 15

Kellner has begged off. He must shortly go to England for ten weeks. Accordingly, to my regret, his co-editorship is now out of the question. The whole burden will rest on me.

Last night we drew up the format of the paper. I sketched the layout, column by column; Kellner, Landau, and Steiner listened to me, I believe, with astonishment. Kellner and Landau

suggested this and that. Following Kellner's advice it would become a somewhat scholarly paper of Anglo-Jewish-German complexion. Following Landau's advice, *Die Welt* would be a polemical paper with a predominantly Galician outlook. I believe it ought to be a dignified paper with appeal to universal Jewry.

I suggested that Kellner write a series of literary profiles of representative exponents of the Zionist idea: Disraeli, G. Eliot, Moses Hess, etc.

He took up the idea enthusiastically and will begin with Disraeli in the first issue. I promised him to have the entire series—which he would probably have been unable to place anywhere else in view of present-day conditions in the newspaper world—issued later in book form by the *Welt* publishing house. I shall pay for his articles at the same rate as the *N. Fr. Pr.* For Zionists must be the last people from whom the paper accepts free gifts. If it prospers, people will tell all sorts of stories about me anyway—especially those who couldn't make up their minds to make any sacrifice.

Landau immediately asked for a "raise" to 75 guilders a month. Granted.

May 16

The preliminary work on the paper. Correspondence, organization, everything to be done from scratch.

May 18

Also, that atmosphere of conflict at the office again, something that doesn't make my heart any stronger.

May 19

An excellent letter from Sidney Whitman at Constantinople. He can make both head and tail of it now and wants to submit the matter to the Sultan himself. He has the Sultan's seal; letters sealed with it are immediately handed to the Sultan.

S. Whitman expects us to safeguard his future in return for his services. He deserves that, and I am promising it to him in a letter which the grateful Jews will honor some day. I can no more promise a sum of money to him than I can to Newlinski. But both will get thanks from the Jews in as magnificent a manner as the work is magnificent.

May 20

Another letter from Sidney Whitman. He has interested Ahmed Midhat Efendi, the Sultan's favorite, in the matter. Ahmed Midhat thinks we should proceed *yavash* [slowly] and not ask for too much, lest the Sultan say No immediately. In particular we must not use the word "autonomy," because it has already involved Turkey in many wars. I should write my letter in French, so that it could be submitted to the Sultan.

Accordingly, today I am writing Whitman a letter promising him a reward (in German, in the copy book), and the following French one for showing around:

My dear Friend:*

I am writing you today on the stationery of a new paper, a weekly, but of high quality, which we are starting for the needs of the cause. *Die Welt* will appear on June 4, 1897. In this journal we mean to give Turkey, so to speak, an earnest of our profound sympathies. You may tell Ahmed Midhat Effendi that we shall publish in it, with pleasure and, of course, absolutely impartially, communications and news which may be useful to the Sultan's government.

This is a step on the road toward setting in motion the influence of the Jewish press for the benefit of Turkey. We shall continue, provided our efforts are encouraged by sympathy accorded to the Jewish cause.

An effort which I made in accordance with your suggestion to come to the aid of the wounded soldiers came too late—I don't want to say "unfortunately." For the victories of the Turkish

* In French in the original.

arms have rather quickly made this subscription pointless. Since the political situation in England and in France did not permit the Jews of those countries to express their sympathies—which really exist—to the Turks in this situation, we have had to confine ourselves to establishing committees in Germany, Austria, and Hungary, and asking our friends in other countries to give their aid in whatever way was possible.

Besides, this was only an incident of lesser importance in the Jewish project which I am pursuing. I very much fear that people in Yildiz Kiosk are incorrectly informed about the nature and the scope of the Jewish plan. Enemies, intriguers, have perhaps changed the appearance of things.

What we want to do is conceived, I admit, in the interest of the Jewish people, but it will serve superlatively for the prolongation, the restoration, of the vital forces of the Ottoman Empire.

First of all, my book on the Jewish State should not be taken as the definitive form of the project; I am the first to admit that there is a lot of ideology in it. A simple writer, I launched the idea without knowing how it would be received by the Jewish people. The best proof of this is that I suggested we settle either in *Argentina* or in *Palestine*.

But since that publication the neo-Jewish movement has taken on an entirely different complexion, and it has become practical and practicable. We take circumstances into consideration, we want to conduct ourselves well politically, sincerely and efficiently.

Here is the situation in a few words:

If H. M. the Sultan grants us the conditions indispensable for the settlement of our people in Palestine, we will gradually introduce order and prosperity into the finances of the Empire.

Once this principle is accepted, both sides will gladly listen to the details.

Those who desire the weakening and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire are the more or less avowed enemies of our plan; that is easy to understand.

Those who wish to bleed Turkey white by means of usurious loans are equally the enemies of our project. For the government of H. M. would regain control of the country's resources; and that country would be a resurgent one.

These are not empty words, and H. M. the Sultan will have an opportunity to be convinced of that if he will do us the honor of sending a delegate to the Zionist Congress which will take place in Munich on August 25, 26, and 27, 1897.

H. M.'s delegate could attend all of our deliberations, and by this alone we would be willing to give him a striking proof of compliance.

But—and this point must be stressed—we do not wish to have our people immigrate into Palestine without first completing the arrangement with the Turkish government.

It is true that our people are miserable in various countries, but just the same we do not wish to exchange the present condition of unhappiness for uncertainty.

The situation must be free and clear.

And now I come to your questions:

The immigrant Jews in Palestine would become subjects of H. M. the Sultan on condition of an absolutely guaranteed *self-protection.**

The necessary land purchases would be made entirely without constraint. It cannot be a question of "dispossessing" anyone at all. Ownership is a private right and cannot be violated. The Sultan's private domains could be paid for in cash according to their value, if he desires to sell.

As regards the question of "people's rights" in the arrangement, the equivalent produced by the Jews would be an annual tribute paid to His Majesty.

We would start with a tribute of a hundred thousand pounds, for instance, which would increase proportionally to the immigration up to one million pounds annually.

On this tribute we could immediately procure a loan adjusted to the annuity. The tribute would be guaranteed by the great

* In English in the original.

funds in existence about which I have spoken to you on several occasions.

I do not want to repeat again what I have already told you so often, my dear friend—namely, that the solution of the Jewish Question also involves the consolidation of Turkey. The energy and importance of the Jews in commerce and in finance are well known. It is a river of gold, of progress, of vitality which the Sultan will admit into his Empire with the Jews, who since the Middle Ages have always been the grateful friends of the Turks.

And with the straightening out of the finances, no more intervention of the Powers under false pretenses, no more "public debt," no more "leeches."

Will the scope, the usefulness, of our project be understood in Constantinople? Let us hope so.

For the time being I ask nothing better than to prove to H. M. the Sultan that all this is motivated by the best of intentions.

It is unnecessary to remind you of the confidential nature of this letter. You, who are such a devoted friend of the Turks, will understand how important it is not to give warning to false friends who would like to thwart a project beneficial to Turkey.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,
Th. Herzl.

May 23

The movement is beginning in America.

Michael Singer, editor of a new weekly, *Toleranz*, sends me reports about meetings in New York, etc.

A conference of rabbis, with Dr. Gottheil at its head, has come out in favor of our movement.

On May 10 the *New York Sun* published articles about Zionism.

When I showed the *Sun* column to Benedikt yesterday, he said benevolently: "You are driving the whole world crazy. A real Pied Piper of Hamelin."

I replied: "I shall have my revenge on you when you are obliged to get the report about the Munich Congress from the *Kölnische Zeitung*, after you have had the opportunity for a year-and-a-half of being the best informed of all."

To which he rejoined:

"No. On August 26 our paper will simply carry a dispatch from Munich."

And these casual words, which he is more likely to stick to than his promises—because he has to, because the paper must not "fall behind"—this brief declaration already betokens, unless I am mistaken, my victory over the *N. Fr. Pr.* The victory may be wrested from me repeatedly between now and August—yesterday I held it in my hands.

May 23

Today "Pater Paulus" Tischmann came to see me. Curious figure from the outposts of religion. An unkempt-looking little Jew with a heavy Polish-Jewish accent, until a short time ago a Catholic clergyman. He told me how at the age of 15 he was seized, baptized, and later ordained, how he could not stand it in the long run and uttered blasphemy from the pulpit in Transylvania. He was arraigned and, after he had returned to the Jewish faith, acquitted. A character out of a novel. Now he is again auditing rabbinical sermons. I think he is doing a little *shnorring* [begging], too. I gave him a trifle. Curious that he probably gets no thanks from the Jews for his "return." Formerly, under the crosier, he did all right.

Nevertheless, he says with shining eyes: "But I have the inner satisfaction."

This is the most expensive of all pleasures, as I well know.

• • •

Haas writes that people in America want me to make a "lecture tour" on the other side.

May 26

I am working on the new paper to the point of exhaustion, of breakdown.

• • •

Two subscribers have turned up. To the many hundreds of announcements of the *Welt* which have been distributed, only three written replies in all have come in so far.

My close party friends believe it will be a failure.

• • •

Constantinople, May 24, 1897

Private.

Dear Friend:

As is my custom, I am acknowledging by return mail receipt of your kind letter of the 20th of this month.

I shall immediately read the contents to Ahmed Midhat and invite him to write something for the *Welt*.

Incidentally, the indications increase that I shall see the Sultan *himself* and be able to speak to him about the matter. I find your presentation very clear and convincing. More later.

In haste,

Yours,
Sidney Whitman.

P.S. Since writing the above I have been to see Midhat; I read him your letter and shall make a copy for him. He is very favorably disposed toward the matter and wants to devote himself to it *body and soul,* with the express stipulation that he will never accept a penny for his services. The two of us drew up a plan of action, and it is possible that I shall make the first communications to the Sultan even before my departure. The rest will develop. A delegate shall be sent to the Munich Congress, or Midhat's influence as well as mine is zero.

S. W.

Entre nous, Rothschilds in Vienna have contributed 500 guilders for the wounded soldiers.

I am going to tell the Sultan about the *Welt* in person.

Some time ago there was talk that the Sultan intended to name A. Midhat as Grand Vizier!

May 27

Received a check from Zadoc Kahn in the amount of 1000 francs for the Turkish wounded. I am sending the check to Ambassador Mahmud Nedim, and Zadoc's letter to Sidney Whitman in Constantinople. At the same time I am writing Sidney to tell the Sultan that I am ready to come to Constantinople after Pentecost.

May 30

In the last few days I balanced two difficulties against each other, which is, I believe, the best conceivable policy—provided it works out.

The case in itself was insignificant; but still, my prestige with the Turks was at stake.

The young medical students, who under Schalit's leadership had offered to leave for the theater of war as volunteer physicians, received permission in a letter from Mahmud Nedim, the local ambassador. Then it turned out that they had promised too much, for they were unable to go. They had no money.

On the other hand, the Turkish-Israelite collection committee for the wounded soldiers had raised only a ridiculously small sum—800 guilders—which they were ashamed of turning in.

Then I had the idea of giving the 800 guilders to the doctors: "The committee is sending off a medical expedition at its expense." That looks like something.

To my surprise the committee people understood the proposal.

May 31

Tremendous labor over the paper. Dr. Landau has been called up for his military training; Schalit, whom I had drilled as my assistant, is going to Elasona. So from the outset the whole paper stands on my two legs.

• • •

Kellner, Schnirer, and Kokesch address a joint letter to me in which they request the omission from the first issue of an item objectionable to the coal-Gutmanns (concerning their appeal against the Jewish Community Tax). They give no further reasons for this request. I am going to accede to it—but of course I shall not be able to put up with this editing by committees.

June 2

Day before yesterday and yesterday I constructed *Die ✡ Welt.* Nothing at all existed. Today there is a paper with a distinct physiognomy.

Read all the proofs, even the "advertisements"; I made up all the columns. That is to say, there weren't any advertisements. At the last moment I telephoned Kremenezky and asked him for an unpaid advertisement. He wasn't able to insert it, because he is negotiating with the municipality of Vienna.

In the evening, at the "Zion," an advertisement was brought in from a Mariahilf clothing merchant.

I have enjoyed toiling to set up the paper.

At six o'clock last evening the first copy of the *Welt* came off the press. I am dedicating it to my dear parents.

June 6, at night

Die ✡ Welt is out. I am utterly exhausted. I am going to remember this Pentecost week of 1897. In addition to work on the *Welt,* also induce the mood for a Whitsuntide *feuilleton* for the *N. Fr. Pr.* On top of that, the excitement in the office that any

moment now there has to be a row and a break with Benedikt on account of the *Welt*.

A number of times I was on the point of informing him of the *fait accompli* at least. He now frequently takes me home from the office in his carriage. This would provide the best opportunity to talk about everything. But I finally decided on simply sending a paid advertisement to the *N. Fr. Pr.* The advertisement was run by our business office.

June 8

This is where I fell asleep from fatigue the night before last.

The business office of the *N. Fr. Pr.* accepted the advertisement "reluctantly," as my business office was informed by telephone. The insertion of an item in the text part of the *N. Fr. Pr.* was refused for "political reasons."

I didn't really care about getting the item into the paper. I just wanted to send Benedikt a *faire part* [announcement] of the appearance of the *Welt*, one to which he could not respond with a veto. That is why I chose the financial course. A half-page in the advertising section of the *N. Fr. Pr.* costs 75 guilders. There was some probability that Benedikt would not refuse this amount.

And thus the *Welt* was advertised in the pages of the *N. Fr. Pr.*

On the Saturday before Pentecost, June 5, Benedikt looked at me with mighty curious eyes. We associated with each other at the office as usual, but there already were two business offices between us. I believe he would have liked to have a real showdown with me, but at that moment he was dependent on me: I had not yet handed in my Pentecost *feuilleton*, and he urgently needed it for the Pentecost issue.

• • •

On Whit-Sunday, the day before yesterday, there appeared in the semi-official *Reichswehr* a ferocious second editorial in opposition to the *Welt* under the title "Benedictus I, King of Zion."

In it Benedikt is treated as a Zionist. I think he is going to hit the ceiling with rage.

When I go to the office today, I must again, perhaps for the last time, get ready to do battle. The showdown is due today. I don't know how it will end. Shall I perhaps be dismissed from the *N. Fr. Pr.* within the next twenty-four hours, before I have filled the pages of this notebook?

• • •

I face this possibility with composure. My heart is pounding, to be sure, but this is only a weakness of the muscle, not of my will.

Should the *N. Fr. Pr.* drive me out, I shall have lost my position, which I acquired through twenty years of hard work, in a manner of which I need not be ashamed either.

• • •

The English "Headquarters" of the Hovevei Zion have officially dissociated themselves from the Munich Congress and announced this in a dry, malicious notice. The *Jewish Chronicle* carried this announcement on June 4.*

"The Proposed Zionist Conference at Munich.

"A meeting of Headquarters Tent of the Hovevei Zion Association was held on Monday last, the Chief, Colonel Goldsmid, presiding. It was resolved that the Association should take no part in, nor send any delegates to, the Congress convened by Dr. Herzl, which is to meet at Munich in August next."

• • •

At the same time Hildesheimer belittles the American movement. "Probably only a small number of inconsequential groups from America will participate in the Congress."

June 8

First round of the duel with Benedikt.

Today he asked me *à brûle pourpoint* [point-blank], when I

* Original text.

came into the reading room somewhat uneasily in order to discuss the daily *feuilleton* and while he was washing his face as always after completion of the evening edition:

"Did you talk with Bacher about the *Welt*?"

"No," I said, ready to fight.

He answered: "That is very unwelcome to us."

"On account of the article in the *Reichswehr*?" I asked.

"No, I only read the article today; it didn't bother me. But I was furious when I saw the advertisement in our Pentecost number. It shouldn't even have got into the paper. It is the list of our contributors."

I shrugged my shoulders and walked up and down the room.

He wiped his face. "You put us in an embarrassing position."

I said in a loud voice: "The article in the *Reichswehr* is full of the dirtiest lies."

At that point Goldbaum came into the room—I think he had been eavesdropping—and the conversation was broken off. We talked about commonplace things.

June 9

Second round. Today at noon Benedikt started in again:

"We have to speak some more about the *Welt*. Up to now it has been the custom in our house that anyone who wishes to participate in some enterprise notifies the editors of it."

I said: "I've also written for the *Zeit*."

He said: "We were on good terms with the *Zeit*. But even then I discussed the permissibility of your action with Bacher. Now you have taken our entire list of contributors into the preliminary announcement of the *Welt*."

I changed the subject: "Do you know what an intelligent person said about the article in the *Reichswehr*?

" 'The author of the article knew very well that Benedikt is an opponent of Zionism. He only wanted to sow dissension between Benedikt and Herzl.' "

He replied: "I think so too. They wanted to bring about dis-

sension within the *N. Fr. Pr.* All I ask of you, if our friendly relationship is to be maintained, is not to jeopardize us any further. In particular you must not publish that list of contributors any more."

I promised to do all I could in this regard—and we parted friends. He took me home in his carriage.

June 10, 7th birthday of my Hans*

At this point I close this fourth book of my history of the Jewish State.

I will now deposit the books in a safe place.

This moment marks a chapter anyway; this book won't take much more, and I shall make a red-letter date of the birthday of my good Hans who, I pray, may grow up healthy and happy, a strong man, and continue my work.

* Editor's Note: Mistaken entry. June 10, 1897 was the *sixth* birthday of Herzl's son Hans.

Book Five

Begun on June 11, 1897

Vienna, June 11, 1897

Benedikt is more amiable toward me now than ever before. Is he overcome, or is he preparing something?

• • •

Sidney Whitman is back from Constantinople. He didn't see the Sultan, and I think he didn't accomplish anything else for us either. He only seems to have established contact between Midhat Efendi and me. He thinks I ought to write Midhat directly.

While passing through Bucharest, S. W. spoke with Prime Minister Stourdza about Zionism. The interview is going to appear in the *New York Herald*. Stourdza again expressed himself favorably about our idea.

June 15

I am writing to Ahmed Midhat Efendi:*

Your Excellency:

My friend, Mr. Sidney Whitman, who is passing through Vienna, has told me to address Your Excellency directly on a matter with which you are already acquainted.

I am so busy that this first contact which I have the honor of making with you must be quite brief. Whitman has told me so much about the loftiness of your political views that it will strike me as a great good fortune for the cause to which I am devoted if I have a chance of establishing and maintaining contact with you.

I am deeply convinced that the Jewish action will contribute to Turkey's health, to her *financial* liberation, to the regaining of all her vital forces.

I am taking the liberty of sending you the journal *Die Welt* in which we wish to be of service to you.

* In French in the original.

I am placing this organ at your disposal, naturally in a wholly disinterested fashion. And I should very much like H. M. the Sultan to know this.

All that you may send in will be published immediately, since this will never be in conflict with the loyalty we have to our country Austria and our sovereign, Emperor Franz Josef.

With assurances of my high esteem, I remain

Your Excellency's devoted
Th. H.

June 16

The Munich Jewish Community protests against the meeting of the Congress.

The first letter from their Executive crossed mine; the second came afterwards.

The discussion of them and the letters themselves will appear in the *Welt*, so I am not recording them here. I believe that this incident will greatly benefit the Congress. A general discussion will flare up, and we shall shift the assembly from Munich, which is not suitable, to Zurich, which is.

June 16

In today's morning edition of Schönerer's *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* there is a hard attack on the *Neue Freie Presse* on account of the *Welt*. In the reading room at the office there was a copy of the *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* slashed with blue marks. A few colleagues greeted me frostily, like a favorite fallen from favor.

Benedikt sent the *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* to my room by a messenger.

A quarter of an hour afterwards I went to see him, again ready for battle, even though quite nervous.

Benedikt was very calm.

I told him: "I've read the article. It is very displeasing."

He: "The *Welt* is a great embarrassment to us. The best thing would be if it ceased publication."

I said: "That can't be done."

He: "We'll talk about it. You see that I am dealing with it quite calmly and objectively."

I: "Even before the appearance of the *Welt,* the anti-Semites poured buckets of manure over the *N. Fr. Pr.* As far as I am concerned, I certainly don't want to cause embarrassment to the *N. Fr. Pr.* I am devoted to the paper. After all, I have put part of my life and health into the *N. Fr. Pr.*"

I spoke firmly and calmly. He saw that I was prepared for a break. We were interrupted by a telephone call. I left the room. When I returned half an hour later, he did not resume our conversation. He gave me an article by Sir Charles Dilke about Queen Victoria to translate. He said he didn't want to give it to Mrs. Wirth for translation, because he had no confidence in her; she might divulge it prematurely.

He has confidence in me, then? Is this attitude of Benedikt's a weakness, or does he have something up his sleeve?

If he is weak, he would have to hide it better.

Had he kept silent, not mentioned the *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* at all, but treated me icily, I would probably have been badly shaken.

Men don't reproach, they demolish.

June 17

Since the Munich Jewish Community is protesting against holding the Congress, we decided in the Actions Committee today to transfer the Congress to Basel, possibly to Zurich. First I am to inquire of the Bavarian government through Wrede whether it has any objection to the Congress. I am sending the following letter to Wrede to be forwarded to Minister Crailsheim:

Your Excellency:

As chairman of the Committee on Arrangements for the Zionist Congress which has been called for August 25 at Munich I

beg to inquire most respectfully whether the Royal Bavarian government is willing to accord the Congress its friendly toleration. I have expressed myself on the purpose of the Congress in an editorial in *Die Welt* which I take the liberty of enclosing herewith for your information. Only those persons will be able to attend the Congress who have registered by August 15 and have received a ticket of admission to the—closed—meeting.

Zionism aims at solving the Jewish Question in a peaceful manner—namely, through the settling of Palestine with Jews, with the consent of the Powers, after an understanding has been reached with the Imperial Turkish Government.

Zionism is, of course, an entirely lawful movement, and it wishes to pursue its humanitarian goals only under the benevolent supervision of the governments. The committee which is working on the arrangements includes a number of German citizens.

With the expression of my profound respect, I remain, Your Excellency,

Dr. Th. H.

June 18

Today another round in my duel with Benedikt. He had a second, Schütz. I had been noticing for several days that Schütz was treating me as a fallen favorite. Today, when I entered Benedikt's room, I saw by the break in the conversation that they had been discussing me.

After a few remarks on editorial matters, Benedikt opened fire. He said he had spoken to Schütz about the *Welt*, and Schütz "shares my opinion." Schütz confirmed this, even though evidently less vigorously than he had done in my absence.

Benedikt summed it up this way: The *Welt* must fold, or I must dissociate myself from it. He himself wanted to help me find a way in which my prestige would not suffer. (He reminded me of his offer in the case of *The Jewish State* to help me make the book less objectionable during his vacation.)

He begged me urgently, most urgently (and the threat looked out of his eyes) to give up the *Welt*. He said he was not speaking as an editor to a co-worker, but as one friend to another. Naturally he was concerned that the *N. Fr. Pr.* should suffer no harm, but for the moment he wished to speak only in my own interest. It was a pity about me. I was ruining myself.

Schütz seconded him: he had heard that agitation against me was about to start.

I said: "I'm not afraid."

Benedikt sought, as a friend, to talk me out of my "obstinacy." Then a threat: I could not go on my vacation until I had given him a final answer, that is to say, stopped the publication of the *Welt*. Then a promise: he guaranteed I would not regret it if I acceded to his wish. (I know all that by now: his requests, his threats, his promises.) He also said that I must not play a prominent part at the Congress, I must not come to the fore. And after these sharp attacks, after he had tried to work on me with all the pressure of his superior position, he added so naively that the greatest mockery could not have made it any worse: "I certainly don't want to exert pressure on your conscience—only, you mustn't do anything to the extent that it can be injurious to the *N. Fr. Pr.*"

And these people wax indignant in editorials whenever a minister restricts the freedom of opinion of his officials.

Of course I remained inflexible. When I was leaving, Benedikt asked Schütz (who told it to me later) behind my back and anxiously whether he had not been too gruff with me.

June 19

Schütz, the man of the *bons offices* [good offices], came to see me. We walked to the office together. I complained bitterly about Benedikt who, I said, was exerting pressure upon my conscience. I could stand this only up to a certain point; and, after all, Benedikt's friends would rejoice if I left the *N. Fr. Pr.*

Schütz must immediately have passed this on to Benedikt.

The effect: an enchanting smile from Benedikt when I came into his room. He was amiability personified, insisted that I have dinner with him, and didn't say another word about the *Welt.*

Still, I'm on my guard.

I think Benedikt only used the attacks of the anti-Semites as a pretext, because he is afraid of the independence which I am to gain through the *Welt.*

June 20

Had supper yesterday with Széchényi Pasha and his wife.

She, a Levantine, is on intimate terms with the Sultan's sister.

I won him and her over to my cause, let it peep out that Széchényi could make some money on it. He liked the idea of it, and said I should send him a memorandum of the matter which he would submit to the Sultan.

June 22

Yesterday a day of great worry. The students had called a rally "to take a stand on the Munich Congress."

This rally was prohibited by the police. I had to exert every effort to get the prohibition lifted. It would demoralize our people. In other ways, too, it could have a very bad effect. Our movement would get the false appearance of being dangerous to the state.

Today I shall send Dr. Landau to the office of the president of the Cabinet Council. There he is to ask whether they intend to force the *Welt,* too, into becoming an organ for exposés and fighting, like the *Zeit.*

Fight your battles with a hatchet man!

June 23

Yesterday another big row with Benedikt. He came into my room, first talked about general and editorial matters, then closed the door and came to speak about the *Welt.*

He was more urgent than previously. The *Welt* must fold.

I am to turn it into a news agency or discontinue it, and the party should issue it in another city, at some other time.

I listened quietly, made no answer.

He begged me: "Be a *bon garçon* [good boy]! Don't be stubborn. *Soyez bon prince* [Be a good prince]! What are you getting out of the *Welt?* You are harming yourself! I feel sorry for you. In the *N. Fr. Pr.* you can really go places. Do I need to spell it out for you? You see the perspective as well as I do. You can go to the top with us. This way, however, you are causing us the greatest embarrassment. We can't stand there as a Jewish sheet. Especially now, when for the first time in six years there is a rapprochement again between the German-Nationals and ourselves (fight over the language ordinances), you start that stuff. I am (still!) speaking with you not as the editor, but as a personal friend. Give it up, and it won't be to your disadvantage."

I only kept silent. He looked at me with the greatest excitement. He begged, promised, threatened.

Finally I said to him: "You are not well informed about the mood of the public.

"Your readers wouldn't object if you wrote about Zionism. You've become too much of a newspaper baron, you have too many people who want favors from you; people tell you what you want to hear, and you don't hear the truth any more."

I finally asked for time to think it over, and we left the office together.

It is clear to me that the break with the *N. Fr. Pr.* is imminent in the next few days.

In the evening I informed the Actions Committee of my difficulties with the *N. Fr. Pr.* on account of the *Welt.*

June 24

On the train. *En route* to Ischl.

At the station in Linz I just saw Bacher, who evidently is coming from Carlsbad and also going to Ischl. Since I have had enough excitement with Benedikt in Vienna in recent days, I avoided Bacher, pretended not to have seen him, and quickly

entered my compartment again. Perhaps he did not notice me. In Ischl we shall probably run into each other anyway and probably have an argument. The state of my nerves, to be sure, makes me wish not to have any exciting discussions now.

• • •

Yesterday was an interesting day. I had decided to ask Benedikt for leave, in order to put a stop to this daily strain on my heart in those excited conversations with him.

Riding my bicycle to the office yesterday, I said to myself: this is probably the last time I am going to the *Neue Freie Presse* which has been the object of such ardent efforts on my part over so many years. These serious differences must finally lead to my withdrawal, because I can't possibly accede to Benedikt's demand, namely, to discontinue the *Welt*.

And, strangely enough, at the thought of leaving this much-envied position on the *N. Fr. Pr.*, the recognized top literary post in Vienna, I felt a sort of graduate's relief. I had a similar feeling when I left school.

I further thought to myself: this is what death must be like. The only painful thing—more painful psychically than physically—is probably the agony. Death itself may really be a relief to the dying man.

Then I quite cheerfully packed my *feuilleton* files, put things in order, just as a good housewife hangs up her bunch of keys before she lies down, feeling death coming. Nevertheless, I realize clearly now as before that with my departure from the *N. Fr. Pr.*, overnight I could become a has-been.

The last conversation with Benedikt took a calmer course than I had thought. I told him:

"With your consent I want to go on leave now. I am now acquainted with your point of view in the matter of the *Welt*, and I shall write you my answer by the first of July."

He quickly answered: "Don't write to me! I am convinced that you will obey me. I am speaking as your true friend—of

course, in my interest as well, but not without considering yours. You do yourself harm when you come forward as a Jew."

I said: "Harm? One can harm oneself only by committing some rascality."

He cried: "Certainly the two of us don't need to talk about character. No one is going to say or believe anything like that about you."

I concluded: "So I am going on leave now. I shall send you *feuilletons*. I haven't been able to do any work here. These conversations with you have excited me too much."

He replied: "Me, too! So you are heeding my friendly advice. You'll promise me that you'll give up the *Welt*, won't you?"

However, I didn't promise him anything, but only shook my head mutely.

Nevertheless, we parted "as friends."

• • •

In the afternoon Bloch telephoned Steiner and requested a talk. Steiner should propose a "peace treaty" to me. Bloch is afraid that his *Wochenschrift* could be ruined and is prepared to merge with the *Welt*. He begs for peace. He wants to join Zionism; all he asks is to be kept alive.

He wants to place his paper completely at the disposal of our party. We are to appoint the editors, he will pay them. Or we should make the *Welt* a supplement to the *Wochenschrift*.

Naturally I am rejecting this belated proposal. I am only letting him formulate this so precisely so that later we will be able to rub his nose in his filth when he attacks us in the pay of the rich Jews.

Bloch's proposal is the first instance of lightning panic, such as we shall probably see repeatedly on our way.

• • •

The rally of the Zionist students, which was prohibited the day before yesterday, could have done us great harm among the cowardly philistines.

It was an unfavorable wind; I hastened to bring our boat in front of the wind again by hoisting the sails differently. The prohibition of Zionist meetings could kill our movement. Today it is still too weak to resist. Then, too, I was worried that the Zionist Federation could be dissolved following denunciations on the part of Community Jews.

That is why I sent Landau to the office of the president of the Cabinet Council and had him demand something *impossible:* permission for the prohibited rally. That, I knew, we would not get—but we would explore the feeling for or against us, and precisely through the immodesty of a request for a special privilege give ourselves the appearance of people who have a right to make demands.

And this is what happened, if I am correctly informed by Landau. He received the friendliest assurances from Dr. Rosner (the "niece of the coalition"), and Badeni gave permission to hold a meeting with the prohibited agenda, provided that it was not convened by students.

At the same time, Badeni took cognizance through Rosner of the anti-Socialist *Welt*, and Government Councilor Wohl in the office of the Chief of Police was pop-eyed when Landau transmitted to him the "hint from the top."

In politics one must use difficulties for getting ahead.

July 22

Again on the train, once more *en route* to Ischl. In the weeks that have passed I haven't had a moment to make entries in this new "Log-book of the Mayflower," as the correspondent of the London *Pall Mall Gazette* called it when he interviewed me yesterday at Reichenau about the Congress and Zionism.

I can't even remember any more all that I neglected to record. The time is past when I was able to note down the little crises of the day. The *Welt* will have to come to the aid of my memory at some future date when I write my memoirs. The *Welt* is giving me a tremendous amount of work.

The most interesting thing since my last train-entry was the necessary shifting of the Congress from Munich to Basel. I did not like the idea of going to Munich, which had from the outset seemed unsuitable to me and which I had accepted only in deference to the majority of the "Committee on Arrangements." Therefore I utilized the pitiful patriotic protests of the Munich Community chiefs to transfer the Congress to Switzerland.

Basel was chosen after a survey made by our stalwart new collaborator, Dr. Farbstein of Zurich.

However, despite this I asked Prince Wrede to address a confidential inquiry to the Bavarian government as to whether it would have had anything against the Congress. Minister Feilitsch confidentially replied to Wrede that the government had no objections to the Congress (*scil.*, did not favor it either).

• • •

I received a letter from Newlinski at Etretat that had a more favorable tone. He had probably lost interest in the movement. The Congress seems to make an impression on him. He declares again that he has never ceased "serving the sacred cause and its prophet."

• • •

At last a fine letter from Széchényi Pasha at Constantinople, in response to the outline (contained in the copy book) which I sent him.

My project is again being discussed in Yildiz Kiosk. That alone is worth something.

• • •

What else of an "intimate" nature ought to be recorded *pro futuro* [for the future]?

The other day Dr. Kokesch was deeply hurt because in the agenda (which I made) of the Congress (which I am making) of the Zionists (whom I am making) I did not include a change proposed by the "Committee on Arrangements" (which doesn't

do a thing). He said: "We are not merely the privy council of an absolute monarch."

Ischl, July 29

Another letter from Széchényi Pasha. He writes that the first favorite, whom he had already won for the proposal and who was supposed to put it before the Sultan along with the prayer rug, had then changed his mind again. Thereupon he had turned to another favorite who was "even more influential" and would perhaps do it.

I am writing him today that he should just persevere and try to create a *courant d'opinion* [current of opinion]: tossed-off remarks—"that would be the best solution of all difficulties," and the like—could have a great effect. My friends and I would never forget his services.

Vienna, August 14

Work on the Congress and on the *Welt* in addition to the *Neue Freie Presse* is now exhausting all my strength, so that I can't even muster the energy to make entries in this log-book of the new Mayflower.

I had been prepared for a collision with Bacher upon returning from my vacation. However, he kept silent, and the day before yesterday he even jokingly drew my attention to an editorial in the *Deutsche Zeitung* about the Zionist Congress. He may be waiting for Benedikt's return to settle the *Welt* problem. Perhaps the row will come when I try to leave again the end of this week.

• • •

The Zionists of business and philanthropy are coming round to me again, having realized that they cannot frustrate the Congress.

Bambus is said to have the intention of coming to Basel. He won't get a membership card. Little Dr. Kohn, of the "Group

Kohn-Rapoport," also known as Group Korah, who tried to bring about a split among the Zionists in Vienna, has made application for membership. He gets a journalist's card, at the most. Colonel Goldsmid writes me a letter oozing with friendship. I am answering that he should still come, otherwise he would be eliminated from the nationalist movement forever; I will build him a golden bridge. Finally, Scheid, the intriguer, the man of mismanagement, is coming to Vienna one of these days—allegedly on account of the "wine business"; however, I am convinced that he is doing it because he wants to get closer to me out of fear of the Congress. At the same time he took out a year's subscription to the *Welt* and luxuriously paid 20 francs instead of 17 for it. The excess shall be returned to him together with an ironic remark.

• • •

Newlinski is coming to Basel in order to report to the Sultan. In his letters from Etretat he claims to have instructions to this effect. I am pretending to believe it. Obviously he only wants to see if there is anything to the whole business.

N. writes there is a chance that the Sultan will reply to our telegram of greeting. A subsequent letter says again that difficulties have cropped up. Consequently the whole thing was not true. But Newlinski can be useful to me in Constantinople just the same.

Je vais le soigner [I am going to nurse him along].

• • •

Yesterday I sent a small silver center-piece to Constantinople for the rummage sale for wounded soldiers.

August 23

Once again on the train, this time *en route* to Basel, to the Zionist Congress. The amount of work in recent days was enormous.

The apprehended row with Bacher has not taken place to date. He was even amiable the last few days before my departure.

I did a lot of work for the *N. Fr. Pr.*, in order to put him in a good mood. When I asked for my additional leave, he acted a bit grumpy, but then did excuse me until September 2. Whereupon he got to speak about my movement. My collaboration with the *Welt* must cease, he said.

I replied: "I have published a total of only one signed article in the *Welt*."

He said: "What else are you doing, then? Surely you don't want to become an itinerant preacher?"

"No," I said, "I don't want to be a professional politician. If that had been my desire, I would have accepted one of the candidacies for the Reichsrat that were offered to me." Serenissimus,* as we call him at the office, bantered almost graciously: "Some pleasure *that* would be! I'd almost prefer to sit in the Zionist Congress than in the Reichsrat.—But you ought to stop now. You are a man of letters, aren't you, and, after all, you are an intelligent man."

"Yes, indeed, because I want to be an intelligent man I am bringing my work under the aegis of the Congress. Otherwise everything up to now would have been nonsense. I have fashioned a Congress for the Jews, and let the people help themselves from this point on, if they really want to. As for myself, there are times when I have had more than my fill of the whole thing."

And that's the way it is. Of late I have felt much disgust. If the Congress produces no serious results, I intend to withdraw from the campaign and confine myself to keeping the flame alive in the *Welt*.

Bacher had a satisfied expression when I said this. And when I told him good-bye on Saturday, he said with a pleased grin: "Give my regards to the Zionists."

"All right," I said—"of course, not officially."

• • •

* Translator's Note: "His Serene Highness," a half-affectionate, half-ironic nickname for a reigning monarch.

So we shall see what the Congress brings. If, as a consequence, the political powers take the matter under consideration—if, for example, the German Kaiser sends for me—I shall keep on working. If not, and if the moneyed Jews also show no readiness to carry forward the movement which I have brought to this stage at such great personal and material sacrifice, I shall retire.

Should I be offered the presidency of the Congress, I shall at any rate accept it only this once. Even if I go on directing the movement, I do not wish to preside over the Congress again.

Fact is—which I conceal from everyone—that I have only an army of *shnorrers* [beggars].

I am in command only of boys, beggars, and prigs. Some of them exploit me. Others are already jealous or disloyal. The third kind drop off as soon as some little career opens up for them. Few of them are unselfish enthusiasts. Nevertheless, this army would be entirely sufficient if only success were in sight. Then it would quickly become a well-conditioned, regular army.

So we shall see what the immediate future holds in store.

August 24

On the train, *en route* to Zurich.

This morning, when I was coming down the stairs in the Tiroler Hof, who should step up to me? Hechler! He had been there since the night before, and was delivering a lecture in the salon about me and my movement while I was taking a solitary evening stroll through the streets of Innsbruck, thinking of anything but that the *upper ten** in the Tiroler Hof were at that moment being instructed in Zionism by a clergyman.

Hechler groaned softly but audibly about the discomfort of his third-class trip.

I shall wire him 25 guilders from Buchs, with which he can convert his ticket into second class.

• • •

An odd thing, one of the secret curiosities of the Congress is the fact that most of the threads which I have spun up to now

* In English in the original.

will converge in Basel. Hechler is here, Newlinski will be, and *tutti quanti* [all the rest] who have helped in creating the people's movement under my direction. It will be one of my tasks to keep them from noticing one another too much, for they would probably lose something of their faith in the cause and in me if they saw with what slight means I have built up the present structure. The whole thing is one of those balancing feats which look just as natural after they are accomplished as they seemed improbable before they were undertaken.

One of my worries is Newlinski—both what he will say about my people and what my people will say about him. I must endeavor to keep him *à l'écart* [apart]. I consider it entirely possible that the Bambuses, the little Kohns, even Dr. Landau, for whom I have created a position and in whom I already scent disloyalty and ingratitude, will run up to Newlinski and run me down.

I shall demand of Newlinski *une fidélité absolue* [absolute loyalty], explain clearly to him that he is to know no one but me. He should not have dealings with anyone, not let himself be sounded out by anyone. I may invite him to an inner committee meeting, but only if it is a highly opportune occasion.

On the other hand, if only because of Newlinski, I must give the Congress a certain *tournure* [style].

In other ways, too, the direction of these proceedings will, I believe, be a rare feat which will have no other spectator than the one who is performing it.

An egg-dance amongst eggs which are all invisible.

1. Egg of the *N. Fr. Pr.* which I must not compromise or furnish a pretext for easing me out.

2. Egg of the Orthodox.

3. Egg of the Modernists.

4. Egg of Austrian patriotism.

5. Egg of Turkey, of the Sultan.

6. Egg of the Russian government, against which nothing unpleasant may be said, although the deplorable situation of the Russian Jews *will* have to be mentioned.

7. Egg of the Christian denominations, on account of the Holy Places.

In short, it is a concise digest of all the difficulties with which I have struggled until now. Added to this are a few other dance-eggs:

Egg Edmond Rothschild.

Egg Hovevei Zion in Russia.

Egg of the colonists, whose help from Rothschild must not be queered, *tout en considérant leurs misères* [while taking proper account of their troubles].

Then, the eggs of personal differences.

Egg of envy, egg of jealousy. I must conduct the movement impersonally and yet cannot let the reins out of my hands.

It is one of the labors of Hercules—without overestimating it—for I no longer have any zest for it.

August 27, Basel

Congress days!

Upon my arrival the day before yesterday I went right to the office which the City of Basel has placed at our disposal.

It is a vacant tailor's shop. I am having the name of the firm covered over with a cloth, in order to forestall any bad jokes.

Similarly, in the matter of a hall I am concerned about our not looking ridiculous. Dr. Farbstein of Zurich has hired the Burgvogtei, a large but unsuitable place with a music-hall stage. I asked for suggestions as to how we could make the backdrops for the *saltimbanques* [tumblers] disappear, but ended up by hiring different and more dignified quarters.

• • •

To the Braunschweig Restaurant, where the food is quite bad, every train brings Congress members from all sorts of places, caked with coal-dust, sweaty from their journey, full of intentions—most of them with good ones, a few with bad.

Last night there arrived the "enemies" Turow, Kohn, and an

unpleasantly sly-looking man from Warsaw, a certain Rabbinowicz, a real Judas, who started out by assuring me of his esteem.

In the afternoon Mr. Bourlier from Paris called on me and interviewed me for the *Journal.*

All day there were caucuses of the Russians, conferring about I don't know what.

My fine friend Wolffsohn from Cologne foresees dissension and division.

We shall admit Bambus, Turow, and even little Kohn to the Congress after all.

Morning of August 30, Basel

I no longer need to write the history of yesterday; it is already being written by others.

I was calm and took note of the smallest details even yesterday. I have to leave for a session now and won't record the intimate details until the train ride home: Nordau's ill-humor at the preliminary conference because he was not made president, and how I gradually soothed his spirits.

Many people were profoundly moved yesterday—I was quite calm, as one should be when events occur as planned. Only when I mounted the dais, immediately after my acclamation as president, and found among the mail the *first* letter from my Hans, was I greatly stirred. At the presidential table—the present significance of which I am not overestimating, but which will grow in history—I wrote Congress postcards to my parents, my wife, and each of my children, Pauline, Hans, and Trude.

This is perhaps the first act of childishness I have committed in two years, since the movement began.

September 3, Vienna

The past few days, the most important since the conception of the idea that time in Paris, have now rushed past. In Basel and on the way home I was too exhausted to make notes, although they are more necessary than ever, because other people, too,

are already noticing that our movement has entered the stream of history.

Were I to sum up the Basel Congress in a word—which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly—it would be this: At Basel I founded the Jewish State.

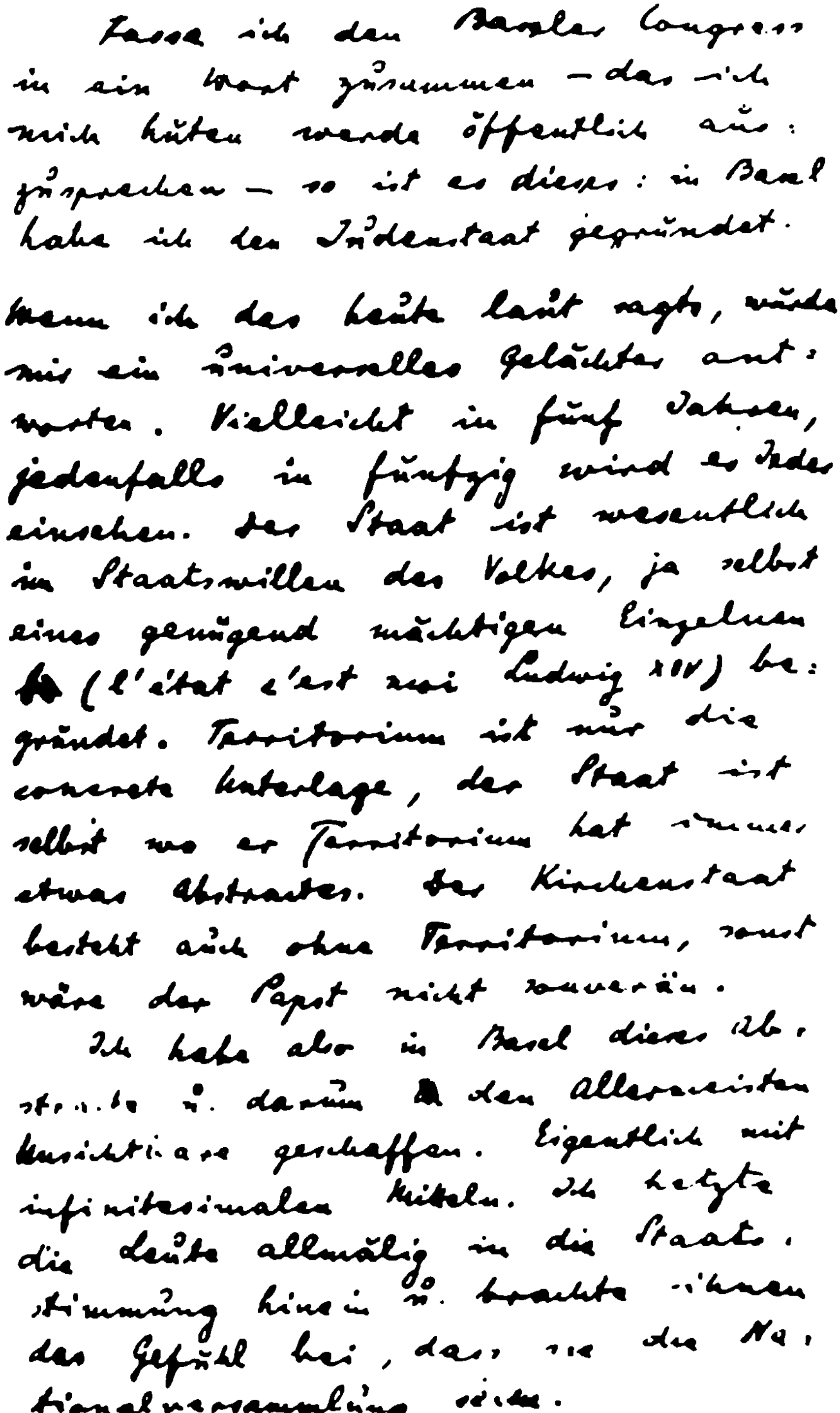
If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will know it. The foundation of a State lies in the will of the people for a State, yes, even in the will of one sufficiently powerful individual (*l'État c'est moi* [I am the State]—Louis XIV). Territory is only the material basis; the State, even when it possesses territory, is always something abstract. The Church State exists even without it; otherwise the Pope would not be sovereign.

At Basel, then, I created this abstraction which, as such, is invisible to the vast majority of people. And with infinitesimal means. I gradually worked the people into the mood for a State and made them feel that they were its National Assembly.

One of my first practical ideas, months ago, was that people should be made to attend the opening session in tails and white tie. This worked out splendidly. Formal dress makes most people stiff. This stiffness immediately gave rise to a sedate tone—one they might not have had in light-colored summer suits or travel clothes—and I did not fail to heighten this tone to the point of solemnity.

Nordau had turned up on the first day in a frock coat and flatly refused to go home and change to a full-dress suit. I drew him aside and begged him to do it as a favor to me. I told him: today the presidium of the Zionist Congress is nothing at all, we still have to establish everything. People should get used to seeing the Congress as a most exalted and solemn thing. He allowed himself to be persuaded, and in return I hugged him gratefully. A quarter of an hour later he returned in formal dress.

In general it was my constant concern during those three days to make Nordau forget that he was playing second fiddle at the Congress, something from which his self-esteem visibly suffered.



Fasse ich den Basler Congress
in ein Wort zusammen – das ich
mich hüten werde öffentlich aus:
zusprechen – so ist es dieses: in Basel
habe ich den Judenstaat gegründet.

Wenn ich das heute laut sagte, würde
mir ein universelles Gelächter ant:
worten. Vielleicht in fünf Jahren,
jedenfalls in fünfzig wird es Jeder
einsehen. Der Staat ist wesentlich
im Staatswillen des Volkes, ja selbst
eines genügend mächtigen Einzelnen
(l'état c'est moi Ludwig XIV) be:
gründet. Territorium ist nur die
concrete Unterlage, der Staat ist
selbst wo er Territorium hat immer
etwas Abstractes. Der Kirchenstaat
besteht auch ohne Territorium, sonst
wäre der Papst nicht souverän.

Ich habe also in Basel dieses Ab:
stracte u. darum den Allermeisten
Unsichtbare geschaffen. Eigentlich mit
infinitesimalen Mitteln. Ich hetzte
die Leute allmälig in die Staats:
stimmung hinein u. brachte ihnen
das Gefühl bei, dass sie die Na:
tionalversammlung seien.

Facsimile of a page of Herzl's Diaries. The page contains the passage beginning with the words: "In Basle I founded the Jewish State . . . ," the full text of which appears on page 582.

On every occasion I emphasized that I was in the chair purely for technical reasons, because of my knowledge of persons and details, and that in all other situations he was entitled to precedence. This improved his mood somewhat; fortunately, too, his speech was more successful than my purely political one, and I went about everywhere acclaiming his address as the best at the Congress.

Similarly I had to smooth down a few other sensibilities that had been ruffled in the crush. Steiner had been passed by in the elections of the committees, and went about with a deeply offended air. I hastened to make him chairman for the gala reception and head of the organization committee, whereupon he settled himself on the speakers' platform and kept the speakers from going up there. They had to talk from the floor, while he sat on a chair on the platform. Also among those offended were Mintz and a few others whom I had spoken to too harshly because they sat daydreaming and motionless at the presidential table instead of taking minutes and helping me conduct the proceedings.

Everything rested on my shoulders; and this is not just something I am telling myself, for it was proved when on the afternoon of the third day I left because of fatigue and turned the chairmanship over to Nordau. Then everything was helter-skelter, and I was told afterwards that it was pandemonium.

Even before I took the chair, things didn't click.

Good Dr. Lippe of Jassy, as the senior member, presided. It had been agreed that he was to talk for ten minutes at most. In the great hubbub he had not submitted his speech to me; and now, when he was standing up there, he spoke without stopping for a half-hour and made one blunder after another. I sat below him on the platform, next to Nordau, sent word up to Lippe four times, begging him to stop and finally threatening him. The thing was beginning to verge on the ridiculous.

Then I was called upon to speak. I was greeted with storms of applause, but I was calm and remained so and intentionally refrained from bowing, so as to keep things at the outset from

turning into *cabotinage* [a cheap performance] or *conférence* [showmanship].

Then the presiding committee was elected by acclamation. We walked up. The Congress cheered.

I called upon Nordau. He spoke wonderfully. He is and will remain a monument of our age. When he returned to the presidential table, I came toward him and said: *Monumentum aere perennium* [A monument more enduring than bronze]!

Then the reports went off according to schedule. And now it became clear why I had had to go to the Palais Bourbon for four years. Subsconsciously I was full of the niceties of parliamentary procedure. I was affable and energetic after the model of Floquet, and at critical moments I endeavored to coin *mots présidentiels* [presidential phrases].

On the first day I made a number of mistakes; by the second, according to the consensus, I had already become fully equal to the situation. There were critical moments—e.g., when a certain Mandelkern got up and moved a vote of thanks on the part of the Congress to Baron Edmond Rothschild. I rejected this proposal *a limine* [outright], because we had no right to vote in this fashion on a question of principle, infiltration. I pulverized Mandelkern* by saying that he was placing the Congress in the embarrassing position of having to choose between ingratitude toward a charitable enterprise and the abandonment of principles. The Congress cheered me.

Another critical moment—when the Birnbaum scandal occurred. This Birnbaum, who had deserted Zionism for Socialism three years before I appeared on the scene, poses obtrusively as my "predecessor." In his brazen begging-letters, which he wrote me and others, he sets himself up as the discoverer and founder of Zionism, because he has written a pamphlet like many another since Pinsker (whom, after all, I had not read either).

He now had a few young people make the proposal that the

* Translator's Note: Herzl had a little linguistic fun here. "*Mandelkern*" is the German word for "almond."

secretary-general of the Actions Committee be elected directly and paid by the Congress. And this creature, who at the first National Assembly of the Jews has no other thought but to get himself voted a stipend, has the nerve to compare himself to me. And as in his *shnorring* letters, here, too, the audacity along with his begging. The secretary-general, as trusted representative of the Congress, is supposed to counter-balance the other twenty-two members of the Actions Committee!

I declared that I could not imagine how under such circumstances anyone would accept a seat on that committee.

The motion fell through ignominiously. It was the only discordant note at the Congress, instigated by Schalit, a young man whom I had showered with kindness.

Mrs. Sonnenschein of the *American Jewess* said to me during this incident—I had handed the chair over to Nordau—"They will crucify you yet—and I will be your Magdalene."

Otherwise everything went quite smoothly. Since I was not in the hall during the debate on colonization, Bambus ventured to the platform and sneaked himself onto some committee. I let the bastard go, also let that rascal Scheid go unscathed, because in the meantime the Congress had taken such a turn toward greatness that I did not want to spoil the impression any more with these annoyances.

Qu'ils aillent se faire pendre ailleurs [Let them go and get themselves hanged elsewhere].

Perhaps the most important episode, from the point of view of principle—although it may have gone completely unnoticed—was my introduction of the representative system, that is, the National Assembly. The next Congress will consist only of delegates.

On taking leave of Nordau, I said to him: "Next year we shall define things further. You will become president of the Congress, I, of the Executive Committee."

However, he was unwilling to commit himself in any way.

Minor incidents without number.

Everybody came to me for information about everything, important and indifferent. Four or five people were always talking to me at the same time. An enormous mental strain, since everybody had to be given a definite decision. I felt as though I had to play thirty-two games of chess simultaneously.

And the Congress was magnificent. Once, while Nordau was presiding, I entered the hall from the rear. The long, green table on the dais, with the elevated seat of the president, the platform draped in green, the table for stenographers and the press, all made such a strong impression on me that I quickly walked out again, so as not to lose my composure. Later I found my own explanation why I was so relaxed while everyone else was excited and dazed.

I had no idea how magnificent the Congress looked in this sober concert-hall with its unadorned grey walls. I had had no previous experience of such things, otherwise I, too, would probably have been swept with emotion.

And my best memory of these Congress days is of a few quarter-hour chats at night on the balcony of the Hotel Trois Rois with that fine old banker Gustav G. Cohen, whom I had nicknamed "Beaujolais fleuri" after the small French wine he drank at meals.

September 4, on the train to Ischl

When, upon my return two days ago, I came into the office of the *N. Fr. Pr.*, a salvo of laughter greeted my appearance in the city room. The chorus was composed of Schütz, Kollmer (né Kohn), Oppenheim, etc.

I put a good face on it. When I entered Bacher's room, he received me with an uncertain smile. He didn't want to hear a word about that business, he said. But I had learned from Münz that he had sent for all the Swiss newspapers.

Then we talked for half an hour about everyday matters. He told me the story of a thrilling detective novel he had just read. The funny thing about it was that he kept turning so that I wouldn't catch sight of the thick packet of newspapers in his

outer coat pocket. They were the Swiss papers which had just arrived.

• • •

Newlinski has now proved himself a scoundrel toward me too.

Yesterday, when I called on him in order to discuss the results of the Basel Congress and the next moves to be made in Turkey, he told me that he had spoken with Edmond Rothschild in Paris.

I was thunderstruck, for he could only have gone to Rothschild as a traitor. For an entree he had probably used my confidential letters, in which I wrote about my plans for the Congress.

He acted very reserved, did not want to name the persons who had put him in touch with Rothschild. I presume it was that other rascal, Scheid.

Fortunately I managed to keep myself under control. He told me Rothschild had expressed the opinion that my *Jewish State* had done a lot of damage; Rothschild was against me.

From now on I shall be on my guard against this scoundrel, but I must not break with him, because he can do me enormous harm in Constantinople—far more harm than he could ever have done me good. I did not even dare to let on what I thought of his low-down trick. I even wound up by telling him, as though I believed in his sincerity, that he had done well to join me, now that I was obviously in control of the entire movement.

"*Vous ne vous êtes pas embarqué sur une mauvaise galère* [You didn't get aboard a bad hooker]."

• • •

Italian and French papers report that the Vatican has issued a circular letter protesting in the name of Christendom against the projected occupation of the Holy Places by the Jews. One of these days I plan to ask the Viennese Nuncio for a confidential audience.

• • •

On my return to Vienna the day after tomorrow, I intend to address the following letter to Count Badeni:

Your Excellency will, I hope, remember your humble servant from the negotiations about a newspaper which were conducted two years ago.

Until now I have made no use of the permission, most graciously accorded me then, to request a private audience at some time.

Now there is an occasion of whose importance I hope to convince Your Excellency if I am favored with a chance to explain it. However, I beg Your Excellency not to grant me the conference at the time of the general audiences, but perhaps some evening, when Your Excellency has a free half-hour. Also, it would be desirable in the interest of complete secrecy if Your Excellency notified me not through official channels, but directly: on such-and-such a day, at such-and-such an hour.

Assuring Your Excellency of my absolute devotion, I am

Most respectfully,
Dr. Theodor Herzl.

September 6, on the train to Vienna

For the time being I am not sending the letter to Badeni, in order to wait and see what attitude the *N. Fr. Pr.* is going to take after Benedikt's return.

However, I will in any case seek immediate contact with the Papal Nuncio in Vienna—if he will receive me—and get the Congress report into the hands of the German Kaiser.

• • •

A Basel memory.

In deference to religious considerations, I went to the synagogue on Saturday before the Congress. The head of the congregation called me up to the Torah. I had the brother-in-law of my Paris friend Beer, Mr. Markus of Meran, drill the *brokhe* [benediction] into me. And then I climbed the steps to the altar,

I was more excited than on all the Congress days. The few Hebrew words of the *brokhe* caused me more anxiety than my welcoming and closing address and the whole direction of the proceedings.

September 9, Vienna

Birnbaum, more brazen and beggar-like, is playing all his cards to become secretary-general. As yet there is not a penny in receipts and already he wants his debts paid by the committee as well as a job (evidently a lifetime one) paying—at least—1800 guilders a year.

For what? For a pamphlet, which has remained obscure, and a few articles.

When I appeared on the scene, he had been away from Zionism for three years, having gone over to Socialism.

Despite this he had it spread around in Basel that without Birnbaum, Herzl and the Basel Congress would not have been possible. Great applause!

I knew my people when I had the "group" photographed in the Café Louvre.

Rabbi Seff made an interesting proposal. The Russian Jews in America should be trained.

I had an idea along this line: Jewish rifle clubs.

• • •

Goldbaum sent me the following item from a German paper:

London, Sept, 7 (Telegr). The *Daily News* reports from Rome that Msgr. Bonetti, the apostolic representative in Constantinople, has delivered a holograph letter to the Pope from the Sultan expressing the latter's satisfaction at the imminent peace treaty. The Pope is reported to have called Msgr. Bonetti to Rome in order to consult with him on measures to be taken against the Zionist movement. In this matter the Pope is said to have turned to France as well, as the protector of the Christians in the Orient (?).

Even earlier, Italian papers had taken over from the *Osservatore Romano* the news that the Vatican intended to make a protest against the occupation of Palestine by Jews.

I am now writing the following letter to the local Nuncio, Msgr. Emigidius Taliani, Archbishop of Sebaste, Apost. Nuncio:

Monsignor:*

I have the honor of requesting Your Excellency for an audience in order to speak to you about Zionism, a movement which quite recently held its Congress at Basel, under my chairmanship. During the past year I had the honor of having a rather lengthy talk on the subject with Your Excellency's illustrious predecessor, Monsignor Agliardi. Since then important events have taken place. I humbly believe that it would be of some interest to His Holiness the Pope to have accurate information about our movement, and I should be happy to furnish it to Your Excellency with absolute frankness and in the hope of not displeasing His Holiness. The news items in the press are, for the most part, absurd travesties, and they could inspire regrettable judgments as well as decisions that might be irremediable. I have friends in Rome, but not everything can be explained in writing, and in my opinion it is urgent that I be heard before *Roma sit locuta* [Rome has spoken]. I have every reason to believe that the enlightened leaders of the Church will not regret having listened to me. Until this day I have not betrayed the confidence of the princes and the statesmen who have honored me with it. Do permit me to assure you in advance of my absolute discretion.

Since I am still in the country, I beg Your Excellency to address the reply you might care to make to me at the offices of the newspaper *Die Welt*, Vienna II, Rembrandtstrasse 11. My associates will immediately forward the letter to me; it might be useful to put it in an envelope without a coat of arms.

If Your Excellency is kind enough to receive me, I should like to request that I be scheduled for an evening hour when there will be no other visitors.

* In French in the original.

Please accept, Monsignor, these expressions of my deep respect and absolute devotion.

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

September 11

Received a card from the secretary of the nunciature: the Nuncio is receiving every day between 10 and 12 a.m. So he does not wish to receive me separately, but in the general audience. I shall go there on Tuesday the 14th.

In today's *Neues Wiener Tagblatt,* the second editorial about the Zionist Congress. Dry presentation of the facts with subtle malice toward the *N. Fr. Pr.,* "whose most prominent contributor, Dr. Th. H., was president of the Congress."

Bacher was extraordinarily amiable today.

When we were leaving, S. Münz came and told us that the Pope had called Msgr. Bonetti from Constantinople to Rome, in order to discuss steps against Zionism with him.

Bacher grinned: that would be tremendous publicity for Zionism.

Münz *abondait dans ce sens* [also was of this opinion]: hadn't I got this item into the papers?

I said: Don't give me credit for any such Macchiavellian designs. I am a *posheter yid* [simple Jew].

Bacher laughed.

September 23, Vienna

Events come and go about which I would have written many pages in the early period of the movement. Now they rush past, crowd one another out, before I have had time to get them down.

The Nuncio did not receive me when I came. His servant told me in broken German: "You are quite unknown to His Excellency. Come back when Msgr. Montagnini is here."

I marched out.

Rome seems to have calmed down since then. It was a *fausse*

alerte [false alarm]. Perhaps they took the Rothschilds' word for it that there was "nothing to it." Sooner or later I shall have to start a campaign against the Rothschilds. *Titre tout indiqué* [The definitely indicated title]: "The House of Rothschild"—objective presentation of the world menace that this octopus constitutes.

In the *Politische Korrespondenz* there was a disdainful denial to the effect that the Curia had not made the Zionist Congress the object of diplomatic action, and would not do so in the future either.

However, Rome did get interested in it.

Newlinski performed me an honest service in his *Correspondance de l'Est,* in the form of two articles, the first of which pacified Rome, the second, Constantinople.

The day before yesterday I went to see him at Steinamanger—he had called me urgently from Vasvar—and in the shabby restaurant at the railroad station we drafted the letter which I am to write the Sultan. The letter will go off tomorrow, to Nuri Bey.

Newlinski is my *directeur du protocole* [protocol counselor], he tells me the hundred-and-one petty details of diplomatic etiquette, e.g., that the letter to the Sultan is to be sealed with five seals, but should bear no inscription.

He told me that ready money should be made available for Nuri Bey—*une vingtaine de mille francs comme entrée en matière* [some twenty thousand francs to start with]. And our movement consists of beggars, even though in the background there are the big moneybags of the I.C.A., etc. What feats I am performing in this respect will never be understood, never appreciated.

I must make my tools myself to fell the tree. The Stone Age of politics!

Today, incidentally, I plan to stir up the committee, so that they will help after all!

• • •

Yesterday Benedikt returned from his vacation. He made a face *this* long at me. I spoke unabashedly about the Congress. He kept silent, furious.

Whereupon I switched to pleasant subjects.

September 24

Last night, session of the Inaction Committee at Dr. Kokesch's. So far nothing has been done.

Dr. Birnbaum, the "secretary-general," has as his only general secretion to date one document which guarantees him employment for one year and against which he wants to rent furniture.

My good Schnirer, who is certainly as honest as the day is long and an energetic person, demanded as the most important thing an "agenda" for the Actions Committee. But behind this guilelessness there may be the wish to interfere with me.

I requested the gentlemen first of all to raise some money for the "action." So far I have simply paid everything that has been needed out of my pocket. If the committee wishes to "co-rule," it must first pass the test of strength—getting 5000 guilders into the treasury.

Kokesch declares this to be a flat impossibility. *Quod est demonstrandum* [Which has to be demonstrated]. He is a fine person, too; but where would we be if we were dependent upon him.

They want to issue coupon books on the "shekel." I figure that in this way 833 guilders—and 75 kreuzers will be on hand, unless I make a drive.

After I have made it, Kokesch will probably believe that without him I would never have accomplished anything.

October 6 (Day of Atonement)

I am now tacking the *Jewish Company*.*

The Basel Congress meant the creation of the *Society of Jews** looking forward to the Jewish State, although with opportunistic

* In English in the original.

modifications and weakly executed. The work of the coming year will be the establishment of the *Jewish Company*, provisionally named the Jewish Colonial Bank.

I have entered into correspondence on the subject with Schidrowitz, who is on news agency duty in London, and I am writing a pseudonymous article, intended to open the discussion, for the next number of the *Welt*.

During the coming months the idea of a bank will arouse the lower instincts of Israel, just as the idea of the Congress frightened the higher ones and ended by inspiring them.

October 17

On idle days I am too exhausted, on full ones too occupied, to make any entries in this diary. Thus it actually becomes poorer and poorer while the movement becomes richer and richer. When I began to write down the novel of my life, all the shadows that moved across my soul, and all the lights as well, were on these pages. Now everything has moved up to the surface. I am also more aware of my responsibility to express myself about persons, because obviously these diaries will some day be material for the history of the Jews.

In this way a great deal goes by unrecorded. Yet there are details of great significance, such as this one:

A few days ago I told young Schalit, whom I had hired as an editor of the *Welt* upon his request, to write a letter. Another student was present in the office, and Schalit acted as though he had not heard my instructions. When we were alone again, he requested me not to give him such orders in front of strangers. I said that he could well put up with this. He retorted that I did not realize how frequently I insulted people.

I: "When did I ever offend you?"

He: "For instance, in Basel, at the preliminary conference, when you yelled to me to stand by the door and let no one in."

Then it suddenly occurred to me that at the Congress this Schalit was responsible for the Birnbaum incident, the only

blot on the three days. In Basel I forgave him for it, because I took it for thoughtlessness and ineptitude. Now I recognized it for what it was: an act of revenge.

• • •

Last night at half past ten, when I returned from the theater, I found a telephone message from Bacher, asking me to come to the office right away. I thought a brawl over my article "Mauschel" was in the offing and once again got ready to do battle. These alerts don't do one's heart any good, but they strengthen a man morally.

Fausse alerte [false alarm]. All he wanted was a change in a brief item that I had written for today's number.

• • •

The *Daily Chronicle* proposes a European conference for the settlement of the Jewish Question, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* had proposed previously. This gives me a talking point for my request to the German Kaiser for an audience.

• • •

Draft (first to be discussed with Hechler):

Your Imperial Majesty:

At the suggestion of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden I am addressing a respectful request for an audience directly to Your Imperial Highness.

Through my book *The Jewish State*, which was published early in 1896, there came into being in all parts of the world a movement called the Zionist movement. It has stirred many hundreds of thousands of people.

On the last three days of this past August, 204 representatives of the Jewish people from all countries assembled at Basel. This Congress of Jews, which elected me President, formulated the program of Zionism: the creation of a publicly and legally safeguarded home for those Jews who cannot or will not assimilate in their present places of residence.

A few days ago a proposal appeared in the British press to convene a European conference for the discussion and solution of this problem which exists in so many countries. Journals of the most divergent lines—such as the conservative *Pall Mall Gazette* and the radical *Daily Chronicle*—have agreed on the necessity of such a conference. Apart from the fact that the solution of the Jewish Question would also mean the solution of part of the Near Eastern question, a relocation in colonies of the non-absorbable part of Jewry would be a relief to most countries, in which the Jews are either perishing in dire financial straits, are being driven into the arms of the revolutionary parties through social ostracism, or dominate financial affairs in a way deeply regretted by us non-moneyed Jews.

I must fear I should be unable to gain the attention of Your Imperial Majesty for a lengthy discussion in writing. This extremely weighty matter gives rise to so many questions that even the most cursory treatment would have to be unbearably prolix.

If I am most graciously granted an audience, I believe I shall be able to furnish information on all details.

Our movement, which is already wide-spread, has everywhere to fight an embittered battle with the revolutionary parties which rightly sense an adversary in it. We are in need of encouragement, even though it has to be a carefully kept secret. I am placing all my hopes in the Kaiser, who looks beyond the seas with a vision as wide as the world and of whose deeds history will extol precisely those which are not understood by the petty people of the present.

Whenever and wherever Your Majesty may summon me for an audience, I shall be at hand immediately.

With profound respect, I remain

Your Imperial Majesty's very obedient servant
Dr. Th. H.

To the Grand Duke of Baden:

Your Royal Highness:

Once more I take the liberty of respectfully invoking the aid

of Your Royal Highness. The movement, about which I was permitted to make a report one unforgettable day in Karlsruhe, has since become a subject of international discussion, particularly through the Basel Congress. The struggles and sufferings I have had to go through in the meantime for this humane project have been difficult enough. Now, public opinion in England is calling for a European conference on the territorial solution of the Jewish Question.

Last year Your Royal Highness advised me most graciously to address a request for an audience directly to His Imperial Majesty. Fearing that my application could go unnoticed among countless similar ones, I have been waiting for a sufficiently serious occasion. This now seems to me to be at hand.

If Your Royal Highness would have the goodness to hand my enclosed letter to the Kaiser now that he is staying in Karlsruhe, or to send it on to him, I should know at least that His Majesty has received my request.

May God, who has set the princes so far above the other people and enlightens them, be with my truly serious request.

With deepest respect and gratitude, I remain

Your Royal Highness' devoted
Dr. Th. H.

Dated and mailed on October 22.
Will an answer come???

October 27

Something strange has happened now. On the day after this letter had gone off, the Grand Duke of Baden, who had been living most quietly for a long time, suddenly stepped into the European spotlight.

He had wished to visit the Czar, who was staying at Darmstadt, and this request was denied. The Grand Duke published this fact in the Karlsruhe Court Gazette—and then the hundred-thousand bells of the world press began to ring.

Where is my poor letter now? After all, I know from the hustle

and bustle at my own Congress that at such a moment one no longer knows *où donner de la tête* [whether one is coming or going].

But how odd is this coincidence that I had to write a lost letter to the Grand Duke at the precise moment that quiet man gets into a hurly-burly. One day earlier he might have listened to me—*et encore* [and then]!

On the other hand, a possibility of rendering him a little courtesy has opened up. On the occasion of the denied visit, the *N. Fr. Pr.* published a very sympathetic editorial (by Goldbaum), and yesterday I sent it to the Grand Duke.

Will he express his thanks and, to show his appreciation, forward my letter to the Kaiser? After all, that is all I need. Once I have that audience with the Kaiser, a great deal will have been gained.

But I don't believe it. Since I have been receiving so many letters myself, I have known how hard-hearted the recipient of much mail becomes toward his correspondents. And compared to him, I am still young, poor, powerless.

Leçons des choses [Object lessons]! I am getting to know life from many sides.

• • •

Goldbaum! While rummaging around yesterday, I happened to come across the page-proofs of the *Jewish State*, which he had returned to me uncut.

Now he writes Zionist articles for the *Welt* as "Spectator."

• • •

Dr. Mandelstamm of Kiev is trying to induce a few Kiev millionaires to give money for the formation of a newspaper joint-stock company. One million required. My father and I are willing to give 100,000 guilders if the Russians contribute the remaining 900,000.

Following Mandelstamm's advice I am sending a business representative (Steiner) to Kiev.

Steiner wished to have it stipulated that his name would be in the paper on equal terms with mine. This I categorically refused. He will merely be chief business manager—if something comes of it.

But I am already so exhausted that I don't care whether the paper materializes or not. I have been wasteful in managing my physical resources.

If the Russians put up enough money, it might be possible even to force the *N. Fr. Pr.* to capitulate. With three millions I can easily buy it out, and that would of course be the best thing. With the *N. Fr. Pr.* in our hands we could work wonders. *Vederemo* [We shall see].

• • •

On my walk this afternoon, powerful daydreams once again: about a trip to Palestine next Spring. If I establish the newspaper as well as the Jewish Bank in the coming months, then the ship that I charter for the voyage will no doubt cause a sensation in the Mediterranean.

At the head of a newspaper, supported by a new Ottoman Bank, I am certain of a gala reception by the Sultan.

Fantasies!

But the man who brought the daydreams he had while strolling through the Tuileries gardens and the Palais Royal in June, 1895 to Basel and the Congress may yet sail the Mediterranean Sea as a Jew returning home.

But I am as tired as an old man.

• • •

In this week's number of the *Welt*, I had Kellner launch the Jewish *Trades Unions*.*

An article in the *Jewish Chronicle* by Mr. Delaforce (who meant something else—namely, the formation of the traditional English *Trades Unions* in every country) had given me the idea

* In English in original.

of setting up, in the form of such *Trades Unions*, the workingmen's cadres for the coming migration.

Kellner didn't quite understand me; but in the discussion which is being started, it will be possible to develop the idea.

November 5

I sent Steiner to Kiev to speak with Brodsky about the paper which is to be founded. Steiner reports that B., whom Prof. Mandelstamm had prepared, has been won for the project.

November 5

Today, a row with Bacher.

Bloch's *Wochenschrift* carried a perfidious article: "Herzl and the *N. Fr. Pr.*"

After we had taken care of our editorial matters, there was the *Wochenschrift* lying on Bacher's desk. He asked whether I had put it there. I hadn't. But why didn't he read it. He did. Meanwhile I looked out the window. I didn't want to leave before he had finished. Then he said: "This is unbearable. You have to choose between us and the *Welt*."

I said: "I have acceded to your request not to sign my name in the *Welt*. I can't go any farther. If you consider it incompatible, please tell me so formally. I have made a pledge. It is as if you presumed that I would not keep my word. A man depends upon his word. I shall keep mine, no matter what may be destroyed."

At this—he backed down, gave the conversation a turn to more general things, and we argued about the policy of the *N. Fr. Pr.*

He even said good-bye to me with great cordiality.

I won today's battle. Tomorrow it will probably start up again, on account of my article "The Hunt in Bohemia." It is a creeping crisis with a certain end—my end.

November 24

This afternoon, read my *Ghetto* at Countess Kielmannsegg's. The Count (the governor) came in during the second act, saying

he was very busy and could only stay a moment. Then he remained to the end, with growing interest.

It had come about in this way. Ten days ago I decided to give the *Ghetto* to Director Jauner for the Carltheater. It was simply that I expected once again, as so often before in these past two years, to be removed from the *N. Fr. Pr.* Once out of it, I would be boycotted. Not a soul would take anything from me any longer; least of all would a theatre director risk incurring the displeasure of the *N. Fr. Pr.* because of a Jewish play.

I called Jauner to my place nine days ago and read the *Ghetto* to him. He was delighted, laughed, cried. Only, misgivings about censorship! Would be best, he said, if I read the play to the governor's wife. I consented, he spoke with the Countess—and this afternoon I read it. Reading a great success.

Afterwards I spoke with the governor about the Dreyfus affair which, strangely enough, is active again at this particular time—just as it was three years ago, at the time when I was writing the *Ghetto.*

November 29

Badeni is overthrown. I have been to Parliament during the past few days, watching the last mistakes of this amiable man, who began with too much hand-shaking in the Chamber of Deputies and ended by having the police march in—I happened to be a witness to both the first and the last sessions under Prime Minister Badeni.

The day before yesterday and yesterday, the revolution spilled from Parliament out into the street, and yesterday afternoon the Emperor dropped Badeni.

I had to think of what he told me two years ago: "*Je ne foutrai pas le camp* [I won't beat it]! . . ." It is not impossible that many things would have happened differently in Austria if I had accepted his proposition at that time and become a better counselor to him than Privy Councilors Feiberg and Halban, who were around him.

How many acts of cowardice make a battle!

Gautsch, a plucky and pliable official, is his successor.

He is of the Taaffe school and will probably work with the anti-Semites again. I don't think he will last long, and after him will come the clericals. The Jews are making a bad exchange. The *N. Fr. Pr.*, which had headed the lynch-justice campaign against the language ordinances, will no doubt soon bitterly regret that Badeni is gone.

The policy I have to pursue for my movement is not clear to me yet. For the present, wait and see.

• • •

Nordau writes that he is trying to be received by the German Kaiser *in causa* Zionism. If he manages it, he will be the head man in the procession I have created. But it's all right with me. Let the cause grow over my head. I am writing him my consent and asking him also to go to Pobedonostsev and to the Czar. I am writing him further that I want to make him governor of the Jewish Bank. Jealousy is stupid; then, too, I am not "on the make." My present dream: to write a verse play (Renaissance costumes).

Nordau also reports someone came to see him about a loan for the Turkish government. The latter wants 40 million francs and is willing to give in return the concession for the railroad between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Persia as well as the right to settle 70,000 square kilometers in Palestine. Unfortunately the rich bastards are not available to us, and the Bank does not exist yet.

Nobember 29

It has occurred to me to offer Nordau's loan to the *Jewish Colonisation Association*.* I am writing him to see Zadoc Kahn and tell him that I offer to withdraw from the movement if the I.C.A. carries this out.

* In English in the original.

Vienna, November 29, 1897, at night

Dearest Friend:

A letter that arrived this afternoon prompts me to write you once more today.

The matter of the Turkish loan is very important, and the letter gives me an idea of where the resources might be found. *The Jewish Colonisation Association** (Hirsch Fund) is to have its meeting in Paris in a few days. All the gentlemen will be present.

I would now ask you to submit my following proposals to Zadoc Kahn personally. He is the suitable intermediary and also, as far as I know, one of the I.C.A.'s most influential members. The I.C.A. is to handle the matter. The procedure would be as follows:

The Jewish Colonial Bank (2 million pounds sterling) is founded right away. Administrative board: the gentlemen of the I.C.A. The *shares** can easily be placed, and I think I can do so even with my present machinery. With the I.C.A. behind it the matter will be child's play anyway. Next this bank concludes the loan you mentioned to me with the Turkish government. The I.C.A. participates in it in a manner to be defined later, and, as security for the loan it grants to the bank, it receives the lands ceded by the government. This is the rough outline.

In return we offer the following service: we place our entire propaganda machinery at the disposal of the I.C.A., set up the subscription on the broadest base, and I pledge my word of honor to withdraw completely from the direction of Zionist affairs. This last item should convince the gentlemen that I am neither a *politician** nor a financier and that I have no ulterior motives in the proposal.

(Between us, I am already worn out by all the struggles and difficulties.)

• • •

* In English in the original.

Again a *hésitation* as I was writing—letter suspended for the time being. The I.C.A. would not understand the matter yet.

December 1

Received today a letter from the Grand Duke of Baden: the Kaiser cannot receive me, but would be glad to read my account of the Basel Congress.

• • •

Today I am writing to Gaster to set up an administrative board for the Bank for me.

To Zadoc Kahn, to call on Nordau, if I.C.A. is so inclined, regarding the proposal for a Turkish loan which has been made to Nordau.

December 11

Today the wealthy Poznanski from Lodz came to see me. A plain, but intelligent man. He had first sent me the Lodz assistant rabbi Dr. Jelski, who had accompanied him to this city to speak with me. Had he expected me to call on him at his hotel? I sent him word that I was expecting him at my home.

The conversation revolved about general things for a long time. Finally we got onto the subject of the Bank, which he is greatly interested in. He plans to come back tomorrow morning. He would like to found the Bank with 10 million pounds sterling share capital.

One million shares, with a yearly payment of one pound.

• • •

Today I would content myself with Poznanski's joining the movement. That is to say, I have already given the matter so much prestige that no Rothschild is needed for backing any longer.

If P. cannot be had either, the whole thing must simply seek a broader base.

• • •

Letter to Nordau:

Dearest Friend:

Thanks for your letter of the 5th of this month. The *Battle of the Drones* still has not reached me. If possible, I want to write about it in the *N. Fr. Pr.*

I am expecting M. de Galart *d'un pied ferme* [without flinching]. In the meantime, the most important things have happened here.

With the Bank we have reached a turning point in our movement. I must speak laconically.

For two days I have had as a visitor the richest man in Russian Poland, J. K. Poznanski of Lodz. This man is completely sold on the cause. However, he feels that the Jewish Bank should not have two, but five, possibly ten, million pounds sterling in share capital. He wishes to join the syndicate whose function it will be to guarantee the subscription. The other Russian millionaires are as good as certain after he joins. With this the founding of the Bank has taken a giant leap forward. I am sparing you an account of the steps I am taking for this purpose in Eastern Europe. In London Gaster has already started the ball rolling through Seligmann the banker. The syndicate must display names from all countries *qui ronflent dans le monde financier* [which have an impressive sound in the financial world].

Now there arises the Rothschild question. Poznanski—who, however, is prepared to go along without the Rothschilds, if necessary, even in opposition to them—first wants us to try to get the Rothschilds to adopt an attitude of friendliness or, at least, of benevolent neutrality toward the Bank. It is an extremely difficult task, but with skillful leadership it does not seem hopeless to me. Of course, contact with the Rothschilds must *not* be sought directly or in writing. In the course of the campaign they would adduce against us any attempted and rejected advances, naturally only in the perfidious manner of the financiers who have journalistic *bravi* [hatchet-men] at their disposal—for a stab in the back.

A few weeks ago I published in the *Daily Chronicle* two articles in which I demonstrated the possibility of a financial boycott carried on by the Jewish middle classes against the money magnates at some time in the future. The Rothschilds ought now to be given to understand that the projected Jewish Bank could possibly serve such a boycott and could be served by it. If they learn at the same time that the Bank will come into being at all events, they will not treat the matter with aristocratic coolness.

The expansion of capital, which is being planned now, will, in any case, make the Jewish Bank a factor to be reckoned with in the financial world as well. The whole question is whether these people have sufficient imagination to picture right now what will exist three or four months from now, or whether the matter will be suitably presented to their imagination, which has fallen asleep on their money-bags. In this, Zadoc Kahn can be of the greatest help to us.

The matter must be shown to the Rothschilds earnestly. But what do they have to hope or fear from the coming Jewish Bank? If they stir up feeling against the Bank or even reject us in an injurious manner, I shall initiate guerrilla warfare against the House of Rothschild, and if I know you, you will stand by me in this. We shall plot this when the time comes.

But perhaps it will never come. And I would prefer that for political reasons, although I consider these people parasites and am furious at them from my very heart. If, then, the R's neither oppose the Bank nor reject it *a limine* [outright], it can be useful to them in two ways: 1. as Jews, since the Bank is to bring about the solution of the Jewish Question; 2. as businessmen, since the Bank can bring them benefits in many ways. Contrary to Poznanski's view, I would consider it sensible if the Rothschilds did not take any overt part in the Bank. Otherwise people would say that all of *juiverie financiere* [financial Jewry] was gathered there, and the Bank would from the outset have to fight certain antipathies (of course, at the same time it would give the impression of tremendous power), while without the Rothschilds it might give the appearance of being against the R's and

thus inspire sympathy. However, if the R's had some influence on the Bank through representatives, they could safeguard themselves in many ways under this cover. It is an old idea of mine—and the only reason I am telling it to no one but you is that it would make me suspect of *gigantisme*—that the Rothschilds will need such a bank if one day they liquidate out of fear of general hatred, or wish to safeguard their fortune (which appears to have grown beyond the possibility of financial catastrophies).

To what extent the minds of these people are at all receptive to such an idea is naturally beyond my judgment.

However, I think I have presented the state of affairs clearly enough to *you*. And from this there follows, too, the form of your participation, for which I am not bothering to ask you, because I simply presuppose it as the logical consequence of what you have done for the cause up to now. I believe you ought to approach Zadoc Kahn in the way that seems best to you, and with the greatest dispatch. Everything only orally, of course. You be the judge of how to broach the matter to him. He is a fine human being and a good Jew, but also devoted to the R's. He is perceptive and will understand you *à demi mot* [without many words]. He is on good terms with Alphonse R., with all of them. Stir him up, show him all that can be done if he helps us. No material sacrifice is being asked of these miserable *marchands d'argent* [money merchants]. The way the matter stands today, after winning public opinion for our "crazy idea," something that we accomplished with our mere pens and words, we only need the *simulacre* [semblance] of this syndicate of guarantors to make the subscription a tremendous success, thus letting Zionism grow into a real power. Let him bend every effort to help toward that end.

The Jewish Colonial Bank must actually become the Jewish National Bank. Its colonial aspect is only window-dressing, hokum, a firm-name. A national financial instrument is to be created. But if they force us to march off without boots, like the soldiers of the First Republic, we shall take revenge for our distress.

That is all I shall tell you. You understand me perfectly and will put all your energy into it.

One word more about the next round. In April we shall charter a ship (probably making all the arrangements through Cook) and go to Palestine for four weeks. This is not yet for public consumption. I am now getting estimates, calculations of the costs per participant, etc. It will probably come to 1000 francs a head. After we return from this excursion, to which we will also invite a number of important people, the subscription prospectus of the Bank will be issued. This you can tell to Zadoc too, but to no one else for the present, because I must first make various arrangements in Constantinople.

Finally: You write that you have connections with Pobedonostsev. Could you quickly manage through him or other friends in Russia to get the Russian government to permit the creation of Zionist associations and collections for Zionist purposes? I am told that this is a vital question for our movement in Russia. The powerful man now is said to be Minister Goremikin. In Russian Poland, the governor is Prince Imeretinski, and he ought to be won over to our side.

I cannot have this very important letter copied by anyone, nor do I have the time to do it myself. Therefore, I am asking you to send it back to me after you have taken notes of all necessary points in it, because I need it as a document for later. For putting you to trouble, as—God knows!—I am putting myself to trouble, for this I am making no excuses. We are serious at heart.

With cordial regards,

Your loyal
Th. Herzl.

December 18

After consultation with our treasurer Kremenezky I have promised Newlinski a monthly subvention of 200 guilders for the *Correspondence de l'Est.* Newlinski thanked me, quite touched, saying that this support would save him much burden-

some news-agency work. I had had no idea that it would seem like such a lot to him.

He told me what bad shape the Turkish finances were in. The ambassadors are unable to pay their butcher's bills. The Berlin ambassador, Galib, had to leave his post because he was out of money. The Vienna one, Mahmud Nedim, told him (N.) that he could hold out two months more; then he would have to follow Galib's example.

Today Newlinski produced his first article as a correspondent, although his *traitement* [salary] doesn't start until January 1.

My guiding consideration in this subvention was something that Fürth had told me a few weeks ago about the Prince of Bulgaria: that he had begun to take Zionism seriously after reading the earlier articles in the *Corr. de l'Est*. That is typical of these circles.

Berlin, February 4 [1898]

It is indicative of the rush in which I am now living that I can no longer enter the most important things here.

On January 6, following the Vienna premiere of the *New Ghetto*, I came here and intended to describe the peculiar excitement that attended this premiere. I did not get a chance to do it. Either I am busy or I am exhausted. These days I always live in a railroad atmosphere. The train speeds, or the station is deserted.

Not until yesterday, when I had a reunion here in the Palace Hotel with the Turkish ambassador Ahmed Tewfik, whom I had come here to see at the beginning of January, did I feel the necessity of putting down these important events as an especially pressing duty.

Four weeks ago I had two long talks with him. He is a likeable man, moderately intelligent, not unfavorably disposed toward the cause, but in a way that has no value for us. He would like to attract the Jews to Turkey—but without a territory of their own and without autonomy.

We want to supply Turkey with funds; in return, he said, we would be given a "friendly reception."

I told him this was no solution, had no lasting value. It would be the settlement of new Armenians in Turkey.

Incidentally, he declared his readiness to convey to the Sultan a memorandum which I am to work up.

I went back to Vienna and told Newlinski that Ahmed Tewfik did not seem to me to be ripe for the idea. We would have to wait some more until Turkey was even worse off.

Perhaps—and this would not be stupid—Tewfik, for his part, reasons: we Turks must wait until the Jews are even worse off.

To me, of course, this delay is not unwelcome, because I haven't finished with the financing yet. The bank is encountering great difficulties. The bankers are cautious, cool.

In January I had a conference in this city with wealthy Berlin Jews which Professor Stein of Bern had called. That unpleasant episode with Glaser which is recorded in the *Welt* is involved here.

The rich Berlin Jews listened to an explanation of the project. Maybaum, the Protest Rabbi, had appeared, obtrusively and uninvited, at the discussions as well. I "interested the gentlemen," but in the end, after the complete unveiling, they didn't like the bride's nose.

However, the moral impression of my explanations was excellent, according to what the intelligent young banker Dr. Arons told one of the local Zionists.

I should like to get Arons for the Bank.

Then it was back to Vienna. In the *N. Fr. Pr.*, where they had raged at my *Ghetto* before the performance and caused me nervous cardiac pains again, the mood had changed in my favor because of the great theatrical success.

When I was here in January, I had also paid a call on Lucanus, the head of the Imperial Civil Cabinet. I asked him whether I ought to request an audience from the Emperor or merely enter my name. He gave a slightly superior, yet courteous smile: "Leave your card."

I did.

The Emperor is acquainted with the matter; that was confirmed by Lucanus who also told me that it was something fine and great. But "the Israelites won't be willing."

A qui le dites-vous [You're telling me]?!

• • •

Last night I again ran into Ahmed Tewfik here in the hotel when I came from dinner. He asked me to keep him company.

He said the same thing he had said four weeks ago. Why didn't we demand a tract of land in Asia Minor; that would be more feasible.

I rejected that.

Berlin, February 5

Joined Ahmed Tewfik for dinner again yesterday. He was already about to leave when I came into the dining-room, then went back with me and kept me company. We chatted for over an hour. This time, I believe, I won him over.

Before his eyes I built a Constantinople and a Turkey of the future.

"*Quand vous serez grand-vizir, Excellence,*" I said, "*vous me ferez venir à Constantinople et je vous reconstruirai la ville, c'est à dire, je vous ferai les plans* [When you are Grand Vizier, Your Excellency, you will invite me to come to Constantinople, and I will rebuild the city for you—that is to say, I will make the plans for you]."

He was visibly enthusiastic.

Newlinski was right that time. One ought to live with these Turks, perform services for them for which they are very grateful, *et les amener petit à petit à nous aimer* [and gradually get them to love us].

Tewfik even wanted to attend my *Ghetto* premiere today. I had a box reserved for him, and arranged in the play for Wasserstein to substitute "the Khedive" in the line "The Sultan has wrenched his foot."

Unfortunately the Ambassador begged off today, on account of a diplomatic reception. The only reason I wanted to have him in the theatre was so that the newspapers would write about it. *Cela aurait bien fait dans le paysage* [It would have looked good in the picture].

Vienna, February 17

The Berlin critics demolished my *New Ghetto.*

• • •

I am writing to Nordau to get ready to take over the presidency at the next Congress (which, following Wolffsohn's advice, I shall have held in Basel rather than London).

The Congress Office and the Headquarters will be transferred to Paris after the Congress.

With this I am combining a warning to Nordau not to let himself go in such rash remarks as the one in his last interview which is contained in the English papers—namely, that the Roman Curia was inciting to murder on the occasion of the Dreyfus-Zola affair in France. Such remarks can do our movement great harm.

Letter to Nordau: Vienna, February 22

February 22 1898

Dearest Friend:

I see with pleasure from your denial in the *Jewish World* that you did not make those remarks. My only regret is that you did not send a similar declaration to the *Welt* as well. After all, that is what the *Welt* is for. I realize, of course, that you wanted to reach the English readers first. You simply don't know that the Catholics who matter in this instance, the higher church dignitaries, watch the *Welt* but are not likely to know the *Jewish World.*

Although you write that Zadoc and E. R. did not let you hear from them any more, I would still like to ask you to return to

the attack. Gaster reports from London that Sir Edward Sassoon told him that the suggestion to consider the Bank idea must be made to the London Rothschilds by the Paris ones. Then Sassoon would be willing to participate too. You see the actually simple difficulty we are facing: to bring those who have declared their conditional readiness together. I believe that a vigorous and, as it were, hypnotically suggestive procedure on the part of intellectually superior men will suffice for it, provided that they have other kinds of prestige in the world as well.

Therefore I would urgently request you to call on Zadoc again, broach the question once more, and in any case demand a final Yes or No from Rothschild (Edm.). We must make our dispositions. The Bank is the point at which we get out into reality. It will be created: with the aid of the *gros bonnets* [bigwigs] or in opposition to them.

Perhaps by now they already understand what awaits them even in France and tomorrow in England. It is a question of creating a safety-valve—on which they will even make money, *par un triste retour des choses* [by a sad turn of affairs].

If they leave the Zion movement bogged down in the mud, it, too, will turn against them with a vengeance.

All this you will certainly present in the proper way. Only, I recommend that you utilize the present mood in Paris. Tomorrow tranquility will return again, and they will continue to die in their palaces of atrophy of the spine.

• • •

Not mailed, because Nordau writes he is under the surveillance of the secret police.

February 23, at night

Letter to Nordau:

Dearest Friend:

It would have been quite welcome to me if you had also used the *Welt*—at least simultaneously with the *Jewish World*—for

your denial of the interview contained in the *New York Journal*, in which the remark is attributed to you that the Catholic Church was inciting to mass murder in France. After all, that is what the *Welt* is for, and as it is, it registers everything that concerns you with a conscientiousness that probably has not escaped you.

Then, too, a denial would have been more effective from the outset in the *Welt*, which, incidentally, is known in Roman circles.

(By the way, the paper is already costing me a whole pile of money. After a year-and-a-half of hesitation, I had to found it myself, because no one else wanted to do it and our movement was absolutely muzzled.)

I don't believe that Zadoc and Edmond R. merely made sport of you. My judgment is that the brain of the latter works extremely slowly; but I don't consider him capable of craftiness and mockery. Therefore, a second conference, definitive in any direction whatever, would be highly useful, and after the impression which your previous presentation must have made and which immediately afterwards you captured with the vividness of a diary in a letter to me, I am convinced that the gentlemen will be ready for such a conference. Thus I would advise you in the interest of the cause to undergo this *corvée* [drudgery] once more, especially because in London they are only waiting for a word from Paris. I have a right to suggest this *corvée* to you, because, God knows, I myself slave away day in and day out, tackling everything, even tasks and people that I feel the greatest disgust for.

Now, to get to your misgivings about the transfer of the headquarters to Paris, I consider this essential. In the present state of the movement it is not possible to separate the presidium of the Congress from the Executive of the following year. If I tell you this, you can and will believe it. Incidentally, you will be convinced of it in your first week in office. The organization that was patched together in Basel has rough spots on which I have been chafing myself sore ever since. An Executive as the center

of an international organization would simply not be tolerated in Austria. When I tell you—I need a lot of time for it—what battles I have had with the difficulties arising from the laws governing associations, you will laugh and shudder. And even that is nothing yet. It would be the death of our movement if our associations, like those of other nationalities, were ever dissolved. All the cowards would unite into an army against us—behind the night-watchman. Insanity! was the first objection raised against us; High Treason!, the second.

Today it is absolutely impossible to separate the Executive from the annual presidium, because then there would be no authority for the conduct of affairs, on the inside as well as on the outside. Am I expressing myself too legalistically? You will understand it nevertheless.

As for Paris, I certainly do not consider it as unsuitable as you do. After all, I know it too, better than you know Vienna. What was possible for me in Vienna, you will be able to do in Paris. I wish I had the facilities here that you have there. You are—despite Dreyfus trials—in a free country. The proximity of Galicia has no significance whatever in this respect. You have no association with a newspaper? It goes without saying that the *Welt* will be at your full and complete disposal, now as before. You need only to send in your communiqués. You have no Jewish organization? Well, it will grow up around you, as it did around me here. You will create it for yourself.

I believe, therefore, my dear, admired friend, that your misgivings are unfounded. To be sure, I well understand that you have them, for it is a hard and serious task, and after all, we have the affairs of a tremendous distress to conduct, one which can, and undoubtedly will, demand an accounting of us at the Congress each year.

So I cannot see that there are any local difficulties. The only question is whether there is not some personal obstacle in your case. About this, my dear friend, we must have a heart-to-heart talk as men and *B'nai Zion* [Sons of Zion] who, I believe, are as close to each other as can be. Do you perhaps doubt that you

could make such sacrifices of time as I have been making every day for the past two years and a half?

The matter is too serious, too many hopes of poor people ride on every move that is made, or not made, for us to fail to come to an understanding about this. Now, I certainly don't believe that the work of the headquarters will completely occupy you; you see that I, for one, am able to run the literary section of the *N. Fr. Pr.* and to edit the *Welt* on the side. It is a lot of work, and it must be done, but fortunately you are a tremendous worker yourself, and it is only a matter of one year, i.e., up to the Congress of 1899, which you will prepare, just as I prepared those of 1897 and 1898.

I don't know whether I am presenting the matter clearly enough, because, after all, many emotional factors are involved. As for my desire to *rest* for one short year, you will find it understandable, and that also goes for my concern over my work up to now, which, to be sure, is not as great as the effort expended on it. I should like to guarantee the continuation of the edifice, because a little of my blood adheres between the first stones.

February 24

In line with my promise to Nordau in Basel, I want to give him the presidency for this year, even against the will of my friends; but only if he takes upon himself the day-to-day work for the year as well.

For the Congress is merely a golden gate, before and behind which there lies nothing but toil and contention. It is only fair that in addition to the golden honor he also accept the labor.

But I am not sure yet whether he will be the right man for it.

People will not appreciate what I have achieved until another leader takes my place.

I have been steadfast in the worst days, calm in the best.

It takes certain abilities, too: To keep silent when a single word could fire enthusiasm. To keep people's courage up even when one is inwardly discouraged. Always to grin and bear it;

to associate with scoundrels; to be haunted by beggars; and to let oneself be rejected by pretentious boors. These beggars would be like the boors, if they had money, and vice versa. On top of this, envy, treachery, insidious attacks, and no rewards—for of course I have done it out of vanity!

Will Nordau stand this? Will he not be overcome by rage and destroy my work?

March 12

Rivalries are beginning. I still haven't finished the preparations and they already want to depose me. At the conference on March 6 the English Zionists joined with the Basel ones, to be sure, but the next Congress is to decide where the *Central Committee** is to be located. Why is something so obvious stated? Because it is a declaration that the *Vienna Committee** must last only until the Second Congress, then will be the turn of the *London Committee.**

Well, it's quite all right with me.

• • •

In the sessions of the Actions Committee, only everyday details are settled.

Schnirer is too busy to be able to work for the Committee. Kokesch formally takes care of incoming contributions. Mintz sulks frequently. Kremenezky is limited in every way by his position. Still, it would be the greatest injustice to disparage these co-workers of mine. They honestly do what they can. The only thing is that we don't have enough money for a major action.

The *shekel* contributions trickle in, the demands are great.

I never bring up my plans and actions in the meetings, because Birnbaum is taking the minutes as secretary-general—and "gathering material" for his future indiscretions. This is the typical enemy, who, however, cannot be got rid of, because he

* In English in the original.

threatens he would starve. If you don't feed his face for life, he can bring disgrace to the movement yet. But perhaps he will anyway.

• • •

My chief service to the movement is that I am giving it prestige. The funds are certainly available "in principle"—but at the moment not in actuality. The future availability of these funds is making a certain impression even now, thanks to me. For the *shekel*-funds will flow in in ever greater quantities; then it will be no feat to direct the movement. But today, with the lousy few pennies, to give out subventions, attract the hangers-on of power, and what not—that is a feat.

My wish for Basel: to transfer the entire financial structure to England. Months ago, when I asked Col. Goldsmid to act as trustee, he did not want to. Now he is likely to be willing.

• • •

I am tired, my heart is out of order.

March 17

During the last weeks I have been dreaming vividly about a novel. Setting: the newspaper world of Vienna. Three volumes, like acts. Hero: a Jewish newspaperman (something like Dr. Friedjung) of Rabbinical background who turns Germanic. At the university, member of a students' association, German songs, ribbons, black-red-and-gold assimilation.

First volume: The newspaper *à venir* [to come].

He is disgusted by the corruption of the press, wants to create a clean paper, a German one, naturally. But where will the money come from? His small capital is not enough. Finally, a threadbare would-be newspaper impresario (type Eyssler, *Lustige Blätter*) draws up an estimate for him, even brings a few backers. The paper is founded. Curtain.

Second volume: The German Paper.

Splendid start. Publicity. Gang of literati joining in, politicians who want to get themselves boosted. Smack in the middle, the guileless fool who doesn't see a thing. But all doors open to him, because he is against corruption. For a time, all he sees is the backs of bent humanity. Intoxication with power. He fights against the food king who controls all the other papers through shareholding or interest. Description of the power of the press. The turning point.

Third volume: Collapse.

The Germans in Bohemia, etc., refuse to be led by a Jew. The paper declines. Like a gambler gone wild he sacrifices everything to it, first his money, then his principles of purity. The impresario manipulates him cleverly. Finally, scandalous collapse. Dishonored, he leaves Vienna; the impresario takes over the paper, which flourishes. But he has discovered Zion. In the first volume he laughed at the crazy members of Kadimah, after the breakdown (meanwhile they have grown) he recognizes them as solace.

As he boards the boat, with the scorned, forgotten girl as his bride, the curtain falls.

Types: the teasing wedding-jester J. Bauer, etc.

The old sighing journalist, who has discovered talents, made celebrities, advanced careers, and in the end turns out to have helped only ingrates who despise him. He is like the cocotte's decent maid.

In the first volume, the hero hears about a small, crazy band of Neo-Hebrews (Smolenski, Bierer), who strike him as peculiar Asiatics. Now and then, a sound of the group growing in obscurity is heard, until their bright victory chant bursts forth at the close of the novel like a great chord.

The Prague *schnorr-bokher* [beggar student] that Bacher told me about yesterday used to sit down in the Prague students' café: "The best thing would be not to be born. . . . But if one is born, one ought to be born as the son of a rich man. . . . But if one isn't born as a son of a rich man, one should at least have the twenty kreuzers a day for the coffee house." A character!

The Jewish Bohème. Also, the good, frugal, wonderful petty bourgeoisie with its wonderfully worthy women.

March 18

Present relationship to the publishers of the *N. Fr. Pr.* Pleasant with Bacher. Benedikt is in the habit of joking: "With Herzl you've got to be careful. Perhaps he is right after all. When he comes in, I always believe Jesus Christ is entering."

In London Wolffsohn seems to have won the banker Seligmann for the Bank.

When I get the Bank set up, an enormous step will have been taken.

• • •

Today the idea occurred to me to have the Jewish Communities captured everywhere by the Zionists after the Congress. We have to be able to give honorary offices to our adherents and sinecures to the venal. Unfortunately my undertaking requires human beings with humaneness.

March 18

Letter to Zadoc Kahn:

Confidentielle

Reverend Sir:

My dear friend Dr. Nordau has given me an account of his conversations with you.

In his last letter he informs me that you are prepared to discuss the matter of the Bank with Alphonse Rothschild.

More power to you! A great deal depends on it.

Nordau has told you that we are not asking the Rothschilds for any sort of financial support or public connection, but only for benevolent neutrality, and to put one of their representatives, who is known as such to the financial world, on the founding committee, later on the administrative board of the Bank.

One would think that R. must understand what is involved here. Today he will help the national rescue operation by it, tomorrow it can be an inestimable benefit to his own house. I believe the House of Rothschild will have to liquidate in the foreseeable future. It is too detested. This anonymous, intangible Bank may become useful, even for them. I don't want to elaborate on this thought here, since I am usually accused of having too lively an imagination.

At any rate, today you will admit that two years ago, when I first had the pleasure of sharing my ideas with you, I estimated the general situation of the Jews more correctly than most French Jews. Oh God, by now I almost stand there like an old prophet—to whom people would not listen. At that time I said that the "Israelite Frenchmen" would not be spared the change in the weather either.

It is already here. And, believe me, it isn't over yet. Plenty of bad things are still in store, particularly for the big-money Jews. I spent four years in France, at the Palais Bourbon, and today I view those familiar things even more coolly from a distance. One moment of governmental weakness, *et vous m'en direz des nouvelles—de la rue Laffitte* [and you will be telling me news of it—from the rue Laffitte].

However, even without violence in the streets and governmental weakness I consider it possible that in France special legislation will be passed against particular categories of Jews. The *droits de l'homme* [rights of man] are a *vieille guitare* [old hat], and do not forget that in this very France special laws were passed against Frenchmen, not "cosmopolites," and those involved were the Frenchmen most deeply rooted in France, whose ancestors had ruled the land.

Hence I believe that a cautious adherence to our movement—specifically, as the next practical step, the support of the necessary banking facility—also is in the interest of the French Jews.

In any case, the Bank will be founded in the next few months, with financial democracy or with financial aristocracy—I have

qualified and unqualified promises from England, Germany, Russia. The participation, albeit covert, of the biggest House would make the venture solid from the start, and you will understand what great importance I must attach to keeping the deposits of the humblest people entirely free from risk. The leaders of the people's movement must, of course, have nothing to do with money manipulations; therefore the Bank must be delivered up to financiers, and that is a real worry.

I don't know what you intend to say to Rothschild in order to explain to him the *planche de salut* [last resort] of the Jewish people. Do your best; your famous eloquence has never had a worthier subject, although it is only a matter of a bank. I should also be glad to come to Paris for a day, if the man wishes information from me. He is an old man and probably incapable of rising to vigorous new ideas; but perhaps it will not be impossible to explain to him that his money-dealer's life will have a grand conclusion if he helps along here—without any kind of sacrifice.

Of course, I don't have much hope of this, for such hearts are narrow. I am only writing to you because I will not and must not neglect anything. If I were interested in personal success, I would certainly know how to achieve it. If today I attacked the Rothschilds, as a Jew, as someone who by now has influence over many hundreds of thousands of people, it would create the greatest sensation all over the world. I would have public opinion everywhere in my favor, to the extent that it cannot be bought.

And I am not doing it. A *professional politician** would probably proceed differently.

By the Second Basel Congress, to be sure, the matter will have to be decided.

This Congress will attract far more attention even than the first one. What will be said there will probably reverberate throughout the world. Perhaps it is the nobler mission of the new Jewry to astound the world by a fight against the financiers. Perhaps this will be the rehabilitation of our despised name?

* In English in original.

We are a curious people, aren't we, if all this can take place among us.

Be assured, at all events, of my continuing and sincere respect.

Yours faithfully,
Th. Herzl.

March 26

All sorts of little disturbances, *Froschmäuseler** among the Viennese university students who are being incited behind my back by Birnbaum. He plays the part of the misunderstood man and the martyr, and although we were weak enough to create a sinecure of 1800 guilders annually for him out of the paltry *shekel* monies, in return for which he writes three or four letters a week, he is bleeding the students white.

• • •

Kellner, my dearest, best friend, whose visits are bright spots amidst all the difficulties, reminisced the other day about schoolboy days in the *heder*. He was daydreaming in a class when they got to the place in the Bible where Moses sings: Exodus, 15.

I immediately looked up the passage, and it moved me. Suddenly the idea popped into my mind to write a Biblical drama, *Moses*.

The conditions in Egypt, the internal and external struggles, the exodus, the desert, Moses' death. I imagine him as a tall, vital, superior man with a sense of humor. The drama: how he is shaken inwardly and yet holds himself upright by his will. He is the leader, because he does not want to be. Everything gives way before him, because he has no personal desire. He does not care about the goal, but about the migration. Education through migration.

*Translator's Note: An allusion to *Froschmeuseler* by Georg Rollenhagen (1595), a didactic-satirical beast epic in the cause of the Reformation. Rollenhagen's work was based on *Batrachomyomachia* (The Battle of the Frogs and Mice), a Greek parody of the Homeric epic.

Act I. Moses' Return to Egypt. Conditions, wretchedness of the Israelites; Moses, embittered, shakes them up.

Act II. Korah.

Act III. The Golden Calf.

Act IV. Miriam.

Act V. Moses' Death.

Pageantry in the desert: the Ark of the Covenant, then Joseph's bones at the head of the procession.

The aging Moses keeps recognizing Korah, the Calf, always the same processions of slaves. He is exhausted by all this, and yet he has to lure them onward with ever renewed vigor.

It is the tragedy of the leader, of any leader of men who is not a misleader.

• • •

March 26

I am still fighting with a wooden sword, like Tabarin or like children.

I would need one of steel: i.e., a big paper with which one can make policy, do services and favors, establish connections. If only I had the *N. Fr. Pr.* in my hands, I would be able to work wonders.

This way I toil away helplessly and make no headway. It is a terrible thing to be sentenced to impotence with such clear plans, such a distinctly marked road. I am wearing myself out on it. I would need one lousy million to operate a big paper, and for this greatest cause of Jewry it can't be raised. This is what has been going on for two years now. When Badeni was still there, the greatest effects could have been achieved with it. His government—in fact, conditions in Austria—would have had a different complexion today. He wanted to have me in closest proximity to him, and I would never have given him the fatuous advice of his ministers to have the police march into the Parliament. He is gone; and following Gautsch's brief adminis-

tration, now there is Thun, and probably nothing can be done with him.

Fructus percipiendi [Fruits to be plucked]! Missed opportunities of Zionism.

• • •

Wolffsohn has been to London in order to work on the Bank project. Now he is here and gives me reports.

At first Seligmann the banker felt like laughing, but he turned serious when Wolffsohn developed the idea that Edmond Rothschild should hand his colonies over to the Bank and take shares in return. Then the I.C.A. should get behind the Bank also.

I believe this excellent proposal of Wolffsohn's will advance the matter. Marmorek (the architect) is going to Paris next week. I shall give him the assignment of taking this proposal to Edmond Rothschild.

If the founding of the Bank works out, we shall be over the worst. I must bring the next Congress something. The Bank would be splendidly suited for it.

March 29

Wrote to Alex Marmorek at Paris to submit Wolffsohn's proposal to Edmond R., through Dr. Henri de Rothschild or directly. At the same time I am warning him against Scheid, who, if he gets wind of the matter, will devise some counter-coup in order to save his *revakh* [profit]. In my letter I am strongly emphasizing that the political leaders of the movement want to and will have absolutely nothing to do with the Bank itself.

April 11

All sorts of *Froschmäuseler*.

Birnbaum quietly incites against me, at the University acts the part of the Columbus and martyr of Zionism, while I am the Amerigo Vespucci and the usurper.

At the student's party of the Ivria he said recently that he was

grateful for moral benefactions (he was made an "honorary brother"), but that he was not obligated in any way by material favors (we created a sinecure for him as "secretary-general"; even before there was a kreuzer of *shekel* money on hand, I guaranteed him a year's salary in a letter, on the strength of which he rented furniture, since he was out in the street).

The "Tarnowers" are agitating against the Central Committee and against political Zionism which they have to thank for Edm. Rothschild's entering into a small land-sale deal with their *Ahavath Zion*. For Dr. Salz went from Basel to Paris as "Vice-President of the Congress," without telling me a word about it, and there made some agreement in conflict with the recognizable Basel principle.

Undercurrents even in the Actions Committee. Individuals are offended because they are not "informed" of anything.

Yesterday I brought Schnirer to reason about why I have to work alone, now as before.

The Committee is an unserviceable instrument. Only indiscretions are committed. No one is able to help; for various reasons they are in no position to do so.

Yesterday Schnirer presented an excellent outline for organization to me. *Shekel* unit one crown. The *shekels* are to serve only for administrative expenses. Any surplus goes to the National Fund.

Each 50 *shekel* subscribers form a group. Each ten groups a district. Each ten districts a center. A group, a district, a center, each has a head. The Congress Office deals with the heads of the centers. The associations can continue to exist, but must invest their funds in shares of the Colonial Bank.

I find this outline excellent.

I supplemented it as follows: The permanent Congress Office has its seat in Basel, with a salaried secretary. The Congress elects a board of directors, three men from each of the main countries represented. The board of directors remains in Basel one day after the Congress and makes all arrangements for the year.

There is no Central Committee any more—rather, a model or steering committee which the other regional committees may imitate—if they so desire.

This way the difficulty of "internationality" will perhaps be overcome. We have no international organization, and yet a uniform streak runs through the whole thing.

April 16

Letter to Nordau.

1. Refers to my Easter *feuilleton*.

2. To the Bank matter, Wolffsohn, etc.

3. I wrote you that the confidential preliminary conferences will take place here on April 23, 24, and 25. If it is not too great a sacrifice, I should like immensely to have you here. But only for the deliberations. This is not the right moment for a public lecture. The Viennese local propaganda must not be carried on now, for political reasons. For this we shall reserve the month of November, perhaps even the middle of October. Then you will give the movement in all of Austria a big lift by speaking here. At that time the University will be in session too—right now the students from the provinces are away—and then a great Nordau party shall take place. Now it is only a matter of setting up the agenda for the next Congress, discussing the outlines which we have sketched here* (for the order of business, organization, etc.), as well as instructions to the representatives of countries, preparations for the election of delegates, *shekel* payments, etc.

I don't need to tell you how much I wish I had your advice and your collaboration here, just as I wish to have you by my side at all times, because there certainly are bad hours of *défaillance* [depression]. However, come only if you can stay for the full three days, and if your coming this time does not preclude your attendance in the autumn. In the preliminary conferences there

*I am not sure whether these dry discussions—which, to be sure, are indispensable to the movement—will make the journey here seem worth the effort to you. [Herzl's note]

will inevitably be all sorts of idle talk, because reports have been coming from various countries which we have to listen to. The work so far of the members of the Inaction Committee, particularly of the corresponding members, has totaled zero. What *I* haven't done here, simply has been left undone. Therefore, arm yourself with patience if you come, and don't reproach me for having rushed you here if the preliminary conferences should bring about nothing of consequence. I hope that we shall not have to do without your wishes and suggestions in any case. If you are not coming, please write me immediately everything that seems important to you.

4. After your response to my suggestion that you take over the work between the second and the third Congresses, I naturally can do nothing else but carry on the matter in the same way as heretofore. After all, events have proved you right, for the time being, and after everything that Marmorek has told me, I realize that it would have been a misguided idea to transfer the headquarters to Paris. After my departure from there, things simply seem to have undergone quite a surprising *reformatio in pejus* [change for the worse]. Unfortunately, at the moment I don't know of anybody in England either to whom I could turn over the leadership of the headquarters. *Quand on y a mis le doigt, il faut y passer tout entier. J'y passe* [Once you've put your foot in the door, you've got to go all the way in. Here I go]. I know myself at least: I won't let go until some day I turn up my toes.

April 17

In Vienna the *Welt* has—280 subscribers. Because of this—since party propaganda has so left me in the lurch—I have decided henceforth to promote the *Welt* like an ordinary paper, through posters, etc.

The considerable deficit to date I shall naturally absorb myself. The current circulation—2400 subscribers in all countries—is insufficient to maintain the paper.

April 22

Letter to Nordau:

Dearest Friend:

I have just received an emergency letter from the Berlin Group to the effect that they need you without fail for a speech.

I wanted to save this trump for Germany until the autumn, because of the community campaign. But if you are ready to go right now, don't let the views I expressed yesterday stop you.

If you go to Berlin, I beg you to include in your speech a passage referring to the Jewish Colonial Bank. We are not yet breaking with the *Haute Banque* [big bankers], we are merely giving them an *avertissement* [notification]. I shall soon publish in America a letter in this vein to our partisans. You, like myself, must consider the following: the possibility of an understanding with the big bankers exists even today. A negotiator who has been to London (Wolffsohn of Cologne) is coming to Paris shortly. You will hear details from Marmorek. Only if Wolffsohn fails will peaceful negotiation be at an end. Therefore we must not let loose as yet. Then, too, the Turkish government must not know that the situation of the projected Bank is so doubtful.

But this is the *avertissement* [announcement]: we are even now urging our partisans to subscribe, so that the bank will, *if need be, stand on its own feet,* that is to say, come into being through popular support. Since we are opposed to infiltration, which has no future and is at the mercy of every pasha, subject to every immigration prohibition, the colonization associations are to invest their property in shares of the Colonial Bank; every local group shall accept provisional subscriptions and bring results of these provisional subscriptions (of one-pound shares) along to Basel. Thus there will already be a *noyau* [nucleus] at Basel—according to the reports I get from all over the world, this *noyau* will be substantial enough—and standing on this foundation we shall force the big bankers to go along, or we shall go on alone and at the same time fight against the dogs.

How you are to express this in your Berlin speech I do not

dare to prescribe. It is necessary! Don't let the financial part of it disgust you. We leaders declare and have declared that we never want to nor will have anything to do with the financial management. The movement needs a financial facility; we shall create one for it by stirring up oppressed masses to help themselves. *Qui veut la fin, veut les moyens* [He who wants the end wants the means].

With cordial regards,

Your devoted
Th. H.

April 29

On the 23rd, the 24th, and the 25th the preliminary conferences for the Second Congress took place. The feeling among most of the people originally appears to have been against the holding of the Second Congress. I convinced them that this was necessary, because otherwise the movement would bog down and because we must give it a new Constitution. The existing one looks like an international organization, which it really is not. We have only the disadvantages of this apparent "internationality," and our every step is impeded by the possibility that the movement will acquire an illegal appearance. Any anti-Zionist scoundrel can denounce us.

My idea, which I only outlined in the preliminary conference, is to set up a Central Office in Basel.

There is no liaison whatever between the committees. One committee—at first the Viennese one, of course—acts as the model. What it does is imitated by the others voluntarily and without orders, to the extent that the country's laws, local needs and possibilities permit it.

The heart of the negotiations was the Bank question about which I put through my proposals: beginning the provisional subscription of one-pound shares with a down-payment of 10%.

Pineles made a good proposal for its implementation. The down-payment is to be deposited in the Postal Savings Banks in

the name of the subscriber, and the bank book is to be turned over to the collector for his counter-signature.

Kaminka made confused speeches about the "Hebrew Educational Association," and finally declared (in private) that he would gather an opposition against me.

In general, the mood was the exalted one of Basel. They enthusiastically recognized me as head of the movement. It was all the more depressing, then, when between sessions I went to the office of the *N. Fr. Pr.*, where I am the hireling of diametrically opposed views. This weighs heavily on me and paralyzes my strength; but the "movement" is not in a position to relieve its leader of this miserable burden.

The creation of a big daily paper is the problem which is insoluble for the present. The necessary money cannot be raised. With two million guilders we could get control of the *N. Fr. Pr.* and thus have the suitable instrument. What a crying shame that this amount, ridiculously small in proportion to the cause, cannot be raised. We are still like the soldiers of the French Revolution, must take the field without shoes or stockings.

• • •

I am making great efforts to promote the *Welt*. The deficit is increasing, and I must soon be able to balance the paper, otherwise it will eat up my resources.

• • •

An interesting letter from Alex Marmorek. Zadoc is working ardently for us. Edmond Rothschild is said to be a convinced Zionist, but does not dare to come out into the open. An Indian prince, Aga Khan, who was recommended to Zadoc by Haffkine of Bombay, is said to be a Zionist and willing to speak to the Sultan on our behalf.

May 5

It is part of the *signatura temporis* [character of the times] that now I again go to the office each day "ready to do battle."

The *Welt* is making a drive with No. 19. Ten thousand copies are being sent out; on the street-corners there are posters announcing Wrede's novel *The Goldschilds*. The question is how Bacher and Benedikt will take this. I imagine that they are once more being incited against me by the financiers, and I am poised for the conflict, although a bit excited, too. After all, the break with the *N. Fr. Pr.* is only a question of time now, unless I manage to have it purchased by my partisans.

The *Welt* is eating up more and more money and must soon catch on, or it will fold. I can keep it above water for about another year without ruining myself.

The *Welt* is getting no support from the party; in fact, the idea has popped up that the Actions Committee should subsidize a Yiddish paper, and this would probably provide some competition for the *Welt*.

May 5

Bacher and Benedikt haven't stirred so far. *On dirait même qu'ils sont aimables* [You'd even say they were amiable]. But something is unmistakably in the air.

• • •

Alex Marmorek reports an interesting conversation he has had with Edmond Rothschild. Aside from the silly carping reasons and egotistic considerations which he adduces, it is noteworthy that Edm. advises a Bank founded with a share capital of—one million francs. Such a bank, of course, would be no menace to the House of Rothschild.

Nous leur liverons un bel assaut [We shall give them a good fight].

• • •

Difficulties in the Actions Committee. The gentlemen are complaining that I am giving them too little information. But if I

issue a call to work, it falls flat. Schnirer has no time. Mintz is peeved because I work with the Marmoreks, who are his personal enemies. When I asked Mintz to take charge of the press preparations for the Second Congress, he asked for time to think it over, because he did not even know whether he would attend the Second Congress.

May 12

Work on the Bank has begun.

What I am doing there is another feat, an innovation in financial techniques. The provisional subscription for a bank the details of which are not even known is really nothing but the establishment of a people's share-issuing syndicate. *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo* [If I cannot bend the powers above, I will move the lower world].

Since the big financiers are hesitant, we are appealing to the small pocketbooks right from the outset. If it succeeds, the enterprise will have the advantage that we shall not be in the hands of a few big bankers. The Bank will then belong to the Congress.

This Bank campaign has something war-like in its successive stages: The way in which vague intention, more deliberate planning, first proclamations, mobilization, setting up outposts, skirmishes, and battle merge into one another, one moment with awful sluggishness, the next moment with ridiculous precipitation; the way you are pushed more often than you push; the way you don't really believe in yourself and then suddenly are in the thick of it.

I always have to remember a word dropped by my dear friend L. Kellner, which I greatly resented at the time and which he has since regretted. A year-and-a-half ago, when I wanted to get him elected to the Reichsrat in Galicia, he declined distrustfully, saying that the whole movement was just *"noise"*! *

Yes, everything is noise, I said to him in irritation. In truth, noise is a great deal. A sustained noise is in itself a noteworthy fact. All of world history is nothing but noise. Noise of arms,

* In English in the original.

noise of ideas on the march. People must make noise useful to them—and still despise it.

• • •

Yesterday I had a meeting with the Messieurs Brecher whom we intend to use as bankers for the Austrian subscription deposits.

A little banking house, *self-made men** who still show their humble beginnings. A shabby office, which reminds me of the early days in the Café Louvre, in the little back room which I had photographed as a permanent souvenir. Of the diplomatic *demi-monde* as well, which I dealt with then and am still dealing with now. Yet these folks give the impression of prudence, and it is, as it were, the meager beginnings of our financial solidity. The older Brecher has a son in the firm who has been to law-school and whom the younger Brecher respectfully addresses as "*du,* Doctor!" **

This young man made a rather good impression on me, and while he was talking—to be sure, with a certain financial-legal dandyism—it occurred to me that he could make quite a serviceable director of the Jewish Colonial Bank.

The only thing is, he made the mistake—possibly fatal for his career—of saying that he did not quite share our views yet.

These Brechers are petty banking bourgeoisie. If they have understanding enough to join in with us, they can become great through us.

• • •

This provisional subscription will have peculiar ease and difficulty. The easy thing is that we shall have ready-made publicity at our service. The difficulty, that we shall not be able to say out loud that it is self-help against the big bankers, because we have

* In English in original.

** Translator's Note: Familiarity and formality in the same phrase. Austrian law schools grant doctorates.

to keep in mind that the Turkish government might hear about it and lose its respect.

• • •

I didn't need Alex Marmorek's last letter to know that Edmond Rothschild would turn his colonies over to the Bank once it is in existence—to this Bank whose coming into being he would now like to prevent. Undoubtedly the I.C.A. will capitulate too, once the Bank is there.

Most people don't see the connected events of the future. They only see current connections, not future connections. That is why the difficulties of my movement are so great and why it will look simple when I bring it to fruition. For then the separate strands will be woven together, and the piece of cloth will make no particular impression. That is why I shall reap so much ingratitude, too. What now exists as unused parts, and does not exist as a whole, and would never exist without me, will then be a "current connection" and in the future make no real impression on anyone.

• • •

Kokesch, a member of the Actions Committee, said a few months ago: "No one is going to lend us as much as ten thousand guilders!"

And now I want to raise a share capital of 60 million francs for a Bank whose prospectus I am not even offering.

Naturally, Kokesch is opposed to founding the Bank, just as last year he was against convening the Congress. But in the end he does acquiesce, because he is a good boy and has faith in me.

• • •

If the provisional subscription yields only 800,000 pounds sterling, I shall be satisfied too. This will then give us a basis for the syndicate of guarantors which, to be sure, I could not get

along without under those conditions. The provisional people will then constitute a unit in the share-issuing syndicate, and a few bigger bankers will have to be won in addition. If worst comes to worst, the Bank will be created with less basic capital.

May 21

Hechler is going to Berlin to attend the Church Conference. I again urged him strongly to induce the Kaiser to receive me.

If he manages that, I promised him that he would be sent to Palestine at our expense in the autumn when the Kaiser takes a trip there.

Hechler sensed how much importance I attach to being received by the Kaiser and demanded that I come to the English church tomorrow, Sunday, and pray with him. *Ni plus ni moins* [Neither more nor less].

At this I began to speak about the grass growing in my garden, where we were sitting, without going into his presumption further.

Then, when he had left, I wrote him that he would go to Palestine if he arranged that audience for me.

May 24

Yesterday, "Bank meeting" of the Actions Committee.

One man, Dr. Kahn, had collected 350 shares. All others, nothing! Kokesch had a number of representatives conscripted from the *skekel* bloc list who are to act as collectors. That was all.

I indicated my dissatisfaction to the gentlemen in a few words. That's how it was before the 1st Congress, too.

• • •

Wolffsohn has good intentions, but he is not energetic enough. He requests that there be no more notices in the *Welt* about his travels. He doesn't want to become ridiculous. All those people still don't understand that I am making them great.

May 25

Typical of the "big" Jews.

Wolffsohn telegraphs that Seligmann (Frankfurt) has declined to act as a depository for the share down-payments.

Thereupon Wolffsohn turned to the A. Schaafhausen Banking Association of Cologne (Gentile), which immediately declared itself favorably inclined.

May 25

Spoke with my dear L. Kellner. I told him that if he survived me, he should take care of the publication of this diary of mine.

The diary is to appear in the *Welt* in instalments.

Kellner shall also become editor-in-chief of the *Welt* when I am no more. He knows the most about my intentions.

He is to receive appropriate compensation for his efforts, according to the circumstances of the paper. The paper itself is, of course, the property of my children, because during the period in which I have been working in behalf of the Jews, I have neglected to earn for them.

If my Hans stays alive, he shall become proprietor of the paper when he comes of age and pay his sisters an appropriate allowance from it—provided it yields a profit.

Whit-Monday

Yesterday it was three years since I started the Zionist movement with my visit to Hirsch.

Today it is a worldwide idea.

• • •

Today I wrote to the amiable Hamburger Cohen, who can't do anything in Hamburg (for the Bank), *parce qu'on ne prête qu'aux riches* [because loans are made only to rich people]!

"The meaning of our Bank project is simply that with one leap we want to get out of the *circulus vitiosus* [vicious circle] that

consists in the refusal of the bankers to go along unless the bankers go along.

"They are making our life a burden; that is why our movement must finally break through or croak. To me the matter is too serious for a game, for the serious-minded it has hitherto been too much of a game."

• • •

Hechler is in Berlin, will try to get to the Kaiser so that he may receive me.

I need this audience, then the *circulus vitiosus* will be broken.

• • •

I don't believe, though, that Hechler can fix it. His daily letters from Berlin sound more and more discouraged and close with: *Ora pro nobis* [Pray for us]!

May 31

Hechler has left Berlin *bredouille* [empty-handed]. The Kaiser sent him word that he was too busy.

Hechler thereupon went to Karlsruhe. Superfluously.

June 2

Jelski reports from Lodz that a merchant there had asked Samuel Montagu in London whether he was participating in the Bank.

If one day we take revenge on these big bankers, it will be well deserved.

June 3

Gaster is here. I told him the above facts and plan to discuss with him the beginning of the campaign against the English big bankers.

• • •

The rich and the "Great in Israel" are actually incurring a fearsome responsibility by leaving me in the lurch. I am a very serviceable instrument for the return of the Jews—and they let me wear myself out in fruitless exertions. Perhaps I shall pass without having secured the project, and then it will be lost.

June 5

Hechler is here again and reports that the Grand Duke of Baden reacted favorably when he spoke about me and the *Welt*. The Grand Duke advised Hechler to win over Eulenburg, the ambassador here, for the cause. The Kaiser, he said, listens to Eulenburg. Hechler should tell Eulenburg in the name of the Grand Duke that in the latter's opinion something was involved that might prove to be important for German policy in the Orient.

• • •

I am writing to the Grand Duke:

Your Royal Highness:

Reverend Hechler tells me that Your Royal Highness is still interested in the Zionist movement and suggested that he call on the Vienna ambassador, Count Eulenburg, for the purpose of arranging my audience with His Majesty the German Kaiser.

Only this definite information from my reverend friend Hechler could have encouraged me to write Your Royal Highness once more. Is it not remarkable the way events have developed in the East since about two years ago I enjoyed the distinction of being allowed to make a presentation of the Zionist movement at Karlsruhe? German policy has taken an Eastern course, and there is something symbolic about the Kaiser's Palestine journey in more than one sense. I am, therefore, more firmly convinced than ever that our movement will receive help whence I have patiently been expecting it for the past two years. By now it is clear that the settlement of the shortest route to Asia by a neutral national ele-

ment could also have a certain value for Germany's Oriental policy.

And what element is this? The same that is, *par la force des choses* [of necessity], almost everywhere driven into the arms of the revolutionary parties.

In this respect, too, the events of the last few years have confirmed many of my pronouncements.

• • •

This letter I did not complete or send off, because Hechler, to whom I read the draft, advised me against it. Is it possible that the Grand Duke did not express himself in the terms Hechler conveyed to me? Could be.

June 10

Seventh birthday of my Hans.

I gave him a Zion flag. Shield of David with six stars in the six triangles. The seventh on top.

In the middle field, the Lion of Judah after a drawing of the painter Okin.

June 14

One of the most curious figures I have yet encountered is the Rymanow Rabbi Horowitz, the son-in-law of the Wonder Rabbi there.

He came to see me accompanied by his "secretary," who, however, seems to be a servant and is treated in a disdainful manner. Both wore kaftans. The servant had to remain in the hall.

Horowitz spoke *à coeur découvert* [frankly], was very skeptical about the fanatics, and explained to me the "business" (as he put it) of the Wonder Rabbis and their elegant way of life. He boasted: my father-in-law needs 500 guilders a week, *equipage*, 16 servants.

Yet there was a certain naiveté about it.

He promised to interest all Wonder Rabbis in Zionism. I think it will be possible to direct these people if they are treated appropriately.

If he arranges a meeting of all the Wonder Rabbis, I will go there for a confidential conference with all these gentlemen.

• • •

It was especially interesting the way the fledgling Wonder Rabbi Horowitz explained the power of all these *Rebbes*. The fanatics, of whom he spoke with thinly veiled irony, constitute the core of the "disciples." The second group are the sensible people who come to the Wonder Rabbi because he is at the center of connections and associations. Someone asks him whether he should buy wheat. Someone else has been there before and has mentioned the state of his wheat business. The Wonder Rabbi, being at the focal point, is well informed. Therefore, his advice is really worth its weight in gold. He gives tips, and good ones, because, after all, his reputation depends on them. He makes matches and settles disputes; by all this his power is preserved and increased. Simply *marchands d'influence* [influence peddlers], then. It is a natural explanation. The third group, finally, are those who fear harm from the enmity of the *Rebbe*. If someone has not crossed this *limina apostolorum* [apostolic threshold] in two or three years and the Wonder Rabbi is asked about him, he says: He must be badly off; he hasn't been to see me in a long time, apparently hasn't the traveling expenses!

In short, he can do his "disciples," who are his tributaries, harm or good. It is an institution developed with singular shrewdness in which everything happens in the most natural way.

And the amiable little *Rebbe* of Rymanow told me all this in the friendliest blind trust, although he had never laid eyes on me before. He added that he would make such confessions to no one else. Evidently he takes me for a greater Wonder Rabbi even than the one of Sadagora, his uncle, and thinks that I am carrying on a business this way, too. There was an augur's smile in his

words as he sat before me in his elegant silk kaftan, with the nicely anointed ear-locks and his golden pince-nez.

I didn't disabuse him of his misconception.

June 15

Draft of a letter to Kaiser Wilhelm (in the event that Count Eulenburg receives the Grand Duke's message through Hechler, acts on it, and invites me to request the audience):

Your Imperial Majesty:

His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden recently expressed the opinion to one of my friends, as I am informed, that the Zionist movement (whose leader I am) could acquire some importance to German policy in the Orient.

The aim of Zionism—according to the program of last year's Basel Congress—is to create a home, safeguarded under public law, for the Jewish people in Palestine.

If I were granted an opportunity to give Your Imperial Majesty an oral presentation of the political and social overtones in Zionism—as I did before His Royal Highness the Grand Duke two years ago—I believe I could get the brilliant German Kaiser enthusiastic about this glorious project on behalf of the lowliest.

Let me emphasize only one point out of the wealth of reasons in favor of the Zionist idea: the only cultural element with which Palestine can be settled is the Jews. The land is too poor to attract others. For us it is rich in memories and hopes. And Palestine must be settled, for it is the route to Ophir as well as to Kiaochow.

And if, *per impossibile* [as seems impossible] attractive conditions were created for other cultural elements, too, the most bitter jealousy among the nations would arise. Europe, it seems to me, would more readily permit settlement to the Jews. Perhaps not so much because of the historic right guaranteed in the most sacred book of mankind, but because of the inclination, present in most places, to let the Jews go.

Your Imperial Majesty is going to Palestine. It will be a procession of high and symbolic splendor. This journey will astound the peoples of the East and disquiet those of the West. But if we take everything into consideration, the new Imperial journey to Zion may leave lasting traces in history only if it also ties in with the modern Zionist movement.

For a long time I have had the conviction that help will come to us from Your Majesty. Your Majesty can command me at any hour. May it happen soon!

It would be good for the cause if I learned of this favor in advance of Your Majesty's Palestine journey and the Second Basel Congress. But with projects of this kind one must possess one's soul in more patience than men ordinarily do.

With deepest respects, etc.

June 17

Nordau-Marmorek report from Paris that at the last meeting of the I.C.A. Zadoc Kahn almost suffered violence, because he read and supported our invitation to a conference of the colonization associations prior to the 2nd Congress.

Thereupon the I.C.A. declined in an official, matter-of-fact letter to send a representative to this conference. The world press is beginning to editorialize about Wilhelm's Palestinian journey. Unfortunately I am still too powerless in the press to use this occasion to promote Zionism.

• • •

Yesterday there was talk that the Emperor is going to abdicate after the jubilee festivities and that his successor will suspend the Constitution.

It is plain that the Jews will be left out in the revised Constitution. With such an Imperial gift the nationalities of Austria can be pacified. All this I predicted long ago.

June 17

I am writing Nordau and Gaster (in Transylvania) to try to have French and English papers sound an alarm because of Wilhelm II's journey to Zion. Everyone has got to begrudge it to everyone else, and this is how we will get it.

July 1

I am thinking of giving the movement a closer territorial goal, preserving Zion as the final goal.

The poor masses need immediate help, and Turkey is not yet so desperate as to accede to our wishes.

In fact, there will probably be hostile demonstrations against us in Turkey in the immediate future. They will say that they have no intentions of giving us Palestine.

Thus we must organize ourselves for a goal attainable soon, under the Zion flag and maintaining all of our historic claims.

Perhaps we can demand Cyprus from England, and even keep an eye on South Africa or America—until Turkey is dissolved.

C'est encore à creuser profondément [This is still to be thoroughly explored]. Discuss with Nordau before the Congress.

July 6

From my letter to Schauer, who called my attention to an anti-Zionist remark of the Turkish ambassador in Washington:

"I have long been acquainted with the mistrust of the Turks. I anticipated it. *That* is the reason for my opposition to infiltration. It is, at any rate, no short-sightedness in my policy. I can demand a Jewish State in Palestine only while fighting colonization on a small scale. But the latter is apparently brainless—for the critical moment at which Turkey "noticed" the will-to-a-state on the part of the infiltrees would find the colonists unprotected immigrants, while under my policy negotiations can be carried on *before* the boundaries are crossed, thus in a manner far more favorable to us."

July 10

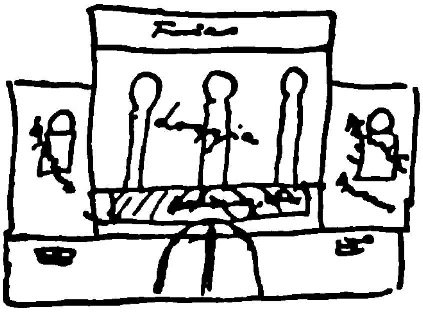
Various opposition to the Congress House in Basel which I want to have Marmorek design.

I hope to overcome this opposition. The Jewish House in Basel will be a landmark of Switzerland, but above all a symbol for Jewry. With nations one must speak in a childish language: a house, a flag, a song are the symbols of communication.

Even Marmorek, to whom I suggested this plan for the building, doesn't quite understand and showed me a sketch of no significance.

After all, in the case of the Jewish House in Basel, neo-Jewish style can be employed for the first time.

I gave Marmorek the following suggestion for the façade of the Jewish House:



The hall is the house. It opens onto the loggia, but is lighted from above like a parliamentary auditorium.

The art form which is most meaningful to me now is architecture. Unfortunately I don't command its means of expression. If I had learned anything, I would be an architect now.

July 12

I gave an interview to the Vienna correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* about the Palestine journey of the German Kaiser. I sought to stir up the attention and jealousy of the other Powers, and said it was our entire hope that we would be regarded as the *pis aller* [last resort]. No power could let any other have Palestine.

At the same time, I intend to irritate the Kaiser a bit by this.

July 31

Yesterday a small engagement with Bacher.

I am now writing editorials for the *N. Fr. Pr.* that are successful. Bacher showers me with compliments, as Benedikt, who is on vacation now, previously did.

Yesterday Bacher said: "I like your editorials even better than your *feuilletons.* Isn't there material for one today?"

I: "There would be one: the German Kaiser's trip to Palestine. But one would have to discuss Zionism in it."

He: "*One* wouldn't have to! *You* would."

Thereupon I opened a discussion of Zionism. He denied the growth of the movement, which, he claimed, was being mentioned as a curiosity at most. He regretted that I was so obstinate, because he liked me and I was an intelligent man otherwise.

I: "Well, then the assumption must be in my favor that I am not doing anything stupid there either."

He: "It is this very assumption that makes me annoyed at you. You can't tell me that it is a serious movement."

I: "The German Kaiser asked through Lucanus for my pamphlet about the Basel Congress."

That astounded him.

I: "In its beginnings Socialism wasn't a serious movement either. Can you deny that it is one now?"

He: "Socialism has changed radically. Marx and Lassalle still thought in terms of a bloody revolution. Today Socialism approaches the gradual transformation of society with bourgeois methods."

I: "Do you think that I expect a realization of my ideas according to program? I am under no illusions about the *plus-petitio* [exorbitance] that is inherent in my demands."

After this I went into a discussion of the question as an international one, saying that France and Russia would not permit the foothold in Palestine which the German Kaiser apparently intends, and that we Zionists probably constituted the *pis aller* for Europe.

He listened to me, shook his head. But this time the fight was a draw.

August 3

Wolffsohn telegraphs that the bankers Seligmann and Marx, who were supposed to come to Cologne for the so-called Bank Conference, have withdrawn their acceptance.

This dirty trick again calls everything into question. I am telegraphing Wolffsohn: Stiff upper lip!

I shall simply launch the Bank at the Congress, which will save us being dependent on the banking bastards.

August 5

Letter to Benedikt (at Scheveningen):

Dear Friend:

First the news you asked me for when we parted: my good child has pretty well recovered. I am starting my vacation today.

Only now am I calm enough to get back to something that we once discussed at the Hotel Impérial: the question of whether the *N. Fr. Pr.* will this year report on the Zionist Congress in Basel. You were going to discuss this with Dr. Bacher, but in the rush of your departure you probably forgot about it.

Without knowing your views Dr. Bacher probably won't make a decision on the matter, i.e., he will not make arrangements to get coverage. However, all other papers, including the Viennese ones, are likely to carry reports this time.

Added to this is the fact that in the near future there will be two conditions which will make mention of the Zionist movement inevitable: 1. the founding of the Zionist Bank with two million pounds sterling, which I have already told you about; 2. the German Kaiser's journey to Palestine. He is going to visit the Jewish colonies there; it is not impossible that on this occasion he will say something about Zionism.

In my estimation, a calm, impartial mention of this movement, which you have underestimated, is advisable at this very time, on the occasion of the Second Congress. Something like what is contained in the 18th volume of *Meyers Konversationslexikon* (half a page).

By this the *N. Fr. Pr.* will in no way commit itself as in favor of my ideas. I certainly don't presume upon you that the *N. Fr. Pr.* should declare itself as a Jewish paper, although undoubtedly both you and Dr. Bacher feel as Jews. If previously you were apprehensive that the propagation of Zionism would deprive you of the right to join in the discussion of the language controversy and other internal Austrian disputes, such an apprehension is no longer justified today.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* used to take a similar point of view, and subsequently carried objective editorials of column length. The *N. Fr. Pr.*, however, will always be able to state that it did nothing toward the dissemination of this idea, even kept silent about it. Zionism has spread its own propaganda and now presents itself to the paper from the outside, like other events.

I personally have not minded being able to perform my literary work quite apart from my political activity. This way, at least, not even the most malevolent were able to say of me that I was a *professional politician**—a breed that is greatly repugnant to me. And I hope that in the future, too, I shall be able to stay with my *feuilletons* quietly, although I have, so to speak, put a major idea on its feet.

After all, I have also declined seats in the Reichsrat, and I'd rather write plays, even though I want to help the poor Jews.

What serious objections can be raised against our wanting to set up a refuge for the oppressed Jewish masses?

Believe me, everywhere the Zionists program has penetrated it has given discussion of the Jewish Question a tone more favorable to us.

August 8

This letter, too, went unmailed, because today in the composing room I saw an editorial from the pen of Privy Councilor Richter about the Kaiser's journey to Palestine.

Bacher got Richter to write the article I recommended—with the omission of Zionism.

* In English in the original.

August 9

Wolffsohn reports that only 100,000 pounds have been subscribed for the Bank.

Everything depends upon whether the weeks until the Congress bring a substantial increase.

If they don't, this time the atmosphere at the Congress would have to be utilized for the Bank. A tremendously difficult task. The rich boys want to let us freeze. *La revanche sera terrible* [The revenge will be terrible].

I may even announce the boycott at this Congress.

August 11

Today Friedrich Schiff of Paris came to see me in Währing. I reminded him of his remark about my idea when I gave him the manuscript of *The Jewish State* to read, three years ago in the Hotel Castille, rue Cambon. He was ashamed and embarrassed, and said: "I have already been converted. You are right, you are really right."

The baiting of Dreyfus converted him.

And just like this man, who once thought me insane, all the others who called me crazy will come round. But what if I had allowed such people to hold me back? The world would be poorer by an idea, Jewry by this great movement.

How great, come to think of it, was the responsibility of those who wanted to deter me, and how slight the punishment that is befalling them for it.

He is embarrassed for a moment and says: You are right!

August 17

Yesterday, farewell to Bacher, since I am going on vacation. He was very cordial, couldn't repeat to me often enough how hard it would be to do without me. He himself broached the subject of the Congress. I told him that if he changed his mind and wanted

to have the Congress covered, he only needed to send me a telegram and I would make arrangements for him to get a good, objective report.

He groaned: "It can't be done! If you weren't with us, we would certainly have written about Zionism by now, like the *Kölnische Zeitung* and others. It is impossible because of you personally, the dual position you occupy."

I didn't press any further. We took a quite cordial leave of each other. But because I have the impression that he has softened after all, I will write the letter to Benedikt, *mutatis mutandis* [the necessary changes having been made]—since the article about the Kaiser is eliminated.

• • •

Conclusion of the letter to Benedikt at Scheveningen, Hôtel Orange:

So, *un bon mouvement* [a good movement]!

If I'm not mistaken, Dr. Bacher, who is certainly favorably disposed toward me personally, is at heart no longer so sharply opposed to reporting about the Congress.

You will be well informed, too, *je vous en réponds* [I guarantee you this]; you only have to notify me in time. And all this can be done as discreetly as you require it. After all, this is what we learned to read and write for.

One thing is certain: the Congress will this time be even much more magnificent than the first one.

With cordial regards.

Yours very sincerely,
Th. Herzl.

Conclusion: I believe you ought to write or telegraph Dr. Bacher to order coverage of Basel from me. Then the *N. Fr. Pr.* will have registered the movement, as it were, and can henceforth calmly wait and see whether something great, historic comes of it (as I believe it will), or whether it dries up in the sand.

August 25

In Basel again.

Less and less time for impressionistic pictures. Everything has turned into action.

Yesterday I came here from Lucerne with Wolffsohn. On the train he converted me to the idea of establishing the Bank with less than two million pounds, possibly with five million marks. This small Bank can then set up the necessary subsidiaries.

In Basel I was met at the station by many people. This attention was very embarrassing to me.

August 29

The first day of the Congress is over.

Beforehand, all sorts of excitement and weariness, Bank Conference *a non conferendo* [that doesn't confer], agitation by *agités* [the agitated], etc. Moreover, receptions, devotions, admirations. It all vanishes from beneath me in a peculiar way, as though I were going up in a balloon—nor does it give me any sort of pleasure. When I was twenty years old—or later?—we were on summer vacation at some place where there was a green meadow, and in the evenings I used to walk across it, absorbed in youthful dreams. I no longer know the location of this meadow which I still see before me; for ever since I have remembered this peaceful evening as something lost, I have forgotten where it was. Somewhere past Vöslau, I think, maybe Pottenstein; but it could have been Reichenhall. In that case it would have been five years later, when I was working at the courthouse in Salzburg. A green meadow at eventide, a tall tree by my path, a little house—I no longer know whether a farm house or a parsonage—an infinite, fragrant peace over it. There I was longing for the world and happy in my lack of success. This charming meadow occurs to me now when the world is becoming more map-like for me.

• • •

Question is whether the intoxication of the Congress will again pass like that, without leaving any traces. One hope is the Bank.

When I left for my hotel last night at eleven o'clock—we had three sessions, and no time for supper—the anarchist Marcou Baruch, who has been tamed by Zionism, went with me. He said: "*Je regrette que vous mettiez en avant du peuple d'Israël la banque. Je ne le voudrais pas—pour l'histoire* [I am sorry that you should put the bank ahead of the people of Israel. I wouldn't want it—for the sake of history]!"

Otherwise a muddle-head, this fellow did utter the first magnificent words of the Congress.

• • •

The debates yesterday afternoon were depressing.

In the morning I had read off my programmatic speech, and Nordau had given his annual address. He again spoke splendidly, but a bit long-windedly, and actually did not have much that was new to say. He is a terrific speaker.

In the afternoon, the treasurer's report.

Then the nonsense started immediately. Gaster presided with a heavy hand. Oskar Marmorek, to my complete despair, praised the Actions Committee because it had achieved so much—with such small means. And in the gallery sat Newlinski, whom I had sent for with his wife and children, so that he might report to the Sultan how strong our movement was. After that Bernstein-Kohan took the floor and praised us because we had accomplished all this without money, without resources. I sent word to him that he should shut up that instant, otherwise I would leave the Congress. He went on talking nonsense without stopping, referring six more times to our poverty—until I had the session interrupted in order to convene the Finance Committee.

All the speakers wanted details, statements that we cannot give, because they are too small. The movement this year is nine times (Schnirer's figure) bigger than it was the previous year—but it is just that last year it was ridiculously small. This is something that had to be hurdled. Luckily our books, which we submitted to

the Finance Committee, were in splendid order. We were able to show a surplus of 61,000 francs.

The rest is in the *Welt*.

• • •

The opponents who had been announced with a lot of shouting evaporated in the Congress. Landau made himself ridiculous with his opposition; I didn't need to destroy him. Bambus pulled in his horns.

September 2, at Constance

The Congress is over.

A feeling of utter exhaustion. The last session until five in the morning.

I made the mistake of overloading the third day as the final day; hence the excitement of the final night and the successful dirty tricks of the Galician bastards Kohn (little Kohn), Landau, Salz, and Malz. Landau was the noisiest and the stupidest.

It's true that I hamstrung them; but if I had not been so exhausted from that twenty-one-hour stretch of presiding, I would have annihilated them. Now the chairman's words needed for that occur to me. I should have said: Once more there is an attempt from the same quarter to affix a yellow badge of shame to our Congress!

I should have nailed little Kohn like a bat when he was up there on the speaker's platform: Are you a Zionist?

In short, many other things.

One can't foresee everything. Otherwise, we would have had a splendid fourth day with the turn in the Dreyfus affair and the telegraphic reply from the Sultan which I had not counted on at all.

I have to be all the more indignant at the behavior of Schnirer, Kokesch, and Mintz. These people actually wanted to desert me when they noticed the displeasure of the Congress at our failure to make the financial picture public. I let Mintz go, because he had been an uncertain recruit all year anyway. The two others I

induced to stay. Mintz is a born deserter; he has caused me embarrassment enough. Schnirer and Kokesch are decent people, even though their hearts sank into their boots. They live within too narrow horizons. They absolutely fail to understand why I allowed Newlinski to run up a hotel bill of 500 francs in Basel, just as they approved his monthly subvention only with teeth-gritting and mistrust.

These are the instruments I have to work with. They break in my hand, like the wooden paper-knife at that tempestuous session.

• • •

This diary is deficient—I feel it. The stormy aspects are lacking in their secret nature, which I could still get down directly afterwards and then forget. The lifeless aspects are also lacking, and the moods of depression which they cause would be of even greater interest to the future readers of these notes.

• • •

During the Congress I also had a secret contest with the rabbis of the blackest stripe who had come to join the movement. They wanted concessions, which I denied them. I felt that they were yielding and wanted to salvage whatever they could from their defeat. When I made no concessions to them, they went along even without them.

• • •

Big wrangles also about the Bank matter. However, the opposition, with clever Bambus at its head, did not attack our badly-covered position skillfully. When I saw that they chose a point of attack unfavorable to them and fought only for the addition "Palestine and Syria" to Article 2 of the first resolution on the Bank, I forced discussion so as to tire the people out. After I had let them scream on this point for four hours, I abandoned it, because it was not at all important to me. They thought they had

won a victory, and the proposal to found the Bank—the only thing that mattered—went through amid cheers.

The only error in the debate on the Bank was that I allowed a half-hour recess to take place, during which time the physically exhausted opposition was able to fortify itself a bit.

• • •

Today I am traveling with Hechler to see the Grand Duke.

September 3, Bregenz

Yesterday, then, I was with the Grand Duke. It was a charming early-autumn morning when Hechler and I went in the hotel carriage from Constance over to the island of Mainau.

My mood was fundamentally different from the one before the meeting at Karlsruhe. I no longer expected so much from the conversation, which this time was to bring so incomparably much more.

At eleven o'clock we arrived at Mainau Castle, but had to wait a full hour in the pretty salon on the ground floor. Court atmosphere. Heavy lackeys, who still have the army in their bones and try to float over the parquet floor with their peasant feet. Officers in civilian clothes, then a general (Müller?) who was Hechler's successor as tutor to the princes and accosted him. The general said with a touch of humor: "In those days you predicted to us the end of the world as imminent. I held it very much against you. And you see, the world has'nt come to an end yet."

Hechler introduced me to the humorist, but I contented myself with nodding coolly. The general looked at the photograph of the Congress with polite irony, too. Hechler is fine for the entrée, but afterwards one becomes a bit ridiculous because of him.

Then we had to step into an adjoining room, because the Grand Duchess and the Duchess of Genoa were supposed to pass through the salon. Such small humiliations, which are not directed against me personally at all, but against everything that

is not "court," give me back my stiffness which I lose through obliging treatment.

At twelve o'clock we were called to the first floor to see the Grand Duke. He was in civilian clothes, salon coat, white vest, and greeted me with great friendliness. During the entire audience I was able to see his face only in silhouette because he intentionally sat with his back to the window, while I was fully illuminated as though I were to be X-rayed.

The conversation was downright grandiose, highly political. If I were to publish it today, it would be a sensation for all of Europe. The Grand Duke conversed with me in the most candid manner about all of world politics, and from each of his kindly words there shone benevolence toward me and good will for the cause. But he also gave me a magnificent demonstration of his confidence by discussing with me the most secret German political matters and speaking unreservedly about the intentions of the Kaiser.

He began by saying that the German government had made inquiries in Constantinople about the attitude there toward the Zionist movement and had been informed that the Sultan viewed our cause with favor. Later remarks brought out the fact that the inquiry was made through Herr von Marschall who enjoys great favor with the Sultan.

I was able to supplement this information with the news that the day before I had received a telegram of thanks from the Sultan.

The Grand Duke told me that he had made a detailed report about the Zionist movement to the Kaiser. The latter thereupon instructed Count Eulenburg to make a closer study of the matter and report on it.

The Grand Duke now told me on what good terms the Kaiser was with the Sultan. This excellent relationship started with the Cretan question. The friendly turn that Germany rendered the Turks by withdrawing troops from Crete made the very deepest impression. German influence in Yildiz was now unlimited, he said. England has been crowded out completely, to

say nothing of the other Powers. And the Grand Duke added with a smile of satisfaction: "We have accomplished all this without using the fleet or making any special exertions. Germany's wishes receive unqualified consideration. And if our Kaiser drops a word to the Sultan, it will certainly be heeded. But we have to be very careful. In world history, individual steps sometimes take a very long time. One must have patience. First you must wait until the Kaiser returns. If he received you before that, it might do the project more harm than good. You know what comments the Kaiser's journey has elicited everywhere. The so-called Palestine journey, which was originally supposed to have only a religious character, has now become a political one. This follows from the fact that the Kaiser will be going to Constantinople first, whereas originally be intended to go directly to Palestine. Thus he will first be paying a visit to the suzerain of the country. From Palestine he will then go to Egypt, that is, to another vassal state of the Sultan.

Continued on the train:

I remarked that it would be very welcome if I could make a presentation to the Kaiser before his departure, so that he might speak about Zionism in Yildiz *en connaissance de cause* [from acquaintance with the subject].

The Grand Duke asked: "Do you intend to found a state? I believe that would be the only right thing for you to do, if you wish to have legal security. (I had told him that earlier, and also that we don't want to expose ourselves to the whims of pasha government.) A formula could be found by which you keep the overlordship of the Sultan, something like the former Danube principalities. What it would turn into later (he smiled)—say, in a generation—that, after all, we cannot tell today."

I now expounded my oft-mentioned points of view, our relationship to the revolutionary parties, which evidently pleased him. (*Parbleu* [of course]!)

When I mentioned the consequences that Zionism has had in Russia, where the Socialists and Anarchists are being converted to Zionism, because we have given them an ideal, he

nodded vigorously and said: "Pobedonostsev ought to hear that. You should tell it to him."

He saw a major misgiving in the fact that certain groups of Jews would see something anti-Semitic in the partisanship of the German government. Until now, he said, people have regarded Zionism as a species of anti-Semitism. And he mentioned the fact that during the Jewish riots in Algeria Rothschild had threatened the French government that he would leave the country if order were not restored. Thereupon a new governor had been sent to Algeria. He seemed to fear a similar threat of exodus on the part of the German-Jewish financiers.

I tried to set him straight on this. The German Jews would no longer have anything against Zionism from the moment they were sure that no one would interpret it as unpatriotic behavior on their part. An exodus of all Jews was not intended anyway. Assimilation would start in earnest then. And just as the Huguenot families, who are still flourishing in Germany today, have been well assimilated, it would then be the same way with the Jews. Indeed, if a Heine wrote poetry for the Germans then, they would not cast him out as a Jew, but rejoice at his having sung the beautiful German songs.

Just as Chamisso, whose home was Boncourt Castle, is considered a good German poet.

In other ways, too, I drew his attention to the fact that with the Jews a *German* cultural element would come to the Orient. Evidence of this: German writers—even though of Jewish descent—are leading the Zionist movement. The language of the Congress is German. The overwhelming majority of the Jews are part of German culture.

We need a protectorate—accordingly, we would prefer a German one. We cannot do things all by ourselves; people must help us if they acknowledge our endeavors to be just, etc.—the often-said things, but this time said at the right address.

He liked all that. He also spoke about anti-Semitism, entirely in the spirit of Kaiser Friedrich. He called it an ugly movement, first anti-Semitic, then anti-capitalistic, finally anarchistic.

Hechler occasionally broke in with prophetic remarks about *the return of the Jews.** The Grand Duke listened to him with a benign smile, but nodded approval to me when I said:

"Such things are beyond my judgment. I can only speak of what I see."

At this the Grand Duke said: "Yes, let us consider the matter only as a world-historical matter and not as a theological one."

Hechler spoke about the Ark of the Covenant which Henning Melander plans to search for. I asked the Grand Duke whether he had read those articles in the *Welt*. He said yes, and then he said that the Kaiser wished to discuss this Ark of the Covenant if they were so inclined in Yildiz. The Kaiser was extremely interested in the Ark, and its discovery would certainly be an event in world history.

One of the wishes the Kaiser planned to express to the Sultan was for permission to conduct a search for the Ark.

Many other interesting and noteworthy things were brought up. He spoke of the petty intrigues which the Prince of Bulgaria was carrying on now, and of how here, too, Germany had intervened between the little Balkan princes and the Porte; Milan in Serbia was the disquieting element. He said he had to tell me something that I, as an Austrian, would probably not like to hear—namely, that Austria no longer had the influence to intervene in this way.

Then we spoke about Austria—he always with the greatest candor and confidence—and how deplorable the present bungled situation was. The latest proposal was to make Austria into a federation of states.

"That would be the end," I said. "Whom would one place at the heads of the individual states?"

"Archdukes perhaps!" said the Grand Duke.

"I do not believe that would work," I replied. "The situation is different from that in Germany. Germany is stronger as a federation of states, but Austria would be weaker. The unifying bond is lacking. The only one is the dynasty. The archdukes

* In English in the original.

could not be sovereigns, but only governors. A prince must grow out of the soil."

And many more memorable words were spoken, not all of which now come back to my mind. Finally, at a quarter to two, he said with amiable regret that he had to dismiss us now. He gave me a long hand-shake, assured me of his aid and his good will, and said that he had a lively interest in the subject. And when I had already walked a few steps away, he overtook me again and squeezed my hand once more.

I took my leave.

Hechler stayed behind a few more minutes and asked if the fact that this audience took place might be made public. The Grand Duke permitted it. But later I told Hechler, who will convey this to the Grand Duke today, that I preferred to forego the announcement so as to be able to operate in complete secrecy. It would give rise to distrustful discussion if it became known that the Grand Duke is interested in Zionism—just before the Kaiser's Palestinian trip.

• • •

Letter to Bacher, dated Bregenz, September 3:

Dear Friend: (Strictly Confidential)

The Congress is over. I am sorry, and not for my sake, that the *N. Fr. Pr.* has again failed to take cognizance of this event.

In my devotion to you and our paper, which is well known to you, I consider it my duty nevertheless to tell you that very big things are in the offing. The Sultan sent me a telegram of thanks at Basel. The Grand Duke of Baden invited me to visit him following the Congress. Yesterday I have been to Mainau Castle and had a two-hour conversation with him which would cause the greatest sensation throughout the whole world if I made it public. The Kaiser will call on the Sultan in Constantinople prior to going to Palestine.

It is high time for the *N. Fr. Pr.* to register the Zionist movement. I shall once more place at your disposal an article about

Zionism, which I will sign, so that it may not be taken for the view of the publishers. You are aware that I know how to write discreetly.

Kindly direct your answer to Unterach am Attersee.

If you don't wish to accept my suggestion, I still count on your complete silence to everyone, as though I had requested your word of honor in advance.

With cordial regards,

Your devoted
Th. H.

September 9, Unterach

After careful consideration I did not mail the letter to Bacher. Wolffsohn, who accompanied me here, concurs with me in this.

• • •

Yesterday I wrote to the Grand Duke that for reasons of expediency I would for the time being make no use of his permission, conveyed to me by Hechler, to make public the fact that I had an audience with him.

• • •

At the same time I wrote the Vienna ambassador Eulenburg that the Grand Duke had informed me that he had been instructed by the Kaiser to report on our movement. I would like to speak to the Kaiser before his Palestinian trip. If Eulenburg desired further information, I was ready to come to Vienna for a day.

September 15, on the train to Vienna

Yesterday I received this wire from Eulenburg: "Shall be available on 16th, nine a.m., German Embassy. Eulenburg."

I thereupon decided to go to Vienna at once. The German Kaiser is coming to Vienna on the 17th for the funeral services of the murdered Empress and may receive me.

• • •

This time I have neglected entering a great deal about the Congress.

Nordau was charming, amicable, and intelligent. He has reconciled himself to playing second fiddle, and because of this shone all the more. This time, too, he was fully a Zionist, while the first time he had not used the word and the idea as though they were part of him. Last year he only gave a report on Zionism.

He was opposed to suppressing the financial report. He said it was praiseworthy to admit that we were weak and had only an army of beggars and fools. I would risk making myself suspect if an accounting of the money were not given. I stubbornly stuck to my view.

At length he said that he was standing by the shore, watching me fight the waves in the middle of the river. (True!) I was swimming well and vigorously. But if he saw me in danger, he would jump in after me and pull me out.

September 16, Vienna

This morning, with Eulenburg.

When I arrived at the Embassy Palace, the Count has just been summoned to the Emperor at Schönbrunn, because it was reported that the Prince Regent of Bavaria had had a stroke.

I had to wait for an hour, together with Hechler, who had received permission from Eulenburg to convert a small salon into a Palestine museum for the benefit of the Kaiser, who arrives tomorrow. While mounting his charts, Hechler started perspiring and finally threw off his coat. He went on working in his shirt sleeves. At last everything was arranged: temple models, maps, plaster casts of ancient relics, etc.

About half past ten the Count returned, apologized, and after inspecting Hechler's curiosities, he launched into an amiable conversation.

He is a tall, elegant man, on life's downward slope. Somewhere around 55, but he still seems to have a future. Imperial Chancellor, perhaps?

He gives the impression of complete self-possession. You have a man before you who is locked tight like an iron safe. He looks you full in the face, and yet there is nothing to be read in his cold, blue eyes, in his wrinkled face with its grey, pointed beard. Suddenly the iron safe opens, although he has not moved a muscle. The change lies only in the expression of his hard, blue eyes, which can become soft. And on bidding me farewell, while a moment before he had given me a full and friendly look, he suddenly locked himself up again.

He opened the conversation by expressing two misgivings: the soil in Palestine was lacking in humus, and the Turks would view the immigration of two million people with disfavor, indeed, suspicion.

For the Sultan—he gave me a deep look—was downright criminal with fright.

He spoke at some length and with assurance, although he evidently is not yet acquainted with the project.

Then I took the floor and said all the things I have already said so often, in *The Jewish State, The Basel Congress*, etc. They were new to him and visibly fascinated him.

He asked what I actually wanted the Kaiser to do at Constantinople; did I want him to tell the Sultan to give us the land and autonomy?

No, I said, the Kaiser should only put in a word recommending that the Sultan enter into negotiations with us. After all, the matter was very complicated. We were not really interested in getting permission to immigrate. We would take the country only on the basis of autonomy.

The blue eyes repeatedly deepened as I spoke. He became perceptibly warmer.

He had promised me at the outset that he would try to persuade the Kaiser to receive me in East Prussia, where he was going on a hunting party, for he was to accompany the Kaiser there.

It was unlikely that the Kaiser would receive me tomorrow in Vienna, for he would arrive at one o'clock and leave again at nine in the evening. During those few hours he would have a

great deal of excitement, and he also had to confer with Bülow, with the Imperial Chancellor, and with others. I thereupon made the suggestion that perhaps I could go along on the Kaiser's Imperial train and make my presentation to him *en route.*

Eulenburg thought it over and said he intended to bring it up tomorrow, if the opportunity arose.

But I think I made the strongest impression on him when I said: "Our movement exists; I expect that one or another of the Powers will espouse it. Originally I had thought that it would be England. It lay in the nature of things. But it would be even more welcome to me if it were Germany. The Jews of today are predominantly German in culture. I am not saying this because I am at the German Embassy right now, but because it is true. Proof: the official language of the two Basel Congresses."

The mention of England, in which I have been mistaken thus far (but which might still come through after all), was the *coup final* [clincher].

All of a sudden he declared that he would welcome my speaking with Bülow tomorrow. The latter was coming down from the Semmering; he would not be attending the funeral services and might be able to see me.

I put myself at his disposal, saying that I would be waiting at the *Welt* tomorrow morning from ten o'clock on.

When I was at the door, the blue eyes again closed down like iron, with the lids still open.

I held the outer, he the inner, door-handle as I went out. When I pulled it shut somewhat slowly, I felt a stronger counterpressure from inside the room.

In the afternoon the Actions Committee met at my home. I gave them a report. The two Marmoreks greeted my success enthusiastically, Dr. Kahn was curious, Schnirer and Kokesch took it almost as a matter of course.

Once a poor stock-exchange *galopin* [errand boy] suddenly made 50,000 guilders. During the first hour he nearly went crazy

with joy. By the second he said: "50,000 guilders! *Hasst ä Tusch* [Some big deal]!

• • •

As a reward for his past *management,** Hechler gets his traveling expenses to Palestine—1000 guilders, to start with.

He is such a good old soul, modest and humble. He did not even ask for it. It does my heart good to make the old man's secret wish come true.

September 18, Ischl

Yesterday was a noteworthy day, one that might have become a day of destiny for the movement. Would the Kaiser receive me?

I slept late, wasn't a bit nervous, and didn't arrive at the office of the *Welt* until the stroke of ten, having come from my home in the "Cottage" section. They had already phoned from the German Embassy that I was to come there at eleven.

At eleven o'clock I drove up. The doorman told me Count Eulenburg was not in. I replied that I wished to see Herr von Bülow, which surprised the lackey. On the staircase a footman met me: "His Excellency is expecting you."

Bülow received me in his living quarters, with trunks open—he had just arrived. He greeted me with captivating kindness, saying he had read many of my writings, was happy to make my acquaintance, etc.

At this I grew weak. I had confronted Eulenburg, who had received me coolly, with resoluteness, and my words had been iron-like and clear. In Bülow's presence I unfortunately became a vain writer and strove harder to make polished *mots* [phrases] than to talk seriously to the point. This was simply a fit of weakness caused by his ingratiating behavior. After the conversation I had the delayed reaction *d'avoir été bercé et roulé* [that I had been properly taken in].

Bülow doesn't give the impression of being a Prussian, but of

* In English in the original.

something like a North German Austrian: smooth, obliging, at times almost sweet, more *vieux jeu* [the old style] of diplomacy than the new iron kind of Bismarck's era. He is tall and slim, but not stiff; a friendly face with rather gentle eyes and a small blond-grey moustache, otherwise clean-shaven; the bearing of an old lieutenant who resigned his commission early because his gaiters bored him. Evidently has artistic leanings, too. (Eulenburg had mentioned the day before yesterday that he had.)

From this it may be concluded what a brilliant wind blows from the summit. The Prussian court appears to be more concerned with art than people suppose.

Our conversation unfortunately was more of a chat than a tightly organized political conversation. It also jumped from one thing to another; the anti-Socialist aspect of Zionism was gone into in the greatest detail—"flirted with" would be more correct; on the other hand, little was said about the Oriental-colonial and political aspects.

Bülow was already informed about the Second Congress, and he asked why the *N. Fr. Pr.* had kept silent and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* had written in such an unfriendly tone. I explained that it was due to the fear on the part of the Jewish-liberal papers that the anti-Semites would question their patriotism.

It was regrettable, I added, that our movement was actually becoming known only through jokes and caricatures; but if one had strong enough nerves, this too was a good way, after all, to popularize the idea.

He nodded with a smile.

I then expounded my theory about draining off the surplus Jewish masses. He agreed with me that through this immigration the lot and the situation of the remaining Jews would improve. There were also plenty of Jews whose departure would certainly not be welcomed. But they would remain in any case. In fact, he did not believe that I would get many adherents from Central and Western Germany to come along; only from the East, and perhaps also those who felt the tightest economic squeeze and who would then be led by a few idealists.

He, too, confirmed what Eulenburg had already told me: that the Kaiser was by no means an anti-Semite, which he was decried as being. He was merely against the destructive Jews.

This brought us to Socialism. I made my position clear—that it was folly on the part of Jews to join the Socialist movement, which would soon rid itself of them. Then, too, Jews were not Socialists at heart. I mentioned something that I had recently read: Pre-Mosaic Egypt was a Socialist state. Through the Decalogue Moses created an individualistic form of society. And the Jews, I said, are and will remain individualists.

He liked that, too. He quoted Heine, who had talked about "egalitarian louts." * The Jews, said Bülow, would never put up with that equality stuff. He had once discussed the Socialist state of the future with a Socialist leader. It would be like a field of poppies in which every taller flower would be beheaded. Such a state would be boring and devoid of talent, too.

Was all this courtesy to a visitor, or honestly meant? Both Eulenburg and Bülow expressed themselves about the Jews in such a way that if their words were made public they would get the reputation of being the most extreme philo-Semites.

Quite a few details of this conversation, which flitted about restlessly, have already escaped me. When I quoted Bülow the Grand Duke's words about his being considered the most qualified person to make an unobjectionable presentation of such a difficult and delicate subject as Zionism, he bowed and was quite touched; and at that moment he was the weaker of us two.

But presently he regained the upper hand when he said: "If only we were that far along, the key-word of the situation would be found. Whether you or I or another, wiser man says it makes no difference. As I see it, the main difficulty lies in managing to give the Sultan that advice to enter into negotiations with you. It would surely make a big impression on him if the Kaiser were to give him such advice. But we would have to see to it that others do not find out about it, otherwise the entire combination may be upset."

* Translator's Note: Heine called America the land of the *Gleichheitsflegel*.

I gathered that he was not in favor of my being received by the Kaiser either in Vienna or on the train. He didn't come right out with it, but I sensed it, despite his geniality. Had I been too talkative and given him the impression that I couldn't keep my mouth shut? Or are their intentions toward us already so serious that they have to carry out this plan with caution? I shall not find out until later.

With regard to the Socialist aspect of the question, at any rate, we saw eye to eye. He was impressed when I mentioned the fact that at the University of Vienna we have taken students away from Socialism. Some might believe they will set up the Socialist state of the future "over there"; but that was not my view. We might be able to arrange some matters better than in our old society, but on the whole, things would probably have to remain much the same. If I thought otherwise, I would *really* be a Utopian.

Again he had his charming smile: "Yes, it would then be the *polis* [city-state] of Plato!"

We had chatted for about three-quarters of an hour. A servant entered and put something in order. At this Bülow suddenly asked me to excuse him: he had to go to the station to meet the Kaiser.

And before I had had a chance to unfold the entire matter, our conversation came to an abrupt end. He dismissed me with the utmost amiability. I managed to give him Erter's article from issue No. 37 of the *Welt* and told him that according to this article there was even less of a legal case for the French claims to the Orient than for claims which might be made by others. He quite shared this view and promised to read the article. Finally, I begged him to introduce me to the Kaiser, if possible, even though it were only in the train on the return journey. I should be pleased to hold myself at his disposal in some baggage-car. Again he nodded. He never says no—nor yes either.

Then I left, and knew even on the stairs that nothing was going to come of it—either because I had committed some blunder, or because he does not consider it expedient.

I immediately summoned my good Hechler, so as to salvage whatever could be salvaged from the situation.

Hechler then waited in the doorkeeper's quarters at the Embassy during the entire dinner (which followed the funeral of the Empress). He sent his card to Count Eulenburg, saying he was below stairs and at his command. But no call was sent to him.

I myself waited at the *Welt* for a call, from five o'clock on. I put a crape band around my hat and bought black gloves, so as to appear at the station in the proper court attire. It got to be eight o'clock—half past eight—a quarter to nine. Then Hechler called me on the phone. The Kaiser had just left with Eulenburg for the station—without remembering me.

I was rather disconcerted and drove to the Westbahn terminal in order to take the train to Ischl. Hechler accompanied me. We agreed on what he should say to Eulenburg today. I planned to write Eulenburg from Unterach. At Ischl I received a wire from Colonel Eiss, saying that the German Embassy had telephoned to ask whether I was still in Vienna. He had replied: No. Should he call me back from Ischl? Unnecessary, they said; the message would be put in writing.

Does that mean that all is not lost yet?

At any rate, I have the promises of Eulenburg and Bülow that the German government intends to assist us in Constantinople. *Vederemo* [We shall see]!

September 21, on the train at the Lake of Zurich

When I left Unterach last night, no word had come from Eulenburg. Therefore I must assume that I evaluated the situation correctly after my conversation with Bülow. I shall not be able to see the Kaiser.

To make one last attempt, I plan to write the following letter to Eulenburg from Paris:

Your Excellency:

My devoted thanks for listening to me in Vienna, promising

me your help, and giving me the opportunity of speaking with Herr von Bülow. Unfortunately the conversation with the latter remained incomplete, since His Excellency had to leave for the station to meet His Imperial Majesty. Our discussion had not progressed beyond those points which would indicate that our movement can fight and weaken the revolutionary parties.

Originally I had believed that this alone would gain us the exalted protection of His Majesty. But according to the remarks of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden I may assume that the further course of our movement in the Orient, if we should succeed in initiating an organized exodus of the proletarians to be settled, would engage the interest of German policy. Actually it is an element of German culture that would come to the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean with the Jews.

I beg Your Excellency not to interpret it as immodesty on my part if I once more present my request for an audience with H.M. It is of the greatest timeliness. I do not wish to reproach myself later with not having appreciated this important moment. One word from the Kaiser can have the greatest consequences for the shaping of things in the Orient. I should particularly like to direct the attention of His Majesty to some things which I have already briefly indicated to Your Excellency:

1. The relief for the internal situation of the different countries if those parts of the Jewish population that are considered superfluous are diverted. At present they are supplying the revolutionary parties with leaders and lieutenants.
2. In the natural course of things each country would relinquish only as many Jews as it can spare. In each country, the drainage would come to a standstill along with anti-Semitism itself. For the stimulus to emigrate, which, as it is, is lacking or only slight in the upper economic strata, would then be eliminated.
3. For Turkey, the influx of an intelligent, economically energetic national element would mean an unmistakable strengthening. Therefore, the advice which the Kaiser would

give to the Sultan would be the advice of a friend. The latter should enter into negotiations with the Zionists, which would for the time being involve no obligation and be kept completely secret.

Turkey would have direct benefits (a large payment of money on our part, and possibly a further improvement of her finances) as well as indirect benefits, through the general increase in commerce.

4. The return of even the semi-Asiatic Jews under the leadership of thoroughly modern persons must undoubtedly mean the restoration to health of this neglected corner of the Orient. Civilization and order would be brought there. Thus the migration of the Jews would eventually be an effective protection of the Christians in the Orient.
5. The needs of all of non-Russian Europe call for the creation of a direct Southern route to Asia: that is, a railroad from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. The Jews could and must build this great road of the nations, which, if undertaken differently, might call forth the most serious rivalries.

For all these reasons I venture to ask for a hearing from His Majesty, even before his departure for Constantinople.

In the internal situation of France I now find a peculiar, completely unexpected corroboration of my arguments. I lived there for four years and am somewhat acquainted with the country. Nevertheless, this time I am quite taken aback by the increase of disorganization in a short time. Thus France must acquiesce to every *fait accompli* which does not irritate it almost to the point of insensibility.

What I am saying here quite plainly and seriously will, I hope, find its way to the genius of the Kaiser through the kindness of Your Excellency.

The journey to the Holy Land is now grandly conceived as a pilgrimage on the part of His Majesty. But it can turn out to be more; it can attain to the significance of a historic turning-point in the Orient, if the return of the Jews is initiated.

And precisely this greater end would remain concealed for a while. It is the same as in the mountains, where a water-shed is not immediately noticed either. But then the waters flow differently.

Commending the cause which I represent in all humility to Your Excellency's benevolence, I remain, with deepest respect,

Yours faithfully,
Dr. Theodor Herzl.

With it, a second sheet:

Since a letter addressed to Your Excellency might attract the attention of the local post office, I am arranging for it to be mailed in Cologne. My address, until September 29, inclusive, will be: Hotel Castille, rue Cambon, Paris; then, until October 1: Doelen Hotel, Amsterdam; from October 2 until October 5, inclusive: Burlington Hotel, Cork Street, Piccadilly, London, W. Then, Vienna again. A message will probably reach me most inconspicuously through the German Legation in the cities concerned. I would be very happy if I received orders to travel from London to His Majesty. However, it goes without saying that I am available earlier, or later, at any place whatever.

September 24, Paris

I am writing the letter to Eulenburg at the Hotel Castille, in the same room and at the same table where I wrote *The Jewish State.*

• • •

Day before yesterday I was at Nordau's, yesterday at Zadoc Kahn's.

Just talk.

September 29, on the train to Holland

Obviously there is no helping the French Jews. They make a fire with their beds. They seek protection from the Socialists and the destroyers of the present civil order.

Zadoc was of good cheer, because it no longer involves Dreyfus, but Zola, and Picquart.

The Hague, September 30

The French Jews are absolutely unavailable to us. Truly, they are not Jews any more. To be sure, they are no Frenchmen either. They will probably become the leaders of European anarchism.

• • •

I also had a farewell conversation with Nordau. He said he was unable to put himself at the disposal of the movement to the extent he would like to. He would jeopardize his position with the *Vossische Zeitung* and his livelihood. Unfortunately true. It is a crying shame that we cannot support a propagandistic talent like his.

Nordau views my achievements with the Grand Duke and Bülow with skepticism. He thinks nothing at all of Bülow's obliging attitude. He feels that Bülow only wanted to have a chat with an interesting man who has recently been in the news.

• • •

Nordau showed me a letter from Gaster imploring him to come along to London, since I simply would not be dissuaded.

Strange behavior on the part of Bentwich and Gaster, who invited me in Basel to come to London at the beginning of October and now are against it.

I have only one explanation for Gaster's letter: he wants to cushion my appearance with that of Nordau. The rally shall not be held for *one* man. Two men are less than one, thinks Gaster, who seems to be concerned about *supremacy*.*

However, Nordau doesn't feel like playing a supporting role, and he isn't going to London.

* In English in the original.

The Hague, September 30

Traveled again through the fragrant Dutch countryside. But not as I once did. In 1885 I was a callow dreamer who saw only the surface of things.

Today the country has a different message for me.

I see a city suddenly rising from the plain, without mountain, river, or sea—without motive, so to speak. This is The Hague.

A proof that will-power makes cities rise.

If I point my finger at a spot, and say: here shall be a city—a city will come into being there.

All Holland is a proof of what men can extract from the most unfavorable soil.

A young man in love sees his beloved under every woman's hat.

In the same way, to me everything is now an allusion to, and a memory of, my idea.

The Hague, October 1

Yesterday Kann, whom I came here to see about the Bank, took me to the painter Israels. A short, agile, smart old little Jew. He is just painting David playing the harp before Saul. I explained Zionism to him and recruited him. He thought the idea beautiful.

October 2, 6 o'clock in the morning

What happened yesterday I shall record *en route.*

I am now writing to Eulenburg:

Your Excellency:

Please accept my humblest thanks for your very kind letter and all that it contained.

I shall leave London on Wednesday evening and go directly to Berlin; I shall report to Your Excellency immediately upon my arrival, since I can stay in Berlin only till Friday evening. My Berlin address is Palast Hotel, Potsdamer Platz.

With deepest gratitude and respect, I remain

Your Excellency's humble servant,
Dr. Th. H.

October 2, on the steamer between Flushing and Queensborough

Yesterday the following took place. In the morning I went with Kann from The Hague to Amsterdam where I had directed my mail. I did not expect, or only *vaguement* [vaguely], that Eulenburg would answer me.

At the Doelen Hotel I was told that a gentleman had come there, looking for me, two days ago. Since I had written to no one but Eulenburg and my family that I would be staying at the Doelen Hotel in Amsterdam, I immediately guessed something.

The surmise became a certainty when I received Eulenburg's note, the coda to his long letter. I immediately drove to the German Consulate, where I was received without the *morgue officielle* [official arrogance]. The secretary told me that I had been expected since yesterday. However, could I prove my identity? "Because that could cost us our necks." I established my identity in more of a psychological than a documentary fashion, since I had no papers of any kind on me. My passport was at The Hague. I persuaded them of my identity. The Vice-Consul was even more amiable when he handed me Eulenburg's letter.

I read the letter in the carriage, and at first was almost dazed by it. The colossal achievement which it represented at first had an unpleasant effect on me. I saw at once the grave consequences which this can have for me at the *N. Fr. Pr.* If, after the expiration of my leave, I go to Palestine instead of reporting for duty at the office, this could quite simply cost me my job. On the other hand, I cannot disregard the Kaiser's wish, which really is a command. Eulenburg writes that the Kaiser would be disappointed if he did not see me in Jerusalem. So there is no hesitating. *C'est l'engrennage* [I'm caught in the toils]. I cannot do otherwise, I must put even my position at stake.

Wolffsohn was waiting for me at The Hague. I did not immediately tell him and Kann what was in the letter. *J'étais littéralement bouleversé* [I was literally bowled over]. I rode my

bicycle, alone, to Scheveningen, relaxed through the physical exercise and the view of the beautiful evening sea. A sunset in reddened clouds, some cloud-drama of unknown melody and plot which was taking place between the lustreless sky and the shimmering sea, in bloody catastrophes, unintelligible but gripping.

During the day I had seen many other beautiful things. The brownish-green, softly fragrant landscape between The Hague and Amsterdam. The deep green of the shrubs, the brown, oily, sluggish canals, the wandering wings of the wind-mills—a whole enchanting world of muted color. In Amsterdam, the exhibition of the collected Rembrandts, including "The Night Watch," which was well hung this time and glowed with color. Also paintings by Maris, who is strangely reminiscent of Corot and Lhermitte. The prettiest picture, however, in the Jewish Quarter. Three Jewish children, a tiny boy between two little boys, went staggering arm in arm along the side-walk, pretending they were tipsy, and humming the Dutch national anthem. It was Saturday, the shops were closed, the Jews in their *shabbes* dress; and I said to Kann: Ten years from now, the children in the Jodenbreetstraat and in all the Jewish quarters of the world must be singing the Zionist anthem.

Not until later in the evening, after dinner, did I let Wolffsohn and Kann know the contents of the Eulenburg letter. First I asked Kann how devoted he was to the cause; and when he avowed his complete devotion, I made both of them give me their word of honor and their hands, and read them the letter. Since it mentioned a deputation, I was justified in informing the two men I intend to take along.

They were both astounded. We had been speaking of bank matters. I said to them: I must now establish the Bank under any circumstances.

Kann said he could participate only if it was something solid. I replied that of course I preferred a good, solid bank, honorably conducted by reliable people. But I should have to deal with the other sort too. It is like a bridge. I come roaring along with

a locomotive and cars. There is a stream I have to cross. If there is a good bridge—so much the better. But I would get across even if the bridge was bad. They should help me to build a good, solid bridge.

Kann, who was wavering a bit, seemed to have been stiffened by this.

Then I went to bed and slept on the matter; and when I awoke at five in the morning, I knew as usual what I had to do.

I sent Eulenburg the above letter not in the form of a letter, but as a telegram to Wolffsohn's partner Bernstein in Cologne, and he is to re-telegraph it.

In Berlin I shall try to dissuade Eulenburg from having the Kaiser receive me in Jerusalem. Instead, he should receive me privately in Berlin. This is my view today, though it may be susceptible of clarification and in need of it. By Wednesday, however, I shall perhaps have considered the matter, surveyed it from other angles, and may recognize the trip to Palestine as a necessity.

As of today the matter still seems premature. Still, it will serve to hasten the completion of the Bank.

How swiftly we shall go ahead from now on is really incalculable.

Too bad that I am a wage slave of the *N. Fr. Pr.* Everything would be different if the tramps with whom I have so often struggled for my existence were different.

What obscure, indescribable battles I have had to fight over every little step I took will never be suspected or appreciated by the ungrateful Jews, who will show enmity toward me soon after success has come.

• • •

One effect of the letter from Rominten is that tomorrow evening in the East End I shall speak more moderately, because unfortunately the participation of the moneyed Jews will be necessary after all.

I was planning to lash out at them.

October 3, London

While crossing the magnificent sea, I discussed many things with Wolffsohn on deck. He feels that I may be of even greater value to the *N. Fr. Pr.* after Palestine.

After sleeping on it once more, I myself now incline to the view that maybe the trip won't break my neck after all.

• • •

Last night here I received a telegram from Hechler, to whom the Grand Duke had given a detailed telegraphic account of the Imperial matters already known to me.

This morning I received a telegram directly from the Grand Duke, saying that he had sent me *important news** to Vienna.

I am answering him: I most humbly thank Your Royal Highness for the great favor. I shall be there in good time.

Very respectfully yours,
Herzl.

• • •

Tonight is the *mass-meeting** in the East End. I slept badly, have heart palpitations of a disagreeable kind; and since I have prepared no speech, I am worried that I may be *au dessous de tout* [at the bottom of the pile].

October 3, 6:45 in the evening

In the afternoon, *va et vient* [coming and going] at the Burlington Hotel. Candidates for the directorship of the Bank presented themselves.—The majority of the "Bank Committee" is opposed to its immediate establishment. Bentwich *retires,** as Col. Goldsmid *retired* when there was supposed to be some action.

I am insisting on it: the Bank *must* be created now. The expenses of registering and establishing it will be borne by Wolffsohn, Kann, and myself.—

* In English in the original.

Between times I had Sidney Whitman introduce me to the Bishop of London at the Athenaeum Club. Now I am supposed to leave for the East End and make a speech before 8000 people, and in the excitement of the last few weeks I have had no time to prepare myself.

I am not at all well today. Palpitations, shortness of breath. And so I go on riding across Lake Constance.*

October 4, morning

Yesterday's *mass meeting*** in the East End was attended by ten thousand people. My speech (in German) got much applause, but was oratorical only *de chic* [for style], and not good. Today I know some things I should have said. *Mots* [words] that would have had wings, etc. The usual thing.

Very picturesque among my *supporters*** was the Catholic Father Ignatius. In his black pleated monastic habit, with his medieval evangelist's pulpit gestures, his beautiful, clear profile, his spirited speech, he was a joy to listen to and to look at. I admired him like a show-piece, while he praised me as if he were talking about someone else. The enthusiasm that I inspire leaves me quite cold.

Finally, a certain Herman Landau, an ugly *Mauschel*, came forward to avenge his friend Montagu, whom I had attacked. He brought a jarring note into the meeting, and after the floor had been taken away from him, he screamed that we were trying to take money from poor people in order to start our Bank.

Then the banker Seligmann, who had recently stabbed us in the back, asked to be introduced to me, and made a sweet-and-sour face.

I left on foot with Sidney Whitman. But we had to take a carriage after all, when the crowd of our followers on the main street grew too big.

* Translator's Note: An allusion to the ballad, based on an old Swabian legend, *Der Reiter und der Bodensee*, also known as *Der Reiter über den Bodensee*, by Gustav Schwab (1792-1850). A traveler on horseback unwittingly rides across frozen Lake Constance. When he reaches the other shore safely and is told of the peril he has run, he drops dead.

** In English in the original.

October 5, in the morning, London

At the Burlington Hotel it is like at a bank. Big conversations in our drawing room. Cohen of Hamburg is on the side of the Englishmen who don't want to establish the bank right now, but first a transitional corporation. Wolffsohn and Kann-The Hague, my confidants, want to go ahead immediately. Still, yesterday morning I inclined toward the view taken by timid Cohen, an amiable, cautious adviser. But Cohen made the mistake of taking me to the banker Rafaels. Rafaels, who seems to be a blockhead, knew nothing whatever of our movement. And Cohen asked him for advice. This turned me against Cohen and brought me back to the immediate establishment of the Bank. We went to see the Solicitor of the Bank of England, in order to ask his legal advice. He said we could found the Bank with seven shares. We have 200,000.

Book Six

Begun in London

October 5, 1898

October 5, London

Last night the Bank project took a remarkable turn.

We had called a meeting of the Colonization Committee at the Burlington Hotel for yesterday evening. Gaster, Bentwich, de Haas, Greenberg, and Seligmann the banker were to attend. Others who were there were Kellner, Wolffsohn, Cohn, Kann, and Heymann. I treated Seligmann very coolly, hardly spoke to him—and the reason for this was the perfidious letter opposing the Bank which he had published in the *Jewish Chronicle.*

Gaster opened the discussion with petty details of the Colonization Committee. I let them talk. When they were discussing the question of how to pay the secretary of the committee and talking about the shilling difficulties, Seligmann took the floor. He said he wished to tell us from where we could get the funds. Instead of the Bank we ought to found a *Jewish Colonisation Society.** It would be possible to win the good will of the "big" bankers for such a society. He was speaking unofficially, to be sure, but he thought that such a society would easily raise not two, but five, million pounds. He intended to discuss this with Montagu and others. Our Bank would lead to catastrophes, *à la Union Générale,* etc.

I immediately sensed the victory that lay in this proposal, and answered him, holding up to him the entire list of sins against our movement committed by the bankers, argued down his misgivings about the Bank, and threatened him with war and boycott if the big bankers came out in opposition to our Bank.

He laughed out loud. But his laughter was too loud to be only mockery. There was also fright in it.

Then I told him that I was ready to drop the Bank project if the *land society** he had suggested came into being. I gave him a Berlin address for a reply within two days. I said, however, that

* In English in the original.

we would go ahead working for the Bank, because I had no confidence in the good will of the big bankers. And the matter could no longer be carried on in dilatory fashion.

October 6, on the train to Berlin

To me this incident is only one more proof of the necessity for the Bank. If it instils fear in the big bankers even before its establishment, it will accomplish all the more tremendous things once it exists.

• • •

Between Dortmund and Hanover I conversed with a fellow passenger, the London Zionist and tobacco-dealer Mayer, about the soil outlook in Palestine. He has been there, has set up tobacco plantations, and finds the land first-rate.

• • •

What under the sun am I not going through in this movement!

A noteworthy thing was the English *promoter** scenes in the Burlington Hotel. The would-be directors that applied, all the comings and goings of the visitors. The worried dissuader Cohen from Hamburg, the sly little South African Heyman, who doesn't know yet whether there will be a profit for him in it, and if so, how much. Because of this attitude of his Heymann will have to be jettisoned at the next opportunity.

In contrast, Wolffsohn, and next to him young Kann from the Hague, have been excellent, steadfast, loyal, adroit. For this both of them shall be made great.

Also, the scenes with the English Solicitor Freskville, in appearance like the fine picture of an old man in a *castle*,* and many other things were very curious.

The impressions pass by too fast.

• • •

* In English in the original.

On the crossing from Dover to Ostend I spoke with Wolffsohn about how obvious and easy the founding of this Bank, which is now costing us so many sacrifices, will be considered later. We three, Wolffsohn, Kann, and I, are advancing the founding costs. I have subscribed to the largest number of shares (2000), also the largest number in proportion to my means, although the project certainly will not and must not yield me any profit.

And we are being abused by scoundrels *à la* Herman Landau on orders from other scoundrels like Montagu and Rabbi Adler.

• • •

Tomorrow I plan to write the following to the Grand Duke:

Your Royal Highness:

Even before I am acquainted with the full scope of things in the offing, I feel impelled to repeat to Your Royal Highness, even though only in brief summary, my most respectful thanks which I have already taken the liberty of telegraphing from London.

I cannot begin to express what comfort and reassurance I derive in the sometimes very bitter hours of the work I have started from the thought that the kindly hand of Your Royal Highness helpfully hovers over our work. The name of the Grand Duke Friedrich of Baden, which is venerated and loved by the German people, will be blessed by other millions as well when the time comes when one is allowed to say who was the first prince who took an interest in the deliverance of the poor Jews.

Today I shall call on Ambassador Count Eulenburg in this city, and I hope to learn from him the arrangements with which Your Royal Highness is already acquainted in any case. It goes without saying that I shall be in Palestine in time.

Berlin, October 7

This draft was not sent off, because I learned from Eulenburg today that the Grand Duke was coming here.

Therefore I am wiring him as follows:

To His Royal Highness,
Grand Duke Friedrich of Baden,
New Palais, Potsdam.

I have learned from Count Eulenburg, on whom I called at Liebenberg, that Your Royal Highness is coming here. For this reason I am staying here one day longer.

This very day I was going to send off a letter with my most respectful thanks for all the favor I have experienced from Your Royal Highness. As a precaution I preferred not to write from abroad.—Now I would be very happy if I were accorded the privilege of being received by Your Royal Highness tomorrow, in order to request your exalted, kindly counsel at this new turn in affairs.

Your Royal Highness' respectful servant,

Dr. Theodor Herzl
Palast Hotel

Berlin, October 7

On arriving here last night I was disappointed at not finding the expected message from Eulenburg. I considered asking him by telegram whether or not I should come to Liebenberg. I decided simply to wire him that I was coming out today by the first express. And it was good that I did. For meanwhile a letter from him was on the way, telling me to expect him here at the station or in my hotel. The latter obviously a mere gesture of politeness. However, I preferred to talk with him out there, if only because that way I learned in good time of the Grand Duke's arrival.

I almost missed the train this morning. The hotel porter had forgotten to call me. So, after waking up, I lay in bed for a long time and, as usual, planned everything beforehand, thinking it was not yet seven o'clock. Finally I looked at my watch. Eight! The train was due to leave the Stettiner terminal at eight-forty. I jumped up, and in fifteen minutes I was ready and had breakfasted and was rushing to the station. I promised the driver dou-

ble fare. Luckily I still made the train. A lovely autumn morning enveloped the Mark which is by no means such a sandy desert as people say it is. So we too shall convert the sandy deserts of our country into a beautiful Mark.

At Löwenberg the Count's dog-cart was waiting for me. The coachman surveyed me haughtily when I asked whether he was waiting for a Dr. Herzl. He had been told only: a tall gentleman with a black beard. I am probably the first Jew he has ever driven. Nevertheless I managed to draw the stiff youth into an almost friendly conversation. A refrain from one of Spielhagen's novels kept running through my head: "Hinrich Scheel drove the horses." For here I was right in the midst of Spielhagen's world, the landed gentry, who had been spoken of in the circle in which I used to live, among scoffing Jewish liberals, with nothing but hatred, fear, and derision. The noteworthy thing about the episode is that I am by no means coming to them as a submissively fawning assimilationist, but as an upstanding Jew. This Hinrich Scheel had probably never driven a Jew before. When I asked him about distances, from Potsdam, etc., he explained them to me by the time it takes the Dragoons and the Yellow Uhlans to cover the ground. Hinrich Scheel—who, incidentally, is going to Vienna as the Count's coachman—thinks in terms of Dragoons and Yellow Uhlans. Huntsmen, too. He said that hunting had been going on for three days now. A few of the gentlemen were still in the castle. The Count himself would probably go to Berlin this evening.

This morning a few gentlemen had gone out after pheasants. In the sunny fields, an occasional bird flew up; I lacked a shotgun and the skill for them. These birds have evidently been reproducing themselves from time immemorial, for the benefit of noblemen who on fine autumn days go out to kill them.

On the fields, which are now being turned over, here and there small groups of peasants. Potato harvest. A living poem of the Mark.

In a brief half-hour we were at Liebenberg. A beautiful manor house, to which a new wing is being added. I had no chance

really to look around. Two footmen were waiting outside the gate. One of them announced me to the Count. In the hall, hunting weapons and trophies. The whole, *grand style.** The Count came out at once. He was in hunting costume, and it seemed to me the first thing he did was to take stock of my clothes. I had carefully considered what I should wear, and had taken my grey frock-coat and trousers, although under different circumstances the light-colored lounge-suit would have been more appropriate. The light-colored suit would have been informal. However, I certainly did not want to give the impression that I considered myself a guest. I was coming on business, a shade less *habillé* [dressed up] than if it had been in the city—that is, grey rather than black.

I believe he found me suitably dressed.

He led me into the great hall where the whole family happened to be gathered: his mother, wife, daughters, sons and their tutors. I only had time to glance quickly at the very elegant tableau and was unable to take in any details. A billiard table did strike my attention, as well as a breakfast table, a few beautiful old pictures—and the autumnal park shimmered through the tall French windows of this ground-floor hall. Eulenburg briefly introduced me to the whole party and invited me to take a stroll with him—a bit of *le tour du propriétaire* [the proprietor's tour]. But even though he permitted me a glimpse of the magnificence of his estate he nevertheless did so in a grand manner, for he is in every way a grandiose *gentleman.** Naturally, as a member of a race which he considers a higher one, he feels superior to me. But how can I resent it when I consider the wretched way in which precisely the "higher" Jews—that is, the kind he has contact with, if any—behave toward our idealistic cause? Incidentally, he does seem to acknowledge the fact that one can associate with the Jew Herzl.

Since I am not forcing myself upon him socially, and indeed

* In English in the original.

had made it quite clear at the outset that I intended to go back just as soon as we had completed our business, his air of superiority could not shock me. We got down to business.

To begin with, he reported: "I have already written you everything of importance, at the Kaiser's order. The Kaiser is very warmly inclined toward the project. I succeeded in making him take this attitude, or else there would simply be no point to it. He has to be greatly interested in a matter, otherwise he soon loses sight of it, which is understandable, because such a great variety of things happen. To be sure, I had already mentioned it at Vienna, but there we did not have the proper leisure for it. Afterwards, at Rominten, it was different. There I was able to return to the subject repeatedly, and I did."

I interjected: "It is one of the many different remarkable dispensations that we should have found an absolutely ideal advocate in Your Excellency."

He gave a gratified nod. "That is true. My standing with the Kaiser is such that I am able to speak to him differently from, and more than, many others. Very few people can go as far as I. There is always one point or another beyond which a man does not dare to go; then he withdraws. I have been able to bring the matter up again and again, and I have succeeded. Fortunately for your cause I have also been able to win over Bülow, my best friend and a most outstanding statesman. By the way, the world will yet see quite extraordinary things from Bülow."

I remarked: "Bülow does not seem to have exerted himself very much in Vienna. I had the impression that he was none too willing."

The Count: "He restrained himself—which is understandable at a first meeting. One is cautious, does not let oneself go immediately. However, the main thing is not what he said to you, but what he said to me when I tried to persuade him. I convinced him."

I spoke a few warm words of thanks. At this Eulenburg remarked, while looking at me steadily with his steely eyes: "Per-

haps the moment will come when I shall claim favors from you."

I declared: "Henceforth you will find in me a devoted and grateful man."

He said: "I am glad that you feel that way about it."

I: "Your Excellency may count on me. Perhaps you will permit me to give you proof of it at once."

He made a motion of refusal with his hand. "No, not right now. The occasion may arise some day, but this is not the time."

I begged him to be assured of my devotion at all times.

I am skipping about a bit in retelling this conversation, just as it comes back to me. After all, during all these talks I must concentrate my presence of mind on bringing up the right things. That is why I am always weak in reproducing them later. My own impressions are less strong, because I use all my psychic energy to make strong impressions.

He said that I should go to Constantinople in any case. Perhaps the conversation there would be sufficient, and I would not have to go on to Palestine.

I called his attention to the fact that it was not just a question of myself, but of a deputation as well. I would not be able to use residents of Palestine for the deputation, because they might get into trouble with the authorities if they associated with a foreign sovereign over the Sultan's head.

He said that it was nevertheless the Kaiser's wish to receive a deputation of Zionists in Jerusalem.

I remarked that in any case I was the only one who could present the people. I intended to take along a man from Cologne, one from the Hague, and one Viennese in addition to myself. I did not want to include any Englishmen now, for political reasons. Russians might be harassed upon their return because of it. Altogether, Russia was the great problem. It is true, I said, that up to now our movement has been tolerated and our numerous associations have been left in peace. But this has been so only because there has been no talk of any intercession on the part of Germany. There is no way of telling what the situation will be once the German sponsorship becomes known.

Eulenburg's comment on this was that, in his opinion, nothing need be feared from Russia. "The Czar's intentions are obviously idealistic, as evidenced by his peace proposal." (At this, a hint of irony in his steel-like eyes.) "If worst comes to worst, our Kaiser could write him a letter and win him over to Zionism. Since Russia has no objections to the departure of the Jews, no obstacles will be placed in the way of the cause."

I mentioned the extraterritorialization of the Holy Places, in the well-known way.

Eulenburg seems to anticipate difficulties only from England and France. With regard to the latter country, I was able to give him information gratifying to us. France was now undergoing a severe crisis. Law and order were being championed by liars. The country was too weak to take any action in the political arena.

Eulenburg further told me that the Kaiser had already got quite used to the idea of a protectorate. The Kaiser did not doubt that the Sultan would receive his advice favorably, since he was convinced of the Kaiser's friendship. And the Kaiser had also said that he could justify his espousal of the Jewish cause to his own people!

Wonderful, wonderful!

So the intervention, the protectorate, of Germany is a *fait acquis* [actuality]. Nor does it detract from the colossal import of this accomplishment that Eulenburg told me at a further turn in the conversation: "We can only desire it. How it works out later is in God's hands. We cannot know today whether we shall be able to pursue the matter to its conclusion.

"Germany will not go to war for the sake of the Zionists."

When we had set out from the manor-house, a footman came after us with a telegram. Eulenburg read it, then called to the servant, who was standing by at a distance, to take the telegram to the castle, and put the paper on the ground for the servant to pick up; meanwhile we walked on, through the garden into the woods, and then back.

After we had talked for a half-hour, I mentioned the two tele-

grams from the Grand Duke, especially the one sent to me directly at London and mentioning *important news.**

"He wired it *en clair* [openly]?" asked the Count, shaking his head.

"Yes, *en clair.*"

"He is coming here tomorrow, probably to bid the Kaiser farewell. It was in the telegram I received just now. I am invited to luncheon. This will give me a chance to speak to both gentlemen about your business. After the meal; when one sits back comfortably and chats."

Then I said that I would stay over for a day in order to thank the Grand Duke.

And we left it with the understanding that I would keep myself at their disposal at the hotel tomorrow in case I was summoned.

A game-keeper with two dogs straining at the leash came into view. The Count had been showing signs of impatience for some time now. I declined his invitation to eat a second breakfast, which had been set out especially for me, on the pretext that I was anxious to get back to Berlin.

The Countess was charming on closer contact, when I said good-bye, and shook hands with me very amiably, although we had not spoken together. The Count finally instructed the coachman to take me to the station by a lovely roundabout route. A waving of hats, and then Liebenberg lay behind me.

Hinrich Scheel drove the horses. But this time, I think, with greater respect, for he had seen the Count stand in the gateway until my departure.

Hinrich Scheel was silent.

• • •

Following Eulenburg's advice, I only left my card at Bülow's.

Something else occurs to me: I pointed out various considerations. Actually, I said, there were two forms of effectiveness. If a widely-publicized demonstration is the object, then of course

* In English in the original.

a reception of the deputation would be the best thing. But if it is desired to lay the actual ground-work in secret—thus, "long-range effectiveness," as it were—then it would be better merely to receive me here or in Constantinople. I was, of course, at their disposal in either case.

Eulenburg said that since a protectorate was involved, the matter could not remain concealed for very long.

Therefore he thought it best to come right out with it, immediately and demonstratively. The world would then have to come to terms with it.

Here I recognized the Prussian. This is the forthright grand old style. Open and above-board! This way they have accomplished everything.

Berlin, October 8

The protectorate! Many will shake their heads over it. But I believe the only right course is to accept it gratefully, now that it has been offered. For surely no one among us has dreams of a monarchy, since I have none.

To live under the protection of this strong, great, moral, splendidly governed, tightly organized Germany can only have the most salutary effect on the Jewish national character. Also, at one stroke we would obtain a completely ordered internal and external legal status. The suzerainty of the Porte and the protectorate of Germany would certainly be sufficient legal pillars. The only question is whether it should be "and" or "or," suzerainty and/or protectorate? We shall see how this develops.

In any case, the big-money scoundrels will no longer be able to behave as they have up to now.

• • •

I am racking my brains over what Eulenburg could have meant by "favors." Whatever they may be, he will get them—no matter when, no matter where, no matter how. Everyone who comes

into contact with me shall get the opposite of the proverbial opinion of the Jews.

• • •

Today I am sitting in the hotel and waiting.

It is now high noon, and I have had no sign of life whatever from either the Grand Duke or Eulenburg. They are now at table in Potsdam and must be talking about me. If my calculations are correct, I am bound to be summoned to Potsdam this afternoon. I have laid out everything; black frock-coat, shirt, neck-tie, shoes; and I am having my hat blocked.

But I also made such preparations on the day of the Empress' funeral in Vienna, and I was not called.

To be sure, if the matter is now being taken as seriously as Eulenburg says and writes, and as the Grand Duke telegraphs *en clair* [openly], it is absolutely essential that I be called to Potsdam. I would be completely mistaken in the Kaiser if, after luncheon, he does not simply give orders to summon me. Perhaps the Grand Duke will have me sent for?

At all events, tense moments in the serial novel of my life.

In the evening I must definitely go to Vienna.

October 8, 1:15 p.m.

The expectation is becoming more and more tense.

I am putting on my No. 1 patent-leather boots, so as to lose less time dressing when the command arrives.

I was at the hotel clerk's desk a moment ago when one of Bülow's servants came and left the latter's visiting-card for me. From this I infer that Eulenburg has spoken to him during the morning and that things are going well.

• • •

Strange ways of destiny.

Through Zionism it will again become possible for Jews to

love this Germany, to which our hearts have been attached despite everything!

Berlin, October 8, 4:20 p.m.

At half-past three the following telegram arrived from the Grand Duke:

"To Dr. Theodor Herzl, Palast Hotel, Berlin; despatched at Potsdam, Oct. 8.

My letter to you left Mainau for Vienna on the fifth, but am glad to be able to see you here, if you are willing to come very early tomorrow morning, say, eight o'clock. Stadtschloss, Potsdam. Friedrich, Grand Duke of Baden."

I replied:

"To His Royal Highness Grand Duke Friedrich of Baden, Stadtschloss, Potsdam.

Shall be there at eight o'clock tomorrow morning. Most respectfully, Dr. Th. H."

• • •

This delays my departure by another day. I can't go to Vienna until tomorrow evening. The whole party of travelers will be delayed. All my arrangements, ordering of clothes, etc., will be impeded. But *que faire* [what to do]? I must definitely find out all the details here first.

October 8, 5 p.m.

I am now waiting for Eulenburg who, according to the timetables, ought to arrive here from Potsdam at four-thirty in order to make the 6:06 train to Löwenberg. Provided that he is returning to Liebenberg via Berlin. After that there is only one other train from here to Löwenberg, at ten o'clock. To be on the safe side, I shall leave word with the desk clerk that I shall be at the *Königliches Schauspielhaus* [Royal Theatre] until ten o'clock, so that I can be summoned by telephone if Eulenburg comes later.

• • •

I have often thought of withdrawing from the movement as soon as I achieve something decisive. I would then say: No reward would be too high for what I have done for the Jews. But even the smallest reward would give rise to the assumption that I have done it for the sake of some advantage. Now, it would be a terrible disgrace for the Jews if someone were to reproach me with such a thing. To forestall that, I am taking my departure, and this is the last service I am performing for the Jews.

My mind always does hurry ahead of events. But now the latest developments give me an idea that goes even farther: that I shall be in no position to act thus. For the German government, which is making agreements with me, will want me to remain so I can keep them!

October 9, in the evening,
on the train returning to Vienna

The car is shaking badly, and that is a pity. For tomorrow in Vienna comes a great whirl of fresh events, and I shall have no time to make entries.

And this has been a tremendously interesting day. I was up by half-past five—no rest day or night.* Careful *toilette*. At seven o'clock I was at the Potsdamer Bahnhof. Going up the steps ahead of me was—who? Bülow. *Grand salut* [Big greeting]! Then again on the platform where he was walking up and down with a general. However, I quickly got into a compartment, so that he would not think I wanted to intrude. If things went well, I was sure to see him again during the course of the day anyway.

On the trip out there I was quite calm, without the least excitement within me. On arriving at Potsdam, I did not look around for Bülow, but immediately took the first cab and drove to the nearby palace.

The sentinel at the gate, the ensign of the guard, and finally a flock of servants directed me to the Grand Duke's wing. I had to wait for a quarter of an hour in the ante-room, rather disre-

* Translator's Note: *Keine Ruh' bei Tag und Nacht*, a phrase from the German version of Leporello's opening aria in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*.

garded by the *valetaille* [servants] who carried on their conversation about silver and laundry without paying any attention to me. I turned my back to them and looked out at the impressive *cour d'honneur* [grand courtyard] of the Prussian Versailles.

The activity would be a good subject for a *feuilleton*. A great, splendid order. All sorts of lackeys and maids, a whole hierarchy of horses and carriages.

At eight o'clock sharp, the head footman issued an order, which was relayed from one to another of several servile spirits, to announce me to the Grand Duke. And he, the kindly soul, did not keep me waiting long. I was immediately conducted to him through three or four sumptuous salons. He received me in an exquisite study, wearing a general's uniform. I don't even remember all the kind words with which he greeted me. I only know that I love and venerate this wise, good, and great man. Never in my life have I met a man so truly aristocratic through and through, never have I believed that princes like him exist.

After he had asked me, with his customary courtesy, to be seated in an armchair facing him, he opened the conversation. I thanked him for all he had done. He waved it aside, smiling gently. His letter had been sent to me at Vienna on the fifth. Now he wished to give me an oral report. "The Kaiser," he said, "has been thoroughly informed about the matter and is full of enthusiasm. That word is not too strong: he has taken to your idea quite warmly. He speaks of it in the liveliest terms. He would also have received you by now, for he has confidence in you; but it is now deemed better to receive you at Constantinople and at Jerusalem." (Apparently the Kaiser was conveying this message to me through him.) "Things seem to be going well, too. A good report has come from Herr von Marschall, and that in itself is a success. The Kaiser believes that in any case the Sultan will receive his advice favorably. For during the Cretan crisis the Sultan had occasion to assure himself of the Kaiser's good will. The Kaiser has now undertaken to mediate and he intends to go through with it. He is enthusiastically in favor of it."

The good Grand Duke repeated the word several times—as though intentionally, so as to make me feel quite hopeful. And so I told him quite confidentially about the various difficult hours I had had to go through. There have been times, I told him, when I could have lightened my burden by saying that the Grand Duke of Baden was in sympathy with our cause. But I had always kept silent. And it was just as well. For the cause would have had more authority, but also more enmity, if people had known that a man who had seen and taken part in so many great affairs was in favor of it.

He said: "Yes, it is just as well if the personal element is not too much in evidence. Even, and especially, in the hour of success there are always people who begrudge it to a man. What difficulties we had effecting the unification of Germany! Many a man who later benefited by it would not participate."

I listened to his allusions to that great epoch, made in confidence and yet with aristocratic restraint. It was one of those moments when one pinches oneself to make sure one isn't dreaming. Here was one of the greatest men of the greatest period of Germany speaking in this way with me, a plain journalist.

We then turned to some of the specific obstacles. I mentioned Russia as the greatest. There we would have to come to a clear understanding about the extraterritorialization of the Holy Places, the *extra commercium* [removal from the trafficking of nations]. Then all that remained would be to take the poor Jews out of the country. Surely no one would object to this out of sheer cruelty.

He said: "In Russia one must be prepared for anything. Let me just remind you of how the Germans in the Baltic provinces were treated. In that case persecution was carried quite far—as far as Siberia."

The situation in England appeared more favorable to him. He agreed with me that the English Church favored our idea, even though English statesmanship had not taken up the matter. He was glad to hear that I had spoken with the Bishop of London.

We then talked about France and her present situation. He listened attentively to my report which culminated in the conclusion that France was too weak to resist a *fait accompli.*

He remarked that the conditions were moving toward a dictatorship, and called my attention to the fact that the younger Napoleon, the Russian general, was in Paris now. He could be expected to make a *coup de main* if he won over the generals. I said that this man was too little known in France; on the other hand, the Duke of Orleans would have more chance, at least in the provinces. Paris was strictly Socialist.

After that he said: "The generals are in agreement among themselves. In case of war they would no longer act together. It would be different only if we provoked things—only then would they be united. But let us hope that we shall not live to see such eventualities."

And he spoke with the greatest frankness about the French general staff. In the Dreyfus affair, the rotten system was rebelling less against the acquittal of the innocent man than against the exposure of the embezzlement and fraud of the secret fund. Boisdeffre's hurried resignation was probably connected with the three millions of the *fonds secrets* [secret funds] which they could not account for.

The Grand Duke is convinced of the inefficiency of the French army. Of course, many things have improved since 1870, but things have gone to rack and ruin nevertheless.

Then the conversation turned to the expansion of the German navy, of which he is a warm proponent. He expects a great deal from the newly-founded Naval Association, which aims at the popularization of proposed marine legislation in the country. He further told me that he had had research conducted to find out to what extent domestic industry participated in the expansion of the navy. It had turned out that not a penny of the expenses was leaving the country . . . And these German ships then served to secure new markets for the entire domestic economy and to increase the greatness of the Empire. After all, it

was not a matter of world dominion, but of the economic welfare of the people. He reminded me of Venice and what it had accomplished by its sea power.

With admiration I listened to these exalted, mature thoughts, surrendering to their calmness without even being acquainted with the details. I suggested to him that he disseminate these views among the people in some easily grasped and entertaining form, and placed my pen at his disposal for this. That would be the most effective propaganda against the Socialists.

Then we got back to our project. I said I would not make it public in any form, but leave it to the German government to release whatever seemed suitable to it. The presentation of the matter would require a great deal of caution and skill. I would remain silent.

Thereupon he thought it desirable for me to speak with Bülow that same day at Potsdam, and advised me to wait for Bülow at the Hotel Einsiedler.

He thought that this would be a suitable form of presentation: With the consent of the Sultan, the Kaiser would take the migration of the Jews under his protection.

We had talked for about an hour and three quarters. He concluded the conversation with kind words. When I thanked him for everything with feeling, he said he regarded it only as the fulfilment of a duty. I should not hesitate to turn to him whenever I needed him. By now I must have noticed that he was no ill friend to the cause.

Long and warmly he pressed my right hand, from which I had forgotten to remove my glove, as etiquette would have required.

The lackeys outside were amazed at the long audience and made low bows. That's nothing new to me.

• • •

Then I checked into the "Einsiedler," opposite the palace, and wrote to Bülow, asking whether he would receive me. I had breakfast and looked out the window. A splendid group of officers, for the Flag Festival. And up the street came cadets,

littler and littler ones, the future officers of this inexhaustible Germany, which wants to take us under its protection.

Fully dressed I threw myself on the bed of the small room which I had taken for a short time.

At noon a reply came from the palace: Minister-of-State Bülow requested me to come to room No. 149 of the palace at about one o'clock.

I went. They were just making preparations for a dinner. Lackeys and officers' orderlies in droves. Glanced into an Imperial *office.** It all could scarcely have been any bigger.

Bülow's servant was awaiting me outside Room 149, at the end of the long palace corridor. I was immediately ushered into a small rococo apartment: ante-chamber, salon, bedroom, in bright colors.

Bülow was in the salon, but not alone. A short, crooked old gentleman, bedecked with decorations, a yellow grand-cordon across his court dress, sat with him. Both arose and I was introduced—to the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe.

I understood at once: a trial of the heart and reins.**

Hohenlohe looked at me with his dim, blue, old man's eyes in anything but a kindly fashion. From him, too, I heard the first anti-Semitic remark in these exalted circles:

"Do you think that the Jews are going to desert their stock exchange and follow you? The Jews, who are comfortably installed here in Berlin?"

I replied: "Your Highness—not Berlin West, but Berlin East or North—I don't know exactly where the poor Jews live here—will go with me."

All of Hohenlohe's objections were *terre à terre* [on a low level]—somewhat in the vein of Agliardi during that talk in the nunciature in Vienna. The Catholic objections, so-to-speak.

He also asked what territory we wanted to have, whether as far north as Beirut, or even beyond that.

I said: "We will ask for what we need—the more immigrants,

* In English in original.
** Translator's Note: *Prüfung auf Herz und Nieren* (Psalms 7, 10).

the more land. It will, of course, be purchased from its present owners in accordance with civil law."

Hohenlohe: "Who are these?"

I: "Arabs, Greeks, the whole *mixed multitude** of the Orient."

Hohenlohe: "And you want to found a state there?"

I: "We want autonomy and self-protection."

Hohenlohe: "What does Turkey say to all this?"

Je le croyais mieux renseigné [I had believed him better informed], and replied: "The Grand Duke told me that favorable reports had come in from Herr von Marschall."

Bülow, who had been sitting in the corner of the sofa next to Hohenlohe's armchair, with his lips pursed tight and his eyes deliberately vacant, interjected: "I don't know anything about that. I've seen nothing from Marschall on the subject."

I did not allow myself to be disconcerted, and said: "I have reports that the sentiment is favorable. I recently telegraphed to the Sultan and he replied."

Hohenlohe then asked a few skeptical questions about the number of those ready to migrate, and the funds available. I referred to the various funds which would combine when things reached a serious stage. One of these funds, I said, amounted to ten million pounds.

Bülow, who had been listening *en poupée rose aux yeux de porcelaine* [like a pink doll with china eyes], now remarked: "That's a lot! . . ." And, half turning to Hohenlohe: "The money might do the trick. With it one can swing the matter." **

Hohenlohe was silent.

Earlier, when I was taking a seat opposite him in a rococo armchair, he had taken his white-plumed two-cornered hat from the table between us and put it on the little side-table, so as to have a good view of me.

Now he picked up his hat, said to Bülow, "Let's go to that

* In English in original.

** Translator's Note: These two sentences are reproduced in the Berlin dialect in the original.

dinner now," and got up; we also arose. He gave me his hand and went out.

Bülow too was suddenly in a great hurry:

"See you in Constantinople, doctor!" And he adjusted the gold shoulder-cord of his blue court-dress.

"Where will the Kaiser receive me? In Constantinople and in Jerusalem?"

"In any case only once!" said Bülow.

I said: "Shall I, then, submit at Constantinople the address which I am to deliver at Jerusalem?"

"Yes, oh yes!" And he was already in the next room, where I heard him call out in an irritated voice, "Neumann! Neumann!" Evidently the valet. His Excellency was, or pretended to be, in a rush to get to "that dinner."

Back again through the long corridor; in the *office** one could see even more feverish preparations for "that dinner."

When I was downstairs and was walking alongside the palace, a brilliant suite of officers was just coming from the park and toward the ramp of the palace. The Kaiser!—who has certainly spoken about me a number of times today and is quite enthusiastic, according to the Grand Duke.

But why the depressingly cool behavior of Hohenlohe and Bülow?

There are two explanations for this.

Either they are at odds with their Imperial master, but do not dare as yet to stand up to him. So for the present they treat the matter with dilatory coldness, in order to trip it up at the proper moment and bring the whole thing to the ground.

Or is it merely the official face of diplomacy? This is how they probably always sit back in sofa corners and armchairs, with eyes which practically suck dry the person they are watching. This is how they probably always display the utmost indifference—even toward matters which fill them with the greediest excitement. I believe this is the *vieux jeu* [old style] of diplomacy.

* In English in the original.

If Bismarck had concerned himself with the matter while he was Chancellor, he would no doubt have dealt with me differently. He would have attacked me differently—I would have defended myself differently. *Cela aurait été un plus bel assaut* [That would have been a grander onslaught].

But how strange that the Imperial Chancellor *du jour* [of the present] is obliged to enter into negotiations with me—and with obvious repugnance at that—regarding which the dethroned Bismark did not even answer me three years ago; it may have seemed that crazy to him.

Today the German government concerns itself officially with a matter which Bismark did not think worth so much as a chat or a letter in reply.

Hohenlohe and Bülow are certainly cold and unfavorable. But how does it happen that the good Grand Duke spoke of a success involving Marschall, which Bülow knows nothing about?

How does it happen that Eulenburg tells me Bülow is won over, when the latter, or at least Hohenlohe, shows himself uninformed?

Perhaps the explanation for Bülow's coolness is his ignorance of how much the Grand Duke and Eulenburg have told me about the Kaiser's attitude. After all, this, more than anything else, is what counts.

Of course, I also must not forget that the most splendid intentions of this Kaiser of genius often are subsequently corrected, denied, and modified by his counsellors.

He was forced repeatedly to change his policy toward Social Democracy. In other cases, too, he was not always able to carry out his best decisions. Therefore, caution!

However, I believe that even if worst comes to worst our idea, as the jilted darling of the German Kaiser, would be taken up by others, for this adventure can only contribute to its advancement.

October 10, morning, on the train, nearing Vienna

Supplement to the Bülow-Hohenlohe conversation:

Bülow: "In any case it would be the first eastward migration of the Israelites. Until now they have always moved westward."

I: "Not at all! This time too it's toward the west. It is simply that the Jews have already circled the globe. East is west again."

At which both smiled.

Throughout the conversation I was *en pleine possession de moi-même* [in full control of myself]. Not flustered for a moment.

Vienna, October 11

Addendum to the conversation with the Grand Duke.

He spoke about Rome. "We may have nothing good to expect for our cause from Rome. A Protestant empire is odious to the Jesuits down to their souls—their black souls. Now, our empire as such is not Protestant, to be sure, but embraces all creeds. Yet it is a fact that a Protestant is at its head, and this is what bothers them. Therefore we must expect opposition from that quarter in Palestine, too."

October 11, Vienna

Immediately upon my arrival in Vienna I had Marmorek convene the Actions Committee. Marmorek himself declared he could not go on the trip, because he might lose a lot of money on a building he had started for his father-in-law. Later he asked for time to think it over.

• • •

At noon at the *Neue Freie Presse*.

I spoke first with Benedikt. He was still antagonistic, but wavering deep down inside. He said he had carefully read the reports on the Congress and was beginning to see the light. We had given up a great deal of our original program. He does not

believe in the Bank and is afraid I could compromise myself with it. "If you raise two millions pounds, you can hang me."

"Will you put that in writing?" I said.

"Vienna, October 10. If you raise that two million pounds, you can hang me."

He made a droll gesture toward the desk, as though he meant to sign it.

Then with Bacher, who was grinning uncertainly.

I showed both of them the telegram from the Grand Duke calling me to Potsdam. Naturally I told them nothing further, but prepared them for something big that was in the air.

They both tried to worm the secret out of me; but they did not succeed.

• • •

In the evening, the A. C.—Schnirer, Kokesch, Marmorek—met at my place. I gave them a report.

Kokesch suggested that the presidium of the Congress go to Palestine as a deputation. I accepted this proposal and immediately sent an urgent telegram to Nordau and Gaster, asking them to go to Brussels today where Wolffsohn would give them further information. At the same time I wired Mandelstamm, asking him to go to Tarnopol where we are sending Marmorek.

In the course of the day negative replies came. Nordau can't come until the beginning of next week. This is a way of saying no if one is urgently summoned at once. Gaster wanted to be wired first what it was all about, and since Wolffsohn didn't give him any information, a difficult problem came up in Gaster's congregation and he couldn't get away.

The most willing of them was Madelstamm, I believe. But it would have taken him two days to get a passport, and therefore he wasn't able to go across the border.

• • •

Foreseeing these refusals I had already provided an alternative: The Actions Committee is to go. I was going to take Schnirer

and Marmorek with me. But then Kokesch, the least suitable one, sulked because I did not choose him. Schnirer pointed out that for him it was a matter of subsistence because he lived from hand to mouth. The traveling expenses alone wouldn't be enough. He would also lose wages and must provide for his family. We quickly decided to compensate him. Marmorek has a big construction job which he cannot leave. Despite this he came round and promised to go with us. Wolffsohn telegraphed that Bodenheimer wanted to go along. That would make six of us, of whom Kokesch is quite superfluous. They want to leave only Kahn here, to carry on the daily business.

• • •

After the A. C., Newlinski came to see me. I plan to send him to Rome while I am in Constantinople and Jerusalem, to prepare the ground for me. On my way back I intend to go to Rome.

He thinks the most that could be achieved would be something negative, at best a few indulgent words in an encyclical. But something would have to be done for the Peter's Pence, too.

Entendu [Agreed].

I promised him (by agreement with the A. C.) two thousand guilders for his trip.

During working hours at the office today, a row with Bacher and Benedikt.

I said to Bacher: "I have been invited by the Kaiser to go along to Palestine."

The news actually depressed him.

"Don't you find that interesting?" I asked him.

"I foresee difficulties for the *Neue Freie Presse* arising from this. After all, he invited you as a Zionist."

"In any case, not as an editor of the *N. Fr. Pr.* You need not write anything about Zionism in the future either. For you the best thing would be if you let me expound the matter in the paper.—But suit yourself."

Then with Benedikt, who looked away wildly, shyly, and enviously. I presume that they are cooking up something; perhaps

they are going to disclose my confidential information to the Foreign Office.

I asked them to get me a recommendation to the Austrian ambassador at Constantinople through the Foreign Office.

Bacher referred me to Benedikt. The latter, back to Bacher.

Benedikt lied: "Calice has been our enemy for the past two years, since the time you were there with Newlinski. He wrote a secret letter about you to the Foreign Office, which Dóczy conveyed to us."

"Well, I wanted to grab Dóczy by the throat; you kept me from it."

Incidentally, I need Calice like a hole in the head.

Et sur cela bonjour [And with that, good-bye].

October 12

The two greatly excited me again yesterday.

A strange psychological phenomenon that Bacher causes me more anguish than Imperial Chancellor Hohenlohe!

In his presence, strangely enough, I still feel like what I once was: a shy journalistic tyro, although he certainly does not impress me intellectually.

October 14

On the Orient Express, on the way to Constantinople. Nearing Sofia.

Great hubbub in the last hours before the departure. Headquarters: my home.

After a lot of back and forth it was decided that Schnirer and Seidener the engineer would go along from Vienna.

• • •

The day before yesterday I called on Ambassador Mahmud Nedim Bey. One hour of absolutely empty talk. To my request to give me introductions to Constantinople he replied with an Arabian tale: A gardener came to a wealthy man and begged him

for a loan. The rich man refused gruffly. Half a year later the poor man came and brought him a basket of fruit by way of thanks. The rich man was astonished and thought it a mistake. "No," said the pauper, "I owe you a debt of gratitude, because you did not put me off, but gave me a flat No. That way I lost no time and turned to someone else who helped me."

In the same way, he, too, did not wish to put me off. He must not recommend me, otherwise people would think he had been bribed. But if an inquiry came, he would make a favorable report.

Since that was all I had wanted from him in the first place, I was quite content.

I said: "I hope, Your Excellency, that I, too, will return in half a year with a basket of fruit."

• • •

Yesterday, prior to my departure, I read *Unser Kāthchen* [*Our Katie*] to the actors in the Burgtheater. There, too, I wanted to establish a *fait accompli*. Who knows how much longer I shall be with the *Neue Freie Presse*. And by now I know people well enough to realize that they would also punish me for the loss of my position.

• • •

Yesterday I did not bother to go to the office, so as not to let myself be excited again by Messieurs Bacher and Benedikt. I sent the "Steward's Key to the Literary Section" (the key to my desk) to Bacher with a few joking words of excuse.

• • •

Taking leave from my loved ones was quite hard this time. I could very well stay in my beautiful house, with my lovely children, whose rosiest childhood is passing without my enjoying it; who are growing up without my observing the delightful details of their development. And I am undertaking such a long journey, one that may not be without danger. I have even been

warned that an attempt on my life might be made in Palestine. The warning came from Ben Yehuda, through Dr. Werner.

But it is my duty to go.

It affected me deeply at parting that my good parents cried. They would be the only inconsolable ones if I did not come back. It would be no comfort to my poor old parents that I would then be a figure in world history.

They both blessed me when I left them. May God keep them healthy and grant us a happy reunion!

• • •

In the waiting-room in Vienna I saw the Berlin ambassador Ahmed Tewfik, accompanied by Mahmud Nedim.

Yesterday evening, after dinner, I chatted with Ahmed Tewfik for hours. I believe he is not favorably inclined. But I mean to make him benign.

• • •

The Austrian ambassador, Calice, is also on the train. At first I didn't recognize him. He is the source of the Dóczy slander. I didn't want to recognize him either. But then, in the afternoon, he passed me in the smoking-room and smiled at me. At this I greeted him.

October 15, on the train, nearing Constantinople.

Yesterday evening, after dinner, I chatted for two hours with Ahmed Tewfik in the smoking-room. I got him to talk, so I could inquire *incidemment* [incidentally] about the Sultan's relationship to the Kaiser. For Mahmud Nedim had given me a skeptical answer to a similar question. He had said that in the Cretan question Turkey had not got very much out of Germany and Austria. They did withdraw from the concert of the Powers; but he wished they had stayed in it and defended Turkey.

Ahmed Tewfik, on the other hand, was delighted with the Kaiser and with Germany. The Sultan and the whole Turkish

people, he said, were filled with gratitude for this great friend. They regarded the importation of German culture to Asia Minor as a major boon, etc.

Naturally, this information pleased me greatly, for it betrays the kind of disposition that we need for our cause.

• • •

With Wolffsohn and Bodenheimer we converse in code, so as not to be understood. The code words are "the old man" for the Grand Duke, "the nephew" for the Kaiser, etc. My good Wolffsohn, who goes along with everything, finally went so far in his precaution as to say "the J. S." for my pamphlet about the Jewish State.

• • •

All the fellow passengers recognize me and whisper. An English clergyman, Mr. Biddulph, a charming person, introduced himself to me *en route*, saying he was a Zionist.

• • •

Discussed with Bodenheimer the demands we will make.

Area: from the Brook of Egypt to the Euphrates. Stipulate a transitional period with our own institutions. A Jewish governor for this period. Afterwards, a relationship like that between Egypt and the Sultan. As soon as the Jewish inhabitants of a district amount to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population, Jewish administration goes in force politically, while local government (communal autonomy) always depends on the number of voters in the community.

These are Bodenheimer's ideas, in part excellent.

A transitional stage is a good idea.

• • •

At the station we were met by Danusso and that servile Greek, Konstantinides.

No sooner had I arrived and changed than I drove to Yildiz

Kiosk in order to announce my presence. All the scenes already familiar and therefore lacking the interest of those first days two years ago. It was raining, and the city, which could be so beautiful, looked even filthier and more down-at-the-heel than it had then.

When I drove to the hotel from the station in a carriage, Zia Pasha passed on the old bridge; he recognized me and gave me a long, searching glance.

In the hotel, the sycophantic activity. Fawning frauds.

In Yildiz Kiosk, crowds of idle servants. I had myself announced to the Second Secretary, Djevad. He was not in. Why didn't I come back tomorrow (today)? I left Newlinski's letter of recommendation, which says that I have come *pour déposer mes hommages au pied du trône de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan* [to place my respects at the foot of the throne of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan].

Then I went to the Chief Master of Ceremonies, Munir Pasha. He wasn't to be seen either. For him, too, I left a letter from Newlinski of the same contents, introducing me as the head of the Zionist movement.

I am not a bit interested in seeing these gentlemen. It is only a matter of *acte de présence* [putting in an appearance], lest they make false assumptions.

Meanwhile I had sent Bodenheimer to the German ambassador, Marschall.

He and Wolffsohn came back soon after I had returned to the Hôtel de Londres from Yildiz. Both of them downcast.

Bodenheimer described the course of his mission as follows: "I got to the Embassy and sent Marschall my card on which I had written that I had an important disclosure to make to him in behalf of Dr. Herzl. He received me coldly, and after I had told him that you were requesting an audience from him he said, 'I don't know Dr. Herzl.' Thereupon I declared: 'Dr. Herzl is the leader of the Zionists and has been in touch, in person and in writing, with Count Eulenburg. It concerns the reception of a deputation by his Majesty the Kaiser.' At these words I

noticed that Marschall was taking on a more conspiratorial expression. But he replied: 'I cannot receive Dr. Herzl now, because in half an hour I shall go to the Dardanelles to meet the Kaiser.' Thereupon I took my leave. If you still want to see Marschall, you must go to the Embassy immediately."

I decided not to go, for, since he was on the point of leaving, I would in any case have been *une figure piteuse* [a sorry figure]. Still, it is a blow that Marschall, on whom I had counted *deficiente* [in the absence of] Bülow, has such a negative attitude, doesn't even know me, or claims not to.

Later it occurred to me that Bodenheimer might have said the wrong thing by mentioning Eulenburg. For Eulenburg presumably was one of the "men in the background" of whom Marschall spoke when he "rushed into print."

• • •

The evening passed with disagreeable thoughts. We went to the Petits Champs theatre for one act. Two years ago the troupe of *La Morosina* was at this out-door theatre. Now there is a Yiddish theatrical troupe, presenting *Gibor-Hail.*

A depressing impression. Since this pitiful art, such as it is, represents the top achievement of our jargon-speaking masses, their present level must be recognized as a most sadly low one. *J'ai été écoeuré* [I was disgusted].

• • •

For dinner there showed up, in addition to Danusso, Lionel Bey Bondy, the *ad hoc* correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse,* a Bohemian-Jewish opportunist of the Catholic faith and in Turkish services. He had read in the evening paper (the work of the Greek Konstantinides) that Dr. Herzl, "the director of the *Neue Freie Presse,*" had arrived here. Did I perhaps wish to report on the Imperial journey in his place? Maybe he wanted to find out other things, too, because he is in and out at Yildiz. I reassured him, saying I was on a trip for my health with my friends and did not have any reportage in mind.

Then, when he bragged about his "intimate friends" Tahsin Bey (currently the Sultan's first favorite) and Nuri Bey, I asked him to bring me together with these two. I know that I was demanding something impossible these days, and did it only according to my principle of *pluspetitio* [making exorbitant demands], since great lords must always be given the opportunity of granting something to someone or of denying it.

• • •

Overnight I slept on the next plan. Tomorrow I shall have a letter delivered to Bülow, saying that I have to see him the very same day, because otherwise the deputation could not be on the scene in good time. As a last resource, if Bülow fails me, which I expect with near-certainty: a wire to Karlsruhe asking for the telegraphic arrangement of an immediate audience with the Kaiser. This is the *ultima ratio* [last resort].

• • •

Also overnight: Bodenheimer's transitional stage is simply impossible. We can demand only the creation of an organic germ cell—a Jewish land-company for Syria (with *chartered** sovereign rights)—and, if all goes well, get it.

Detailed legal proposals would provoke an immediate brusque refusal from the Turks. Therefore, a return to my idea of a *Jewish Company*.

October 16

The formidable armies were born of cowardice.

October 17, Constantinople

I think I am now once again riding over Lake Constance.

• • •

Nothing happened all day yesterday. In the morning, letters. In the afternoon, a visit to poor, good Mrs. Gropler at Bebek.

* In English in the original.

She lies in bed and waits for her disintegration. Yet she is charming and intelligent. I promised her to come to see her each time on the day after my arrival in Constantinople.

A beautiful evening with southern colors on the Bosporus.

October 17

Now that Marschall has failed us, the great problem is how to get to the Kaiser. I shall try to get a letter into his hands through Court-Marshal Eulenburg. I am also writing to Bülow and telegraphing to the Grand Duke for aid.

Letter to Court-Marshal August zu Eulenburg:

Your Excellency:

I have received a written message at Amsterdam, and later a verbal message at Liebenberg, from His Excellency the Ambassador Count Philipp zu Eulenburg that His Majesty the Kaiser is willing to take the cause of the Zionists under His Most Gracious Protection and wishes to receive a deputation in the Holy Land. I have learned likewise that Your Excellency will most kindly prepare the reception of the deputation.

I now permit myself to present to Your Excellency the enclosed letter for His Imperial Majesty, begging you to take note of its contents and to submit my letter to His Majesty at your earliest convenience. Time is extraordinarily pressing, and if everything is to be in accordance with His Majesty's wishes, which have been conveyed to me by His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden, an expeditious treatment of the matter will be necessary.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect, I am

Your very obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.
Hôtel de Londres, Pera.

• • •

Letter to the Kaiser:

Your Imperial and Royal Majesty,
Most Gracious Kaiser and Lord:

After the disclosures which His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden was gracious enough to make to me last Sunday at Potsdam, I venture to direct to Your Imperial Majesty the most humble request to grant me an audience, even though brief and confidential, here in Constantinople. The reasons for this request are as follows.

The reception of a Zionist deputation in the Holy Land will undoubtedly supply the public opinion of Europe with material for discussion. If this discussion is accompanied by a *fait accompli* —one that need not be announced in its full extent—any intervention on the part of others, which may be intended as hostile, will come too late, and everyone will have to acquiesce in it. Precisely at this time France is inwardly so weakened that it cannot make a move. To Russia the Zionist solution of the Jewish Question means an enormous relief; in addition, the problem of the Holy Places will simply be eliminated.

Nor is an effective objection to be feared from English policy, since the English Church is known to be on our side.

Everything depends on the form of the *fait accompli* which is to be created.

In my modest estimation, the permission for a "Jewish Land-Company for Syria and Palestine" under German protection would suffice for the moment. This land-company would gradually establish the other, more specific organs of implementation. The*

• • •

* Translator's Note: The break at this point corresponds to the original.

To His Royal Highness,
Friedrich, Grand Duke of Baden.
Karlsruhe.

That was all. By way of precaution, the telegram I had in mind was not sent off, following a consultation with Wolffsohn and Bodenheimer.

• • •

*observation of the general political situation will then determine when and where, at what moment and to what extent, the German protectorate can be given a greater public emphasis.

Even if His Majesty the Sultan does not immediately realize what aid the Zionists would bring to his impoverished, decaying state, he will accept Your Imperial Majesty's advice in a personal discussion as to how his administration and finances could be regenerated. Once this moment of personal contact is past, the intrigues, which so proliferate in the Orient, will begin to hold sway again.

Tomorrow morning at ten o'clock a Russian steamer leaves for Alexandria; it is the last boat that I can take if I am to be in Palestine in time to present to the Kaiser in the land of Israel the delegation of European Zionists which has been ordered there. If, therefore, Your Majesty wishes to grant me the favor of giving me a secret hearing prior to the public gesture, the available time is limited. I could come to the German Embassy inconspicuously and there await my orders.

God's designs hover over us in these world-historic hours. There is no fear if He is with us.

With the most profound respect, I remain
Your Imperial and Royal Majesty's most humble servant,
Dr. Th. H.

• • •

* Translator's Note: Thus in the original. The sentence broken off on the previous page continues here.

Letter to Bülow:

Your Excellency:

I have the honor of most humbly informing you that I am keeping myself at your disposal here. Unfortunately I can stay here only until ten o'clock tomorrow morning, because this is the hour at which the Russian steamer sails for Alexandria, the last ship I can still take if I am to be in Palestine in time to present to His Majesty the Kaiser the delegation of European Zionists which has been ordered there.

I should like to request Your Excellency to be kind enough to inform me when and where the deputation will be received. There is also the question of determining exactly the contents of my address to His Majesty.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect, I am

Your most obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.
Hôtel de Londres, Pera.

October 18, Pera, 10:15 in the morning

I just made a clean copy of the letters, a bit excited. In the letter to the Kaiser I made a slip on the 3rd page; it should have read "when and to what extent." In my nervousness I wrote "moment" instead of "extent." I was afraid I would have to write the whole thing over—unpleasant when the time presses so. Then I helped myself by inserting "where": when and where, etc.

• • •

Wolffsohn, my most reliable man, has now left by coach for Yildiz, together with Danusso and a dragoman, to deliver the letters.

This morning Schnirer and Seidener arrived.

Bodenheimer is a bit of *la mouche du coche* [a busybody].

• • •

I am preparing my clothes for the audience—*quitte à les remballer* [at the risk of having to pack them again]—and having my hair cut.

October 18, 1898,
eight o'clock in the evening, at the hotel

After the audience with the Kaiser, which I will enter tomorrow *en route*.

I had arranged with the Kaiser and with Bülow that this very evening I would submit the draft of my address in Palestine.

Draft:

Your Imperial and Royal Majesty!
Most Gracious Kaiser and Lord!

With deepest reverence a delegation of sons of Israel approaches the German Kaiser in the country which was our fathers' and no longer belongs to us. We are bound to this sacred soil through no valid title of ownership. Many generations have come and gone since this earth was Jewish. If we talk about it, it is only as about a dream of very ancient days. But the dream is still alive, lives in many hundreds of thousands of hearts; it was and is a wonderful comfort in many an hour of pain for our poor people. Whenever foes oppressed us with accusations and persecutions, whenever we were begrudged the little bit of right to live, whenever we were excluded from the society of our fellow citizens—whose destinies we have always been ready to share loyally—the thought of Zion arose in our oppressed hearts.

There is something eternal about that thought, whose form, to be sure, has undergone multifarious changes with people, institutions, and times.

Thus the Zionist movement of today is a fully modern one. It grows out of the situations and conditions of present-day life, and aims at solving the Jewish Question on the basis of the possibilities of our time. Indeed, we believe that we may finally

succeed now, because mankind has grown so rich in means of communication and technical achievements. Enterprises that would have seemed fantastic as recently as half a century ago are commonplace today. Steam power and electricity have altered the face of the earth. Humane conclusions should be drawn from this as well.

Above all, we have aroused the national consciousness of our scattered brethren. At the Congresses of Basel the program of our movement was formulated before all the world. It is: The creation, under public law, of a home for the Jewish people.

This is the land of our fathers, a land suitable for colonization and cultivation. Your Majesty has seen the country. It cries out for people to work it. And we have among our brethren a frightful proletariat. These people cry out for a land to cultivate. Now we should like to create a new welfare out of these states of distress—of the land and of the people—by the systematic combination of both. We consider our cause so fine, so worthy of the sympathy of the most magnanimous minds, that we are requesting Your Imperial Majesty's exalted aid for the project.

But we would not venture to do so if our plan contained anything that could offend or encroach upon the ruler of this land. Your Imperial Majesty's friendship with His Majesty the Sultan is so well known that there can be no doubt as to the intentions of those who are turning to Your Majesty for the most gracious transmission of their desires.

We are honestly convinced that the implementation of the Zionist plan must mean welfare for Turkey as well. Energies and material resources will be brought to the country; a magnificent fructification of desolate areas may easily be foreseen: and from all this there will arise more happiness and more culture for many human beings.

We are planning to establish a Jewish Land-Company for Syria and Palestine, which is to undertake the great project, and request the protection of the German Kaiser for this company.

Our idea offends no one's rights or religious feelings: it breathes long-desired reconciliation. We understand and respect

the devotion of all faiths to the soil on which, after all, the faith of our fathers, too, arose.

Oct. 19, '98
On board the "Imperator Nicholas II"

(This is as far as I got, for it was already 8:45 and we had to hurry to the harbor to embark for Smyrna-Alexandria. Therefore, in all haste, I wrote at the end that I would add the conclusion in Palestine.)

I accompanied the draft for the address with (roughly) the following letter to Bülow:

Your Excellency:

I beg to enclose herewith the draft for my address to His Majesty. I have spent a very bad night with all sorts of pains in my heart and am virtually incapacitated for work. I shall append the conclusion later. I am leaving at ten o'clock, shall be at Smyrna on Thursday morning, at Piraeus on Friday, at Alexandria on Sunday, Port Said on Tuesday, Jaffa on Wednesday. Any messages should kindly be sent via the Legation of the city concerned, where I shall call immediately if a line is left at Thomas Cook's Office. Above all, I request most respectfully that word be sent me at Alexandria as to when and where the deputation is to present itself to His Majesty, and also as to whether Palestinian Zionists are to be added to the deputation (which consists of five European Zionists). I would have to know this as early as Alexandria, in order to make the necessary arrangements.

If the proposed draft of my address is not satisfactory, I shall make the desired corrections in Palestine.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect, I am

Very sincerely yours,
Dr. Th. H.

October 19,
3 o'clock in the afternoon

On board the "Imperator Nicholas II" in the Sea of Marmara.

Only now do I have a chance to record the events of yesterday. I am sure some of them have already escaped me. The long-prepared conference with the Kaiser did find me a bit nervous. I can remember all the little things about it better than the substance of it. It is like a photograph taken with an unsteady hand. The picture is bound to be a bit blurred. Above all, I don't quite clearly remember the course of the conversation. The Kaiser, to be sure, made a deep and strong impression on me. Afterwards I tried to capture this impression in the form of a metaphor and could only hit upon the following: I felt as though I had entered the magic forest where the fabulous unicorn is said to dwell. Suddenly there stood before me a magnificent woodland creature, with a single horn on its forehead. But its form surprised me less than the fact that it existed. I had previously imagined the appearance, but not the breath and life of this creature. And my astonishment grew when the one-horned creature began to speak in a very friendly human voice and said, "I am the fabled unicorn!"

This is how the day went yesterday.

Having laid out my frock-coat, etc., so as to be ready in a jiffy when the call came, I went to lunch, but ate and drank little, so as to be alert and brisk when the expected moment arrived. Wolffsohn came back from Yildiz Kiosk at half-past twelve. He had done brilliantly. Without knowing the languages, without either Turkish or French, he as well as Danusso and the dragoman of their carriage had got through the guards of Yildiz Kiosk and reached the quarters of Court-Marshal Eulenburg. He had sent the latter his card, on which he had written: "Of Dr. Herzl's party." Eulenburg came out at once, called him inside, closed the outer and the inner doors after looking around carefully, and took my two letters.

"It's a good thing that you are here already. I shall immedi-

ately give the letter to His Majesty. . . . How long has Dr. Herzl been here?"

Wolffsohn replied: "For a few days."

Eulenburg noticed that he was holding another letter in his hand. "Have you anything else? I might transmit that also."

Wolffsohn: "It is a letter to His Excellency von Bülow."

Eulenburg quickly returned it: "Deliver this one yourself." He saw him to the door and out, and then turned him over to an adjutant who conducted him to Bülow's door. Bülow came out grumpily, took the envelope, tore it open, and shouted at him: "That will be all."

Wolffsohn said: "Good-bye, Your Excellency."

Bülow snapped: "Good-bye!" And disappeared.

• • •

After Wolffsohn's report—confirming Bülow's animosity and Eulenburg's friendly attitude, which I had already divined—I waited with greater certainty for a word from the Kaiser.

After lunch I tried to take a siesta, but sleep wouldn't come. Then I chatted a bit with Wolffsohn and the others.

Suddenly, at a quarter past three, the hotel clerk came in excitedly: "There is someone downstairs with something for Dr. Herzl from His Majesty."

I slipped into my grey frock-coat, and the gentlemen left the drawing-room. But it was only a messenger or a secret-service man, who presented me with a slip of paper which read:

"Theodor Herzl to report at 4:30 to His Majesty. Yildiz."

I pencilled a receipt on the slip: "Dr. Herzl, received at 3:15."

The gentlemen were quite excited. I was conscious of no shock, but I had been considerably unnerved even before that. I gave Seidener my hand for him to feel that it was quite steady. I asked Schnirer merely to feel my pulse. He found it to be 108, which is very fast for me. But I believe it had been that fast even before I received the message. Schnirer asked me whether I wished to take some bromine. I inquired when it would produce

an effect. In half an hour. So I did without it, because by then it might not be necessary any more.

Careful *toilette*. The color of my gloves was particularly becoming: a delicate grey.

I had Wolffsohn accompany me, and installed a dragoman (a sly-looking Jew who appears to have police connections) on the coach-box. Wolffsohn took along a clothes brush.

We drove through the bedecked streets of Pera. A lane of curiosity-seekers. All the windows occupied. Our carriage, too, attracted quite a bit of attention, but it still could not arouse as much interest as the imposing state-coaches with courtiers in gala dress and gold-braided officers. Yet I thought to myself that perhaps none of these coaches-of-state was carrying so much world history through the streets as the ordinary hackney cab of my *arabaji*.

In front of the German Embassy the crowd was denser. The Kaiser's escort was waiting there, his flag was flying from the roof and his carriage was standing in the driveway. So I would be reaching Yildiz before him. In order not to arrive too early, I had my driver stop for a few minutes near Dolma Bagjeh. Marvelous colors on the Bosporus. Off shore lay the trim yacht "Hohenzollern."

At 4:15 we passed through the upper gate of Yildiz Kiosk. The Jewish dragoman had to remain behind. A gate-keeper took the seat next to our *arabaji*, and we drove into the gardens of Yildiz. These grounds are, I believe, permanently off-limits to the public. We went on for five or six minutes. Magnificently large, although not particularly well-kept grounds. On our left, a very high mysterious wall—behind it the flowers of the harem bloom and fade.

At five minutes before 4:30 we drove up in front of the new little palace, built especially for the Kaiser. Grim-looking soldiers outside the gate. On the stairs and in the halls, an immense number of Turkish and German servants, along with much-beribboned officers and Turkish courtiers.

None of the German court people was there. They were all

still at the Embassy. Rather unnoticed, I withdrew into a corridor. I looked so insignificant that the German footmen conversed quite unconstrainedly right next to me. They cracked their lackey jokes. When I came in, I had told the functionaries only that I wished to see Court-Marshal Eulenburg. They had told me to wait. At a quarter to five I grew anxious: was there not some mistake—or even a bit of hidden malice? Perhaps I had been given the Kaiser's message incorrectly: I should have been at the Embassy at four-thirty, as I had offered to be in my letter. Who knows, perhaps the Kaiser was superstitious, and if the appointment fell through, maybe he would no longer want to have anything to do with me.

In my concern I turned to the Turkish adjutants. All they knew was that the Kaiser was expected. After leaving the Embassy he was first scheduled to visit the German school.

The only result of my inquiry was that I was invited to enter one of the ground-floor reception rooms—which, however, I could not leave again. It seemed to me as though I heard my name repeated by the officers in the main corridor, and I had the impression of being closely watched . . . Once Wolffsohn passed by the doorway, but didn't see me. Later he told me that someone had come up to his carriage and asked him if he was here with Dr. Herzl of the *Neue Freie Presse;* then four people had stood around his carriage and kept guard over him until our departure. When the Kaiser arrived and Wolffsohn left the carriage and took off his hat, someone crept up from behind and peeked inside his top-hat—to make sure there was no bomb in it.

Meanwhile, I kept growing more and more uncomfortable in my salon, which had become a guard-room. I had already given up the audience as lost. Then, at 5:15, a stir. The guard of honor outside the building came to attention. Cavalry men hove into sight at the foot of the steep, winding road. Behind the horsemen, the Kaiser's carriage; at his side, the Empress.

I was not sorry that the windows of my room gave no view of the splendor of this procession. It might have made me more self-conscious. I wanted to step out into the hall—but some flunkey

blocked my path and with an unmistakable gesture motioned me back into the room.

At this point there is a blank. I believe I told someone to inform Count Eulenburg at once that I was here. Five minutes later I was called. An elderly gentleman stepped up to me in the hall.

"Dr. Herzl?" he asked.

"His Excellency, Count Eulenburg?" I asked.

He gave me his hand and pointed to the stairs leading to the upper floor. I think he also said, "You will go with Herr von Bülow to His Majesty!"

I went up the stairs rather calmly. At the top there stood, most splendidly, the aide-de-camp on duty, a gentleman of Prussian elegance, who watched my ascent *l'oeil narquois* [with a quizzical expression]. Still, he seemed to be satisfied with my coat, the crease of my trousers, and my patent-leather shoes, for when I mentioned my name, he clicked his heels:

"Count von Kessel!" and gave me his hand. Somewhat fatuously, I repeated:

"Dr. Herzl!" Whereat he flashed a brief smile of superiority.

I now stood at the head of the staircase. Count Kessel was staring intently over my shoulder; so somebody worthy of notice must have been standing behind me. However, I did not turn around. Presently that somebody came round the corner, so that by half glancing to the right I was able to see who it was.

A white dress—the Empress! She had been standing with Bülow behind a column and had watched me ascending the stairs. I bowed, she gave a slight acknowledgment and disappeared.

Count Kessel stood at the center door, opened it a little, looked in, and spoke to someone. Then he motioned to me and held the door open.

I walked in briskly. The Kaiser, in a dark Hussar uniform, approached me. I stood still and made a deep bow. He then came up to me, almost as far as the door, and gave me his hand. I believe he said he was very pleased—or something of the sort—to meet me.

I said: "Your Imperial Majesty, I am very happy about this distinction."

He then went back around the table, moved an armchair in place for me, made a gesture of invitation with his hand, and seated himself with his back to the writing table, crossing his legs with the Hussar boots, like someone who is making himself comfortable for a lengthy conversation. Bülow had entered behind me, and we sat down together. Like myself, he held his top-hat between his knees throughout the audience. I forgot to take off my right glove, as etiquette would have required.

While waiting I had been a bit uneasy as to whether my morning-coat was appropriate or whether tails would not have been correct. Bülow's morning-coat reassured me.

When I had come in, the Kaiser had looked at me grandly with his great sea-blue eyes. He has truly Imperial eyes. I have never seen such eyes. A remarkable, bold, inquisitive soul shows in them. However, he obviously is not indifferent to the impression he makes on others, particularly the first impression. He is exactly as tall as I am, and my first impression was that he is embarrassed about his withered arm. And that he thinks to himself: You, who are coming from the outside, from a world that knows me only from pictures or merely sees me rush past in the whirl of splendid royal parades—aren't you disappointed at seeing before you a Kaiser who has one arm shorter than all other men?

Accordingly, I kept my gaze on his fine, frank, genial and yet bold eyes, which fairly bewitched me.

I had expected that he would begin with a stream of conversation, and thus hadn't fully recovered my breath when he invited me to speak.

"Where shall I begin, Your Imperial Majesty?"

"Wherever you like," he said, a bit ironically, and leaned back.

So I repeated the substance of the letter I had sent him yesterday, in a rather shaky voice and with my heart pounding against my ribs. It annoyed me to think that the unsympathetic Bülow

was surely watching my embarrassment with amusement. Still, I didn't say anything stupid. My uneasiness lay only in my tone. But when I had propounded the matter of the land company and the German protectorate, the Kaiser nodded quickly and contentedly, as is his wont—more with his eyes than with his head. It is most characteristic. He looks at you squarely and strongly—the Kaiser!—and when a remark or turn of phrase appeals to him, his magnificent eyes, with his lips tightly closed, say: I got you—you're my man—that's fine with me.

There are innumerable portraits of him, but because this approving glance, a most original, powerful flash, cannot be painted, people don't know what his eyes are like.

He soon took over the conversation and explained to me why the Zionist movement appealed to him. Unfortunately I was a preoccupied listener and, besides, had to concentrate all my energies on preparing my replies, so that not all the details have stuck in my mind. He always referred to the Jews as "your people"—and in a tone that was not exactly friendly. He did not doubt that with the financial and human resources at our disposal we would succeed in carrying out the colonization of Palestine. While he said this I was a little inattentive, since I had to make a mental note of the effectiveness of my three years' work in making the obscure word "Zionism" a *terme reçu* [household word], one that the German Kaiser used readily in talking to me.

"There are elements," he said, "among your people whom it would be quite a good thing to settle in Palestine. I am thinking of Hesse, for example, where there are usurers at work among the rural population. If these people took their possessions and went to settle in the colonies, they could be more useful." (This was roughly the sense of his remarks.)

That he should identify the Jews with a few usurers annoyed me; and suddenly my irritation restored my composure, and I made a brief speech attacking anti-Semitism which, I said, had stabbed the rest of us right to the heart. We had been deeply hurt.

Bülow noticed that I was making an attack, and parried my thrusts. He said that the Jews had recently shown themselves ungrateful to the House of Hohenzollern, to which, after all, they owed a great deal. The Kaiser's grandfather and father, and His Majesty himself had always shown themselves gracious toward the Jews, and now the Jews were to be seen among all the opposition parties, even the anti-monarchical ones.

"Singer!" murmured the Kaiser, who had been listening to Bülow with an expression of approval. Bülow hinted that the Kaiser felt offended.

I explained that we were taking the Jews away from the revolutionary parties.

The Kaiser remarked that he thought the Jews would support the colonization of Palestine if they knew that he was keeping them under his protection, and that therefore they would not really be leaving Germany.

Bülow added: "And let us hope that they would be grateful for it!" But he called my attention to the fact that the rich Jews were not in favor of my ideas. "The big newspapers are not for it either, particularly your own. You should certainly try to win over one or another of the great papers."

I said: "Your Excellency, this is a mere matter of money. As a man of letters, I regret having to say this."

Bülow's point in raising this objection was, by the way, unmistakable. He wanted to indicate to the Kaiser that I had no power behind me. Bülow said everything in opposition, with the exception of the little word No, which he obviously does not dare to say, since the *voluntas regis* [royal will] is Yes. Bülow says, "Well, yes . . . ," "Yes, but . . . ," "Yes, if only. . . ." All masked No's.

However, I felt my argument strengthened as the Kaiser visibly supported me with nods and glances.

Presently I came to the favorable feature of the moment, the internal weakness of France.

At this point the Kaiser took over with verve.

"I read in the *Neue Freie Presse* today about the projected

coup d'état. You know the conditions. What do you think of Prince Napoleon's chances?"

"Your Majesty, I believe he has none. The country does not know him."

"But it does," interjected Bülow, "he is a Russian officer."

I rejoined: "Yes, but Russian prestige has declined greatly since the disarmament proposal."

The Kaiser laughed with his eyes—almost audibly, I am tempted to say.

"They have calculated," I added, "that the conversations of Kronstadt and Toulon have cost them eight billions."

The Kaiser now laughed aloud. "That's a lot. A crazy people, anyway. How hard I've tried to put some sense into them. All in vain. Now I've finally given it up. There is no helping those people. The only thing they see is the Gap in the Vosges." He clenched his right fist and imitated the therateming gesture of the French in the direction of the Vosges. Then he shrugged his shoulders.

I remarked that the army had suffered greatly because of the latest Dreyfus incidents. And suddenly we were *en pleine affaire Dreyfus* [deep in the Dreyfus affair]. The Kaiser—I think to Bülow's mild horror—spoke frankly and freely about the Affair. I advanced no opinion one way or the other; but soon it became completely clear that they considered Dreyful innocent! It was something absolutely colossal.

"What kind of people are they," cried the Kaiser. "Do they really think I am crazy enough to write such letters to anybody at all? Hanotaux put 27,000 francs on the table for those forgeries. They were offered to him, and he, the Richelieu, the great statesman, thought they were genuine—or pretended he did. Why, it's incredible! The matter got about through Princess Mathilde. Hanotaux declared in her salon, before a gathering of army people, that he had letters from me in his possession. Of course, she immediately saw the impossibility of it and told him so."

At this point my recollection is uncertain. If I am not mis-

taken, the Kaiser said: "And then she bounced him out." This, at any rate, was the sense of his words.

Bülow said: "The mendacity of these people is remarkable. Didn't one of their ministers declare that Dreyfus' innocence was known to the government? I forget which one it was."

"Viger," said the Kaiser. "This old red radical Brisson, astonishingly enough, is the only honest man left among them; he wants to bring out the truth."

I told about Bourgeois, the master mind of the Cabinet, who let Cavaignac run upon the sword that was held in front of him.

Again the Kaiser laughed with his eyes and said: "The other day I was with a number of my colleagues . . ." (I think he said: in Vienna, at the funeral of the Empress. I didn't immediately understand whom he meant by "colleagues" until he continued:) "The King of Rumania told me something he had found out in a roundabout way from a French officer. Namely, that embezzlements are at the bottom of the whole business. For a long time now, the French General Staff's secret funds have been stolen. Captain Dreyfus, too, was offered 20,000 francs. He would not take it and said: I don't need the 20,000 francs. What am I supposed to do with 20,000 francs? So they had to get rid of him, since he knew what was up. And this is why Esterhazy and Du Paty de Clam were kept. More and more officers who had taken money became implicated, and now they are shielding one another . . . I often wonder what is to become of that country. It is valuable, after all. The French spirit constitutes the spice, the pepper, for the other cultures—the Attic salt. Of course, too much pepper is no good. But what is going to happen to France?"

"Your Majesty, I think that it will crumble from within," I said. "It is fine indeed in literature and arts, and it is the refinement of decadence. That the French are seeking a war I do not believe. The ruling class has the greatest interest in not wanting a war."

"Yes," said Bülow, "a war would remove them in any case, the

present republicans. Victory like defeat would bring a monarchy."

With this *truism** I agreed, of course.

The Kaiser said: "From all appearances in France it does seem to follow that a republic is not the best conceivable form of government."

I spoke about the present parliament in the vein of my treatment of it in *The Palais Bourbon*, and asked the Kaiser whether I might send him this book.

He said yes with his large eyes.

Then he said: "I also think that they will keep quiet, if only because of the Exposition. That is when they want to get money from everybody."

"A real Frenchie," I said, "can't stand a German, but he gladly takes his cash."

"They won't get to see mine," said—I think—the Kaiser; but perhaps it was Bülow. I think, but am not sure, that this answer was given. Nor do I know in what connection I answered the Kaiser's question about the coming development of France as follows:

"People will always go to France in order to have a good time."

Bülow interjected jokingly:

"Yes, cafés and *Beisel* [joints], as they call them in Vienna."

Now and then the Kaiser glanced at his watch, which he wears strapped to the wrist of his short left arm. To think how much these Imperial minutes are worth, especially on such a day, the first day of his visit to Constantinople!

The conversation flagged for a moment after this French interlude. I used the pause to get back to our muttons:

"And that is why France cannot offer any objections to our project." And for Russia it also meant a solution, etc.—the familiar points.

The Kaiser said with a touch of humor, in which, however, there was only free-and-easy sympathy and certainly not heartlessness:

* In English in original.

"Yes, your people have had a pretty bad time of it in Russia during the past couple of hundred years."

"Pretty bad" was what he really meant; the expression he ironically used said just the opposite. But this phrase, too, has escaped me.

I then proceeded, and unfolded the entire plan before him, accompanied by his nods. I believe I presented all the arguments: Russia's Siberian railroad, a Pandora's box with untold ills for Europe; *the shortest line to India,** etc. Everything, everything. He listened to me magnificently, at times with visible strain and effort when I touched upon the complicated forms of the loans we could arrange for Turkey. Finally I said:

"I don't know—maybe I'm extremely stubborn about it, but the thing seems completely natural to me!"

He looked at me grandly: "To me, too!"

Bülow interposed: "Yes, if only the people here are willing; perhaps the Ministers ought to be . . ." With his thumb and index finger he made the gesture of counting out money. "Well, here they all take."

The Kaiser rejected this with a light movement of his hand and said:

"But surely it will make an impression if the German Kaiser concerns himself with it and shows an interest in it."

(It was then that I had the magic-forest sensation of encountering the fabulous unicorn which said with a human voice, "I am the fabled unicorn.")

The Kaiser continued: "After all, I am the only one who still sticks by the Sultan. He puts stock in me."

He had glanced at his watch again and arose. But when he saw that I had something to say, he asked: "You have another question?"

Already on my feet, I brought up the specific questions about the audience in Palestine, my address, etc.

The Kaiser said: "Write out your address and give it to Bülow.

* In English in original.

Then I shall go over it carefully with him. . . . Just tell me in a word what I am to ask of the Sultan."

"A *Chartered Company**—under German protection."

"Good! A Chartered Company!" And he grandly gave me his hand, which is strong enough for two, squeezed mine good and hard, and went out first through the center door.

Outside stood Count von Kessel.

• • •

Insert:

At an earlier point in the conversation— I believe, after we had mentioned the distressing situation of the Jews in the East, the Kaiser said:

"But things will probably get worst of all in France. In that country anti-Semitism is likely to become strongest. For there the Church is behind it, and the Jesuits won't let go once they start a thing like that. Herr von Rothschild seems to know this too, for he is having his art collection shipped to London."

• • •

After the Kaiser had left the salon, I went out with Bülow. He gazed after the Kaiser who was striding with an elastic step down the corridor with Kessel, and said to me: "That is a monarch of genius!"

Then we descended the stairs together, and Bülow said eagerly: "You must see Marschall and talk things over with him. Let him give you exact information. I think the Turks are now unfavorably disposed."

I naturally promised him to go to Marschall at once and not to write my Address until afterward; but I thought to myself that he was not giving me this advice out of benevolence. Actually, I don't want to be unjust, not even to the unfriendly Bülow. He has very great responsibilities and would pay for it if matters went wrong. Under the Constitution, it is he who will have

* In English in original.

to endorse the project; hence he is not merely entitled but even obligated to observe extreme caution.

The courtiers and officers, and especially the lackeys, were astonished when they saw the previously disregarded, unknown Jew in civilian clothes come down the stairs—after a private one-hour audience with the Kaiser—in the company of the Minister of State and engaged in animated conversation with him, with Bülow whispering along in easy familiarity. I finally arranged with Bülow that immediately after my conversation with Marschall I would prepare my Address and send it to him.

Then I left. The colorful cluster of Turkish officers gave me none too friendly looks. In fact, unless my hasty look as I went out deceived me, in the glances of some of them I saw hatred—or was it envy? Did they already know, had they already guessed, what my business was with the Kaiser? Or were their servile souls piqued at the conspicuous distinction I had been accorded?

I stepped into my carriage, where Wolffsohn had been waiting in the greatest agitation, and we drove off through the Yildiz gardens. I only told this good fellow briefly that the audience had been fine and that we would be received in Palestine. For after Marschall's negative behavior we had begun to doubt it, and had not even bought our steamship tickets for Alexandria.

As we drove out through the Yildiz gate, the festive illumination of the city had already started. An exquisite sight, for which, however, we lacked the proper attentiveness. We were too excited.

First I drove to the German Embassy. As I had expected, Marschall was no longer there, having gone to Yildiz for the gala dinner. All along the road, in fact, we had been passing guests on their way to the affair. I gave the Embassy clerk my card, with a corner folded down.

Schnirer, Seidener, and Bodenheimer were waiting at the Hotel de Londres, themselves greatly excited. Since Danusso was also present, I called them into the next room, gave them a summary account, and asked them to take the fat Italian down

to the dining-hall with them. I was quite exhausted from the great psychic strain, and still had to compose that difficult and important Address. I had some tea, but still didn't pull myself together enough to finish the speech.

I kept trying until eleven o'clock, while Wolffsohn was packing my trunks for me. Then I sought to make myself sleepy by drinking a bottle of Bavarian beer, and I did sleep until four o'clock in the morning. Then I got up, lit all twelve candles in my bedroom, wrote for half an hour, and then went back to bed, exhausted. At six o'clock I got up again and finished as much of the Address as I could by half-past eight, when I sent it off to Bülow, with a covering letter, by the German post.

In the meantime, Wolffsohn had "managed" our departure. All I needed to do was drive to the harbor and board the ship.

Glorious sunshine at the harbor of Constantinople. I also experienced a certain sense of relief when I felt the deck of this Russian ship under my feet. For I did not, and up to this time do not, know how the Turks will regard the matter, which has now become something to take seriously. On approaching Smyrna I even thought it possible that the local Turkish authorities, informed of my presence, would bestow their more or less benevolent attention upon me. Even now, on October 21, out on the Aegean Sea, I am still quite uncertain as to what may be in store for us. Yesterday at Smyrna I sent for the local newspapers to learn whether the news agencies had reported on my audience. I wasn't able to find anything.

That my audience cannot long remain secret and that the diplomatic world is in a great uproar over it by now I think I may assume without delusions of grandeur. *Enfin, nous verrons* [Anyway, we shall see].

At any rate, today I already constitute a troublesome personage to many a party interested in the Holy Land, and I don't know whether some plot is not being hatched against me in Palestine. From what quarter? I can't even make the most far-fetched guess.

But I am not telling these anxieties of mine even to my travelling companions. I am obviously approaching the climax of my

tragic enterprise. If the expedition to Palestine is successful, the very hardest part of it will be done. Everything else will then be simply a matter of execution, something which can be accomplished by others, too.

The days I am now living through are critical days of the first order. Only when I am again on a ship headed for the Italian coast will I have the feeling that this new ride across Lake Constance is behind me.

• • •

I have written down these recollections of the great day, October 18, on shipboard on the 19th, 20th, and 21st. I do feel now that I have set down all the most important things, and that the day with the Kaiser has been preserved for posterity, to whom it belongs.

October 21

One more recollection. Most of the time the Kaiser looked me full in the face. Only when I spoke of the new overland route to Asia—Mediterranean, Persian Gulf—did he stare into space as though lost in thought, and the thoughtful expression on his fine, serious face revealed to me that I had fully gripped him.

October 27, Rishon-le-Zion, 6:00 a.m.

No entries were made during those sunny days at sea. They were halcyon days. Everything worth noting moved past my unclouded spirit without leaving any traces. And yet there were noteworthy things: the ship that took us to Alexandria, that floating cosmopolitan city which contained all sorts of things, from a cattle market to a French salon; Smyrna, picturesque filth and *varia miseria*, assorted misery in red, yellow, blue colors; Jews—Ashkenazim and Sephardim—from all over the world, cast up in this Asia Minor town. And once again over the wine-colored sea, past the epic isles of the Greeks, to the Piraeus, which was a disappointment. Up through the dust to the Acrop-

olis, which likewise says so much to us only because classical literature is so powerful. The power of the word! Then raced through Athens in a matter of minutes, but that seemed enough for this modern city.

Evenings on shipboard, long talks with the French writer René Bazin. My judgment of the French was not a gentle one. I told him, among other things, that a powerful literature can also disseminate weak ideas throughout the world. On the other hand, powerful ideas (such as the 18th century ideas about reforming the state) can also spread a feeble literature all over the world. But present-day France, I said, has neither great ideas nor great writing.

The Frenchmen Bazin, Lamy, Mille, etc., took down their impressions throughout the voyage. I did not. Now I am sorry I didn't; but the soul, too, must have its fallow season in order to become fertile again. And I have so many projects ahead of me that I can forgive myself for not making a literary harvest from my journey.

Hot days in Alexandria and Port Said. Alexandria shows how a clever European administration can draw a habitable, comfortable city even out of the hottest soil.

At Port Said I greatly admired the Suez Canal. The Suez Canal, that shimmering thread of water stretching away toward infinity, impressed me much more than the Acropolis. Human lives and money, it is true, were taken and squandered on the Suez Canal, but yet one must admire the colossal will that executed this simple idea of digging away the sands. In Panama this will had grown senile; this, and not the natural obstacles, evidently wrecked that second project.

The last two nights of our voyage, which we spent on a smaller vessel, the "Russia" (sailing from Alexandria), it was unbearably hot in the cabin which the five of us shared. I was up on deck by three o'clock in the morning. The last night I even slept *à la belle étoile* [under the open sky] from midnight on. At night and in the morning the sea was wonderfully still and shimmered in variegation. When it grew light, we began to peer toward the

Jewish coast. Toward seven o'clock the first bit of land, two dots of mountains on the right, was sighted by Wolffsohn. We approached the land of our fathers with mixed feelings. Strange what emotions this desolate country stirs up in most people: in the old German pastor from South Africa, in the Russian *muzhik* in the foul-smelling steerage, in the Arabs who have been traveling with us from Constantinople, in us Zionists, in the poor Rumanian Jewess who wants to join her sick daughter in Yerusholayim and who has reason to fear that she will be turned back on account of her Rumanian passport. Incidentally, our companion Seidener is in the same situation with his Russian passport.

Thus the landing shaped up as rather uncomfortable, when Jaffa hove in sight. In any case, I had made my plans for the eventuality that the Turkish port authorities refused to let us pass. I drafted a telegram to the Kaiser informing him of the trouble that was being made for us. But it turned out differently. When we were on the big Cook landing-boat, which I had asked the Rumanian woman to board also, I learned that German police would be at the pier. I jumped ashore, and while the Turkish police were snooping about our *tezkerehs,* I took the German official aside and told him that we were here on the Kaiser's orders; the five white cork-helmets should be allowed to pass through at once. This was done. I turned the Rumanian woman over to Mme. Gaulis, the wife of a French journalist, who was sitting in the next boat; she was to pass off the Rumanian as her servant. Mme. Gaulis did so, the poor old soul clung to the Frenchwoman's skirt and thus slipped through the cordon—so happy at being in Palestine where she was going to visit her mortally ill daughter. What forms happiness takes!

And we were in Jaffa!

Again poverty and misery and heat in gay colors.

Confusion in the streets, at the hotel, not a carriage to be had. I was already on a horse, to ride to Rishon, but dismounted again when Dr. Joffe procured us a conveyance.

We drove—in the terrible heat—first to Mikveh Israel. This

is an excellent school of agriculture. Bunting over the gate in honor of the Kaiser, who will pass by here tomorrow on his way to Jerusalem. I will try to persuade him to visit the institution.

From Mikveh, through the countryside neglected in Arab fashion to the much-praised Rishon-le-Zion. For a poor village this is a fairly prosperous place. But if one has imagined it as more than a poor settlement, one is disappointed. Thick dust on the roads, a bit of greenery.

The administrator received us with a frightened air, obviously dared to be neither amiable nor unamiable. Fear of Monsieur le Baron hovers over everything. The poor colonists have swapped one fear for another. We were shown through the wine-cellars with elaborate ceremony. But I have never doubted that with money one can set up industrial establishments no matter where. With the millions which have been poured into the sand here and stolen and squandered, far different results could have been achieved.

Meanwhile, news of our arrival had spread through the village. A deputation came to invite me to the Beth Ha'am. We were welcomed by music which, unfortunately, was only well-intentioned. Again a lane of faces such as I have seen in London, Berlin, Brünn, everywhere. Someone made a speech in which he tried to harmonize their obligations toward the Baron and their love for me, a harmony just as impossible as the one the conductor tried to achieve between the violin and the flute. The big drum had to cover up everything. I also spoke a few words, advising them to be grateful to the Baron, although his aims were different from mine.

Then I inspected the house of a colonist who had made good. Large rooms—habitable, anyway. But faded faces.

Next I saw the house of some day-laborers. Wooden plank-beds and squalor.

Finally I spoke to the physician of the colony, Dr. Mazie. He gave it to me straight. Fever! All of the colonies suffer from fever. Only large-scale drainage operations and the elimination of swamps, he said, could make the country habitable.

This is also my view and intention.

It will cost billions, but create billions of new wealth! Such Arabs as are immune to the fever might be used for the work.

Jerusalem, October 29

Conclusion of my Address to the Kaiser:

This is the fatherland of ideas which do not belong to one people or to one creed alone. The farther men advance in their morality, the more clearly do they recognize the common elements in these ideas. And thus the actual city of Jerusalem, with its fateful walls, has long since become a symbolic city sacred to all civilized men.

An emperor of peace is making a great entry into this eternal city. We Jews greet Your Majesty at this exalted moment, wishing from the bottom of our hearts that an age of peace and justice may dawn for all men. Including ourselves.

October 29, Jerusalem

Sent the Address to August Eulenburg with the following covering letter:

Your Excellency:

I have the honor most humbly to submit the enclosed Address of the Zionist Deputation. I beg Your Excellency to be kind enough to inform me, when returning the manuscript, of the changes desired by His Majesty the Kaiser, or else to convey his gracious approval to me. I shall read it as bidden when the audience takes place.

At the same time may I request that I kindly be notified of the day and hour appointed for the reception of the deputation.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect, I remain

Your humble servant,
Dr. Th. H.

October 29, Jerusalem

I must add what has happened since the day before yesterday, when we left Rishon-le-Zion. We drove away from Rishon in the morning. About half an hour's distance from there is the Jewish hamlet of Wad-el-Chanin. There we were met by the entire population; singing children; an old man presented me with bread, salt and wine from his own vineyard. I had to visit almost all the homes of the colonists.

We drove on. A cavalcade came galloping toward us from the settlement of Rehovot: about twenty young fellows who put on a kind of *fantasia,* lustily singing Hebrew songs and swarming about our carriage. Wolffsohn, Schnirer, Bodenheimer and I had tears in our eyes when we saw those fleet, daring horsemen into whom our young trouser-salesmen can be transformed. *Hedad!* they cried, and dashed away cross-country on their little Arab horses. They reminded me of the *Far-West** cowboys of the American plains whom I once saw in Paris.

At Rehovot, an even greater demonstration; the whole village awaited me in rank and file. The children sang. With the resources of the poor, a princely reception.

Back in the brooding heat to Jaffa, which I reached exhausted. My good Hechler had arrived. I related what had happened since our last meeting and asked him to tell Count Eulenburg that I would await the Kaiser the following morning on the highway outside Mikveh Israel.

Early yesterday morning I drove out to Mikveh Israel. I was already unwell, but with an effort managed to stay on my feet. The picture of the trainees at their farm implements was a pretty one. Among the curious the somewhat baronially arrogant Rothschild administrators turned up also. I told Niego, the director of Mikveh, that I would introduce him to the Kaiser, should the latter recognize and speak to me. Niego begged me to refrain from doing this, because it might be regarded as a Zionist demonstration and could harm him. I was there as the

* In English in the original.

guest of Mikveh and therefore should not introduce him, the director. Actually, this was a mild reprimand, but I did not resent it from the otherwise amiable man.

At nine o'clock a commotion on the highway, which was lined with a *mixed multitude** of Arab beggars, womenfolk, children, and horsemen, heralded the approach of the Imperial procession. Fierce-looking Turkish cavalry came galloping toward us at full tilt, rifles at the ready and shooting even more threatening glances all around. Then the outriders of the Kaiser. And there, among a grey-clad group, including several ladies, the Kaiser himself.

I gave the schoolchildren's choir of Mikveh the signal to intone "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz." ** I stood beside one of the ploughs and took off my cork-helmet. The Kaiser recognized me even at a distance. It gave him a bit of start; he guided his horse in my direction—and pulled up in front of me. I took two steps forward; and when he leaned down over the neck of the horse and held his hand down to me, I stepped up quite close to his horse, stretched up my own hand, and stood before him with my head bared.

He laughed and flashed his imperious eyes at me.

"How are you?"

"Thanks, Your Majesty! I am having a look at the country. And how has the journey agreed with Your Majesty so far?"

He blinked grandly with his eyes:

"Very hot! But the country has a future."

"At the moment it is still sick," I said.

"Water is what it needs, a lot of water!" he said from above me.

"Yes, Your Majesty! Irrigation on a large scale!"

He repeated: "It is a land of the future!"

Perhaps he said some other things which have escaped me, for he stopped with me for several minutes. Then he held down his

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: "Hail to thee with the victor's wreath," a song by Schumacher and Harries (about 1790), widely sung as a royal salute to the tune of "God Save the King."

hand to me again, and trotted off. The Empress, too, had ridden forward a bit and gave me a nod and a smile. Then the Imperial procession moved on to the strains of "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz" from the children's throats.

I noticed the Kaiser drawing himself up more proudly in the saddle and saluting his hymn, as, back in Breslau, he had saluted the statue of his grandfather.

Among those riding behind him I recognized Court-Marshal Eulenburg, who greeted me affably.

The spectators at Mikveh Israel were quite dumbfounded. A few of them asked who it was. They simply wouldn't believe that it had been the Kaiser. The Rothschild administrators looked timid and out-of-sorts.

Wolffsohn, that good soul, had taken two snapshots of the scene. At least he thought he had. He patted his kodak proudly: "I wouldn't part with these negatives for ten thousand marks."

But when we got to the photographer's at Jaffa and had the negatives developed, it turned out that the first picture showed only a shadow of the Kaiser and my left foot; the second was completely spoiled.

Then we took the train in the frightful heat to Jerusalem. Just the departure from the Jaffa station took an hour. Sitting in the cramped, crowded, scorching compartment was torture. While crossing the dismal, desolate countryside I developed a fever and grew more and more feverish and weak as we rode further into the Sabbath. For, because of the delayed train, and to Wolffsohn's extreme chagrin, we found ourselves traveling into the Sabbath. The moon was full when we arrived in Jerusalem. I would have gladly driven the half hour's distance from the station to the hotel; but the gentlemen made long faces, so I had to resign myself to walking to the city, weak with fever though I was. I tottered all over the place on my cane; with my other arm I braced myself alternately against Wolffsohn's and Schub's arm.

In spite of my weariness, Jerusalem by moon-dust with its

grand outlines made a powerful impression on me. Magnificent the silhouette of the fortress of Zion, the citadel of David.

The streets were crowded with groups of Jews strolling in the moonlight.

I was very sick before falling asleep. I took quinine and vomited after it. Then Schnirer rubbed me with spirits of camphor, and slept that night in my narrow little room.

Wolffsohn was beside himself with excitement. Maybe he had already given me up.

In the morning I awoke feeling better. But I'm still quite feeble today. It is now evening, and I have not stirred from the house all day. I only look out the windows and conclude that Jerusalem is magnificently situated. Even in its present decay it is a beautiful city, and, if we come here, can become one of the most beautiful in the world again.

From my hotel window, this afternoon, I saw the Kaiser pass through the triumphal arches, first the Jewish and then the Turkish. He is said to have stopped a little longer at the Jews' arch. I haven't been to the Jewish arch, because there are two factions here. One wanted me to deliver the communal address to the Kaiser. The other apparently wished me to stay away entirely—me and my Zionism. Since, as I was informed, the *Hakham Bashi* of Constantinople has proposed to the Chief Rabbi here that I be put under the great ban, I preferred not even to go near these carping Oriental objectors.

October 31, Jerusalem

When I remember thee in days to come, O Jerusalem, it will not be with pleasure.

The musty deposits of two thousand years of inhumanity, intolerance, and uncleanliness lie in the foul-smelling alleys. The one man who has been present all this time, the amiable dreamer of Nazareth, has only contributed to increasing the hatred.

If we ever get Jerusalem and if I am still able to do anything actively at that time, I would begin by cleaning it up.

I would clear out everything that is not something sacred, set up workers' homes outside the city, empty the nests of filth and tear them down, burn the secular ruins, and transfer the bazaars elsewhere. Then, retaining the old architectural style as much as possible, I would build around the Holy Places a comfortable, airy new city with proper sanitation.

• • •

Night before last the good Hechler arrived here and came to see me.

I told him: "If I have anything to say at the next vacancy of the Jerusalem English diocese, you must become *Bishop of Jerusalem.*" •

He resisted the idea.

I repeated: "Bishop of Jerusalem!"

• • •

The local Jewish Community is like the rest of them. It turned out that the man who brought me their supposed invitation had lied. After leaving me he went to the communal leaders and told them that I would very much like to await the Kaiser under their triumphal arch. Thereupon the leaders declared that—there were no more available spaces.

Yesterday the Sephardic Rabbi Meir was among the visitors who have been calling on me at the Marx house. He explained the attitude of the local Grand Rabbis to me: they don't want to incur the displeasure of the Turkish government.

Amused, I said: "In order not to cause the gentlemen any embarrassment, I shall also omit paying them a visit."

• • •

We have been to the Wailing Wall. A deeper emotion refuses to come, because that place is pervaded by a hideous, wretched,

• In English in original.

speculative beggary. At least, this is the way it was when we were there, yesterday evening and this morning.

• • •

Yesterday evening we visited the Tower of David. At the entrance I said to my friends: "It would be a good idea on the Sultan's part if he had me arrested here."

A touching view from the decayed battlements on the city melting away in evening mists.

Earlier we had walked—rather quickly—through the *Via Dolorosa*, because it is said to be an ill-omened place for Jews. Seidener, who used to live in this city, absolutely refused to accompany me. I would have considered it cowardice not to go, and so I did walk along the street of the Holy Sepulchre. My friends restrained me from entering the Church itself. It is also forbidden to set foot in the Mosque of Omar and the Temple area, otherwise one becomes subject to excommunication by the rabbis. This is what happened to Sir Moses Montefiore.

How much superstition and fanaticism on every side! Yet I am not afraid of any of these fanatics.

• • •

We were in a Jewish hospital today. Misery and uncleanliness. Nevertheless, for appearance's sake, I had to testify in the visitors' book to its cleanliness. This is how lies originate.

From the gallery of an ancient synagogue we enjoyed a view of the Temple area, the Mount of Olives, and the whole storied landscape in the morning sunshine.

I am quite firmly convinced that a magnificent New Jerusalem could be built outside the old city walls. The old Jerusalem would still remain Lourdes and Mecca and Yerusholayim. A very pretty, elegant town would be quite possible beside it.

October 31

Today the Church of the Redeemer will be consecrated by the Kaiser. I avoided his procession while on our way to the city. At Mikveh it was good, here it would be bad, to stand in his path.

• • •

1:30 p.m.

Again hours of intense, uncomfortable expectation. Since the night before last, when Wolffsohn delivered my letter to Count Eulenburg in the Imperial encampment, there has been no word.

The five of us hang around, not knowing when we are to be received. The Kaiser is scheduled to go to Jericho today and will not return until day after tomorrow. Question is whether he will receive us today or the day after tomorrow (the last day). In fact, the more faint-hearted among us are beginning to ask: will he receive us at all?

Who knows what international intrigues are now being played over our heads. We have no newspaper here, in two weeks no news of what has been happening in the world.

• • •

Despite this general despondency of my four friends, I just gave them a bit of instruction for the reception: the order in which they are to stand, their deportment, etc.; I also tried to prepare replies for the questions the Kaiser might ask. I told them to keep in mind that the Kaiser was a powerful figure, but still, only a human being. They should be humble, of course, but nevertheless remember that they were representing the renowned Jewish people at a historic moment.

I further inquired whether their clothes, linen, neckties, gloves, shoes, and hats were in order.

Then I sent off Wolffsohn to reconnoitre why we had received no word. He was to go to Hechler, and the latter to Eulenburg out in the encampment.

And I am waiting.

• • •

Three o'clock

Wolffsohn returns from Hechler all excited.

Hechler told him the Kaiser was leaving tomorrow morning direct for Berlin, as grave events were taking place. France had declared war on England.

The whole thing seems incredible to me.

Meanwhile a Russian consular official is here at the Marx house with the same rumor.

I still believe it is a case of exaggeration or a fantastic rumor. Perhaps both reports come from the same source.

Hechler also told Wolffsohn that during today's consecration ceremonies the Kaiser had beckoned to him twice, whereupon he reported for an audience. Half an hour from now he will be with Eulenburg, after that with the Kaiser, and he will ask the latter whether he has forgotten the Zionists.

Wolffsohn is now going to Hechler again.

• • •

6:30 p.m.

Hechler was here for an hour, drank tea, and told us about his *contretemps* [mishap].

He had arrived at Eulenburg's tent where he was told that the Count was expected back momentarily. Hechler rushed out in order to notify Wolffsohn that it would be a while longer. When he returned, Eulenburg had been there and left again. For half an hour our good Hechler sat in Eulenburg's tent and waited. Then, trumpets, the noise of departure. Who was leaving? The Kaiser. And Count Eulenburg? With him. So Hechler marched off *bredouille* [empty-handed].

At 5:30 he drove back to the Imperial encampment. Now Wolffsohn and Schnirer have gone out there to wait for Hechler.

This uncertain waiting has by now completely demoralized us.

Hechler told us that the Kaiser would not be leaving for Jericho, but for Beirut. So the war scare seems to have been a fabrication after all.

November 1, Jerusalem

At 7:30 yesterday evening Wolffsohn and Schnirer came back from the encampment with the following report:

Hechler saw Eulenburg, first spoke about this and that, and then asked when the Zionists would be received. Eulenburg said: "Tomorrow or the day after."

The Kaiser is not going to Jericho, but is staying here a while longer.

• • •

I am very sorry that I allowed my companions to dissuade me two days ago from writing to the Kaiser and asking him to receive me as soon as possible, because I had to return to Europe without delay; my ship would be leaving on Tuesday.

The gentlemen were afraid of forcing the pace. They don't know my reason: I want to leave the country immediately after the audience, before the Turks regain their senses and perhaps make trouble for me.

Now the chance is lost. There won't be a safe vessel sailing for Port Said before next Tuesday, and it is highly doubtful whether there is a chance connection which would enable us to be in Port Said or Alexandria by Saturday.

I made a great mistake in letting myself be dissuaded.

Overnight it occurred to me to send the Kaiser some photographs of the colonies and take this opportunity to remind him of the audience. I have now sent out someone to buy a piece of costly fabric as a covering for the pictures. Wolffsohn will take the packet to Eulenburg, to whom I am writing the following note:

"I have the profound honor to hand Your Excellency herewith a few photographs of the Jewish colonies already established in Palestine, with the request that the pictures be submitted to His Majesty the Kaiser.

"May I take this opportunity to inquire whether the day and the hour of our reception have already been fixed? Directly after

the audience we should like to depart for Europe, where pressing business calls us.

"With repeated thanks to Your Excellency for your very kind offices and begging you to accept the expression of my deep respect, I remain

Your humble servant,
Dr. Th. H.

November 2, Jerusalem

This letter to Eulenburg was not sent off. For while Seidener and Schnirer were out, yesterday morning, to get the cover for the pictures, the *kavass* of the German Consulate came with a slip that bore only my name, and he invited me to call on the Consul-General.

I found the Consul-General, von Tischendorf, in the company of a Count Mühling who wore the new red Cross of Jerusalem.

Tischendorf told me that I was being expected at the encampment by Legation Councillor Kemeth who wanted further information from me about the audience I had requested. So there was to be an audience after all.

My friends and I had already been quite disheartened by having had to "stew" for so long. On our way to the Consulate, Schnirer pulled a long face and expressed a pessimistic view, saying that this summons to the Consulate meant snow.

He was all the more overjoyed when I told him in the carriage what was happening. We drove to the Imperial encampment; I had myself announced to the Legation Councillor. The latter, a slightly-built, still young, but already very self-possessed official, received me with some condescension, led me into a reception tent, where he lounged back rather grandly in an armchair, crossed his legs, and then waved my corrected Address in front of me. A number of passages in the draft I had sent Eulenburg were crossed out with a pencil. These I must discard, he said. He could not let me say that to the Kaiser. He! He? Who is he? It reminded me of the servant in *Dr. Klaus* who treats the patients

in the doctor's absence, but I took the young man's presumptuousness with an unperturbed expression. He finally desired me to submit the document to him again, along with the revised manuscript, so that he might compare them and see whether I had done things right. I overlooked the impertinence of it and said calmly, "Certainly!"

He added, with half an apology, that after all he had the responsibility. He? Who?

Then he asked me, not ungraciously:

"What city is your usual place of residence?"

As if he didn't know all this very well. Surely an audience of this sort is not an everyday occurrence. These gentlemen must have talked about it at length and often, as well as grumbled about me. Obviously they are all furious that the Kaiser should pay so much attention to a Jew.

But again I gave a very calm and modest answer: "In Vienna."

I also asked in what way I would be notified about the publication. I would, of course, make public only what I was instructed to publish.

He observed coldly: " 'Instructed' does not seem the right word to me. At most you will be *permitted* to publish something."

This time he was right. I prepared to leave. Might I bring along some pictures of the colonies for the Kaiser? Herr Kemeth or Kehmetz had no objection; but he would welcome it if we did not take too much of the Kaiser's time. He welcomes something.

I learned, too, that Bülow would be present at the audience.

Then I left.

• • •

In the evening I sent Bodenheimer to the mighty *Herr Legationsrat* [Legation Councillor] with a clean copy of the new version as well as the corrected manuscript.

In the light of evening he is said to have been not entirely ungracious. He said to Bodenheimer: "Your representative, Dr. Herzl, spoke about publicity. In any case, we are counting on it

that for the time being nothing of the sort will be undertaken."

Bodenheimer assured His Importance of our discretion.

For a man who knows so well how to correct one's diction it was undoubtedly a deliberate mistake when he spoke of me as the "representative" of Dr. Bodenheimer. *Je déplais à ces Messieurs. Je m'en doutais* [I displease these gentlemen, I suspect].

• • •

In the afternoon we were on the Mount of Olives.

Great moments. What couldn't be made of this countryside! A city like Rome, and the Mount of Olives would furnish a panorama like the Janiculum.

I would isolate the old city with its relics and pull out all the regular traffic; only houses of worship and philanthropic institutions would be allowed to remain inside the old walls. And the wide ring of hillsides all around, which would turn green under our hands, would be the location of a glorious New Jerusalem. The most discriminating from every part of the world would travel the road up to the Mount of Olives. Tender care can turn Jerusalem into a jewel. Include everything sacred within the old walls, spread everything new round about it.

We climbed the Russian Tower—myself only as far as the first level, because I got dizzy, the other gentlemen to the very top. Incomparable view of the Jordan valley with its mountain slopes, the Dead Sea, the mountains of Moab, the eternal city of Jerusalem.

It would require time and a clear head to elaborate all these impressions.

• • •

On our way back we went to the rocky Tombs of the Kings, which were once owned by a French Jew, Péreire, and—presented by him to the French government. This is how impossible people considered it that the Jews would ever own anything themselves.

November 2, Jerusalem

The morning before the great event a bit hectic. While still in my night-shirt I instructed my friends how to behave during the audience. Amusing details. Bodenheimer doesn't have a good silk hat. Then the excitement of procuring a carriage, since we must certainly drive up in state.

Many bothersome callers.

Our good Hechler has just been here. He undertook to deliver the folder with the photographs of the colonies to Count Eulenburg. Then he blessed us in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, put on his white hat with its flowing veil, and left.

Now, at eleven, we are taking a snack, and then we shall dress. Schnirer wants to give each of us a little bromine—which is what people take nowadays before going to fight a duel.

• • •

At 1:08

We are already back from the audience.

This brief reception will be preserved forever in the history of the Jews, and it is not beyond possibility that it will have historic consequences as well.

But how odd were the details of the entire procedure.

At 11:30 we were finished with our abbreviated luncheon. I insisted on keeping my gentlemen on short rations, so that they might be in the proper trim.

By noon we were all dressed. Bodenheimer had a grotesque top-hat and cuffs so wide that his shirt-sleeves kept sliding down into sight. At the last moment we had to dig him up another pair of cuffs.

I put on (for the first time) my shabby Mejidiye decoration.

I wouldn't let anyone take bromine—as Marcou Baruch said at Basel: *je ne le voulais pas pour l'histoire* [I didn't want it, for the sake of history].

Et j'avais raison [And I was right].

In the burning noonday sun and the white dust we drove to the encampment. A few Jews in the streets looked up as we passed. Ducks in the swamp, when the wild ducks are flying overhead.

At the railing enclosing the encampment, the Turkish guards hesitated to admit Schnirer and myself. Then a non-commissioned officer came and let us pass.

Inside the enclosure Count von Kessel, in colonial uniform, met us and directed us to a reception tent. There we stood for about ten minutes and inspected the little salon with its colorful carpets and furniture.

Then we were summoned to the Imperial tent. The Kaiser awaited us there, in grey colonial uniform, a veiled helmet on his head, brown gloves, and—oddly enough—with a riding crop in his right hand. A few paces before the entrance I came to attention and bowed. The Kaiser held out his hand to me very affably when I entered. Somewhat to one side stood Bülow in a dusty, grey lounge-suit, holding my corrected draft in his hand.

My four companions entered the spacious tent behind me. I asked if I might present them; the Kaiser nodded, and I did so. As each name was pronounced, he placed his hand to the visor of his helmet.

Then, after exchanging a glance with Bülow, I took out my script and read it aloud, at first softly and in a somewhat tremulous voice, but gradually *très à mon aise* [quite at ease]. From time to time I glanced up from the paper and looked into the Kaiser's eyes which he kept levelled at me.

When I had finished, he spoke.

He said roughly the following:

"I thank you for this communication which has interested me greatly. The matter, in any case, still requires thorough study and further discussion." He then went into some observations on the colonization up to now. "The land needs, above all, water and shade." He used some technical terms related to agriculture and forestry. For the rest, his observations had told him that the soil was arable. "The settlements I have seen, the German ones

as well as those of your people, may serve as indications of what can be done with the land. The country has room for everyone. Only provide water and trees. The work of the colonists will also serve as a stimulating example to the native population. Your movement, with which I am thoroughly acquainted, contains a sound idea."

He then assured us of his continued interest, and what else he said during the five or six minutes of his reply I can no longer remember.

When he had concluded his formal response, he gave me his hand, but did not dismiss us yet; instead, he drew me into a conversation with Bülow: "You know Herr von Bülow, don't you?"

Did I know him! Bülow, who had followed my whole address running his forefinger along my draft copy, gave a sweet smile. We talked about our trip.

The Kaiser said: "We happened to hit the hottest time of the year. The day when we met was the worst. At Ramleh we took the temperature: 31° in the shade, 41° in the sun."

Bülow said sweetly: "As His Majesty the Kaiser was gracious enough to observe, water is the main thing. Herr Herzl will know better than I what the Greek poet says:

"Αριστον μὲν ὕδωρ" [Water is best].*

"We can supply the country with it. It will cost billions, but it will yield billions."

"Well, money is what you have plenty of," the Kaiser exclaimed jovially and slapped his boot with his riding crop. "More money than any of us."

Bülow *abondait dans ce sens* [echoed this]: "Yes, the money which is such a problem for us you have in abundance."

I pointed out what could be done with the water power of the Jordan and drew Seidener, as an engineer, into the conversation. Seidener discussed dams, etc. The Kaiser eagerly took up the subject and developed the idea. This brought him to sanitary conditions, eye diseases, etc., which break out particularly at the time

* Translator's Note: A quotation from Pindar.

of the fig-harvest. At this point I brought in Schnirer, who spoke briefly on the subject.

I managed to get in my idea of turning over the old city to charitable institutions, cleaning it up, and building a New Jerusalem which people would view from the Mount Olives the way Rome is viewed from the Janiculum.

I was not able to bring in Wolffsohn and Bodenheimer, for the Kaiser concluded the audience by shaking hands with me once more.

I went out first, then cast one more sidelong glance behind me. I saw the profile of the Kaiser who had turned to Bülow and was speaking with him; it looked as though he wished to give himself *contenance* [an appearance].

As we went away, Count von Kessel asked: "Already over, the audience?" He was less obliging than at Constantinople, from which I inferred that our stock was lower.

Upon leaving, I said to Schnirer: "*Il n'a dit ni oui ni non* [He said neither yes nor no]."

Again they didn't want to let us pass the barrier. But outside stood the secret-service agent and supposed Zionist Mendel Krämer, who has been accompanying us since Jaffa—by order of the Turkish government, it seems to me—and made them open the gate for us.

• • •

He said neither yes nor no. Evidently a lot has been happening behind the scenes. On the back of the draft copy that I returned there was a pencilled note, "Tewfik Pasha, Grand Hotel." I made an inquiry as to whether this was the Foreign Minister. It was.

Telegram to the Grand Duke:

To His Royal Highness, Friedrich, Grand Duke of Baden.

I feel impelled today to send Your Royal Highness, from the

Holy City, thanks from the bottom of my heart for all His kindness.

Respectfully,
Theodor Herzl.

November 4, Jaffa

Following the audience, the day before yesterday, we drove to the Marx house. A few people who had seen us leave and return pushed their way in, pretending to be visitors. With an effort we managed to clear the drawing-room. At half-past three I drove in company with Wolffsohn, Bodenheimer, and the colonist Broze to the beautifully situated, but still very, very poor colony Mozah, where that stout-hearted young man started four or five years ago to cultivate the unspeakably infertile soil. By now he sees the fruits of his industry, he is already beginning to reap the harvest. The drive along the picturesque mountain road from Jerusalem to Mozah—somewhat reminiscent of the Pyrenees—passed quickly for us while the colonist Broze told us about the hardships of the initial period. Once, when the vines were beginning to sprout, deer came at night and ate off the shoots. Thereafter he camped out with a rifle for three nights, although there often are hyenas there, and didn't sleep a wink so as not to be taken unawares by them.

Was ever a soil more heroically conquered?

At Mozah I planted a young cedar on Broze's holding, on the sheltered slope which faces away from St. Jean. Wolffsohn planted a little date-palm. A few Arabs helped us, besides the colonists Broze and Katz.

We returned to Jerusalem in the dark of night.

So as not to have attention of any sort at our departure, I had asked my friends not to pack until after night-fall. I got up at two in the morning and packed my things.

We took the early train yesterday from Jerusalem to Jaffa. I wanted to leave the city and the country without delay, and hur-

ried to the harbor. I took a small boat and had the boatmen row me out to a Lloyd steamer which was ready to sail. Not for us, unfortunately. The ship was bound for Beirut. I was willing to go along there and then back again by another Lloyd steamer, anything to avoid staying here any longer. But it proved to be impracticable, because the ship already had steam up, our luggage was still at the railroad station, and connections back from Beirut were uncertain, too.

Besides the German battleships, the only other vessels lying at anchor were another Beirut-bound boat belonging to a travel agency, a Russian freighter which still had four days of cargo-loading, a Turkish steamer for Constantinople, and the yacht of Gordon Bennett of the New York *Herald*. I rowed up to all of them, with the exception of the Turkish steamer which I avoided. Nothing doing. A shipping agent told us that an English orange-freighter would be sailing for Alexandria the next day (that is, today). A ship of the Prince Line would not arrive until tomorrow.

So we were unfortunately obliged to spend the night in Jaffa, where I was bothered by curiosity-seekers, friends and foes. In particular, there was a certain Dr. Mazie of Rishon who, I am told, goes about saying that I wish to convert the Jews to Protestantism, that I am a tool of the English Mission among the Jews, etc.

Hechler, who has been here, occasioned these lies by his incautious remarks.

It should also be mentioned that Mr. Niego, the director of Mikveh Israel, expressly requested me not to pay a second visit there, which, at Mme. Niego's urgent invitation, I had promised to do *pro forma* [as a matter of courtesy]: the Turkish authorities, he said, might take it amiss.

This is the effect of the chatter on the part of the Rothschild officials, which I had foreseen right after the encounter at Mikveh.

• • •

My four friends are discontented, because for the time being we must not divulge anything about the audience.

• • •

I am writing to Gordon Bennett:*

Dear Sir,

Perhaps you know my name as that of the leader of the Zionist movement.

I had to speak with the Emperor at Jerusalem and came back yesterday too late to Jaffa, so that there is no ship for me. I wish to go to Alexandria.

Now I understand that your Yacht leaves this evening for Alexandria. If that is so, have you a place for me and only one of my four companions? In that way I could reach Alexandria to-morrow evening, in time for the steamer to Naples, where I am expected.

I should be very thankful to get your answer as soon as possible. If you have no place for me, I must try some other combination, and that is difficult in this place.

Believe me, Sir,

Yours obediently
Dr. Th. H.

• • •

I am also writing to Hechler not to have any more chats with anyone here, on account of the tattling and the informers.

November 5, in the morning

At sea, between Jaffa and Alexandria, aboard the English orange freighter "Dundee."

Only now do I consider our expedition completed, and with fairly good success.

In Palestine things had got too hot for me. If the Turkish government had only a glimmer of political foresight, this time

* In English in the original.

they would have had to put a stop to my game once and for all. Ever since my arrival at Constantinople they have had an opportunity to do this which may never return. All they would have had to do was to expel me. Or they could have made even shorter work of me by simply having me attacked and put out of the way by gendarmes disguised as robbers.

But people's lack of understanding for my idea not only frequently does me harm, but also does me good. My plan is not understood; that is why it is furthered so little—and impeded so little.

The Turkish government allowed me to continue and complete my journey; and unless my suppositions deceive me, I am a political factor by now.

One of the peculiarities about this journey is the fact that since October 19 I have not known what has been happening in the world. Newspapers are non-existent in these parts, telegrams take four to five days, letters are delivered haphazardly—or not at all.

Thus we have no idea whether our expedition was so much as noticed in the political world; and if so, what comment it has evoked.

For a few days we heard talk of war-like entanglements between France and England, but these improbabilities as well as the story about a successful Napoleonic *coup d'état* were soon denied again.

• • •

The last day in Jaffa was most disagreeable. All sorts of beggars and spies turned up. A very bad impression was made by the Rothschild physician Mazie, who intruded upon us and who, we learned, was making me out the tool of the English mission among the Jews.

That is why yesterday morning—*sans crier gare* [without any warning]—I went with Wolffsohn down to the harbor and had ourselves rowed to the little English freighter "Dundee" (of only 350 tons); and when I saw that five persons could be accommodated, though but poorly, I booked the passages and sent

Wolffsohn ashore with instructions to fetch the whole party, bag and baggage, within the hour.

I myself stayed right on the ship, out of reach of the Mendel Krämers, Mazies, and all those people who, with good intentions or bad, might have got me into trouble with the Turkish misgovernment—whether in order to save imperilled Jewry, earn their thirty pieces of silver, or get into the good graces of Rothschild or some pasha.

Only aboard this cockle-shell of a boat, which would presumably be tossed high in a high sea, did I feel safe and regard my renewed ride across Lake Constance as successful.

My companions, however, whom Wolffsohn brought aboard the "Dundee" precisely within the hour, did not see things that way. They considered the little boat too small for the passage to Alexandria. Seidener and Bodenheimer in particular rebelled. Schnirer maintained a sullen silence. Only Wolffsohn stood this test, too, as he always does, and stuck by me through thick and thin.

The gentlemen complained about my arbitrary action, reproaching me for calling no previous discussion of this sudden embarcation. I explained to them that there had been no time. In bad weather it is impossible to get out of Jaffa harbor. One can get neither aboard nor ashore. Since all the reports had predicted an imminent storm and the skies were already overcast, I had produced this *fait accompli*. Incidentally, an immediate restoration of the *status quo* was still possible; why didn't those gentlemen who had no faith in the "Dundee" go ashore again.

Seidener thought that was no longer possible; he would not be permitted to go ashore with his Russian passport. I offered to accompany him and get him through, as at the first landing. Then they hesitated. Finally I categorically insisted on the three of them going ashore again, because I wouldn't want any reproaches *en route* if the weather turned bad. Thereupon—they stayed, intending to spend only the night on the "Dundee" and today transfer to a bigger ship that was expected.

Meanwhile, the captain speeded up the loading of the oranges

because he didn't want to lose these passengers. The sea was smooth at sunset, and when the three mutineers were for the last time faced with the question of whether to go along or stay behind, they—went along.

But we have had a rough passage so far. The "Dundee" rolled and pitched like mad. We couldn't stay in the cabins because of the stifling heat. All five of us had our mattresses put on the deck and once again slept, or lay awake, *à la belle étoile* [under the open sky]. Seidener and Bodenheimer became sea-sick even during the night. Now, in the forenoon, my good Wolffsohn feels sick also.

Schnirer and I are still in good shape.

And in spite of this bad passage I feel fine when I consider that this venture of a Pretender's journey to Palestine has, up to now, come off successfully.

November 8, on the high seas,
bound for Naples

Aboard the "Regina Margherita."

We are heading north, homeward. Wonderful Egypt was full of the most joyful surprises for me. There one can see what industry and energy can make even out of a hot country. Even though we don't have the Nile mud in Palestine, the soil does offer a thousand possibilities which sensible management can bring out.

• • •

The Khedive Ismail had an excellent idea for the creation of new city districts. Whoever pledged himself to build a house in the value of 30,000 francs within a certain time received a piece of land gratis. This could be imitated and even improved. Parts of the city could be constructed according to a master plan. Architectonic collective effects, as on the Place de la Concorde, etc.

• • •

Similarly with the elimination of swamps. Anyone who pledges himself to drain a piece of land, gets it as his property and is exempted from taxes for several years.

• • •

On the "Regina Margherita" there is a Franciscan priest who was also our fellow passenger on the "Dundee."

When we met again in Alexandria yesterday we greeted one another affably. This morning I got to talking with him. He is the prior of the Franciscans of Tiberias. An amiable, intelligent man. He had a cursory acquaintance with the Zionist movement. In my presentation it made perfect sense to him. Particularly my idea of cleaning up all of the old Jerusalem, barring daily traffic from it, and making out of it, so to speak, a sacred jewel in a rich setting. In Rome he will introduce me to the head of the Franciscan order, Lauer.

November 9, at sea

A letter to the Grand Duke, one about which I have been ruminating since Jerusalem, is to give a push to our cause, which is certainly at a standstill and may have been upset. For the past two or three weeks we have been cut off from all news. The French and English newspapers which, much delayed, we were able to get hold of in Egypt did not contain a word about us. Neither did the dispatches of the telegraphic news agencies.

From Alexandria I wired my father, asking whether the Jerusalem audience was already known, and received the cabled response: "Audience known."

Now we are heading for Naples, full of excited anticipation. My companions were afraid that the whole audience would have to remain a secret.

However, I had determined to make the fact, if not the substance, of the audience public. Since they were seasick between Jaffa and Alexandria, I did not tell them about it until Cairo. It suits me better that the audience has become known even with-

out our action. This way my dispatch to the *Welt* gets merel the character of an official confirmation and not of a revelation

November 9, lying in my cabin
(Dated November 18, '98)

Letter to the Grand Duke:

Your Royal Highness:

Assuming a continued interest in our cause on the part o Your Royal Highness, upon my return I am permitting mysel to report to you most respectfully about the events of the Pales tine journey.

On the second of November, following the reception by Hi Majesty the Kaiser of the Zionist delegation, I took the libert of telegraphing my most humble thanks for all the kindness and encouragement I have received from Your Royal Highness.

A positive result in the sense of his Imperial Majesty formally assuming the protectorate requested by the delegation has not been achieved. When I had my first audience—in Constantinople —I believed, it is true, that such a result might come about on the occasion of the public gesture in Jerusalem. For His Majesty was very favorably inclined toward the Zionist idea—something that we evidently owe to the gracious intercession of Your Royal Highness. It was stipulated that I should submit the draft of my Address prior to the formal reception. This I did, and the draft was approved with a few cuts. I take the liberty of sending Your Royal Highness herewith the Address I made in Jerusalem, and beg most humbly that the manuscript be returned sometime. However, between the private audience in Constantinople and the reception of the deputation in Jerusalem, difficulties seem to have arisen. I don't know anything further about this as yet and only draw this conclusion from the fact that His Majesty did not mention the protectorate over the land-company in his response. The establishment of a land-company after the pattern of the *Chartered Company** or the East India Company seemed at the

* In English in the original.

moment to be the very thing that could be obtained from the Sultan without arousing too much ill feeling among the other Powers.

I am still of the opinion that under the present circumstances no effective objection may be expected particularly from France, the power which claims to have a protectorate over this part of the Orient. The Fashoda incident was confirmation of this view.

The present Republican government must quietly acquiesce in any *fait accompli* that is not a downright insult.

Since His Majesty was gracious enough to remark that "the matter requires even more detailed study and further discussion," I shall probably soon learn the nature of the difficulties that have arisen.

Unless my interpretation of the most recent events is an erroneous one, it was only external difficulties and not a change of mind on the part of His Majesty that have for the time being postponed the declaration of a German protectorate which we expected. I am mindful of the wise words Your Royal Highness spoke at Mainau: that in such world-historic matters each individual step requires great patience. And perhaps I am not wrong in regarding even the undeclared protectorate as one virtually existing; at least until such time as I am expressly informed of the contrary. The fidelity and caution which this imposes upon me I shall observe and maintain.

But even if German policy had to turn away from our cause, I shall owe an everlasting debt of gratitude to Your Royal Highness for the moral support of my endeavors which cannot be unjust if such a high-minded prince approves of them.

I wish the conferences which I was privileged to have with Your Royal Higness and about which I am most dutifully keeping silent were known to the world.

This infinitely noble and simple way of performing a ruler's functions would surely touch most people and make some others deeply ashamed. To me they have been unforgettable moments which have compensated me for many struggles and sorrows in my difficult task. And I shall also remain forever grateful for

being given the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the sunny personality of the Kaiser.

With the most profound respect, I remain

Your Royal Highness' very obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.
Karl-Ludwigstr. 50, Währing, Vienna.

November 15, on the train
between Conegliano and Udine

Since we left the "Regina Margherita" in Naples there have been days of depression. At Naples we got the first news from Europe. Till then we had been cut off from the world.

The German news-agency has issued a colorless, odorless despatch about our audience: a Jewish deputation had been received by the Kaiser, in Palestine.

"*Received after going to press.*

Jerusalem, November 2. Kaiser Wilhelm has received a Jewish deputation, which presented him an album of pictures of the Jewish colonies established in Palestine. Replying to an address by the leader of the deputation, Kaiser Wilhelm said that all those endeavors were assured of his benevolent interest that aimed at the improvement of agriculture in Palestine, thus furthering the welfare of the Turkish Empire, with complete respect for the sovereignty of the Sultan."

This is apparently from the pen of the ungracious Legation Councillor Klement or Kemeth, unless it is Bülow's handiwork.

My traveling companions were depressed, most of all Bodenheimer. Even the faithful Wolffsohn faltered.

Je leur remontais le moral [I raised their morale again]: I would not fail to arrange for the publication of a version suitable to us.

And I also said to them: You see, this is why I am the leader. Time and again I prove my title to this position. I am neither smarter nor better than any one of you. But I remain undaunted, and that is why I deserve to be the leader. In darker moments

than this one I have not lost courage—in fact, I have made even greater sacrifices.

• • •

The planned trip to Rome also had to be cancelled. In Naples there was news from Newlinski waiting for me: he had fallen seriously ill and could not travel.

I think this is just an excuse. Either he does not have the connections in Rome which he pretended to have, or he quite simply wants to pocket the two thousand guilders which I had paid out to him.

Still, I am not angry at him, even if it should turn out that he has always lied to me. Actually, his lies supplied me hints for action. For the things that I *guessed* as correct I at least had in him a collaborator to whom I could refer. That is why, as a precaution, I never checked on his statements too closely.

Since the main reason I wanted to send him to Rome was to prevent him from possibly intruding on me in Constantinople where he would have been in my way, I wasn't too bothered by the disrupted plans for Rome. There would even have been certain *inconvénients* [inconveniences] on account of the Grand Duke, who might have regarded it as duplicity on my part. It is true that in Palestine Germany did not keep its promises to me; and the lower functionaries even shamefully twisted and distorted the Kaiser's actual words at Jerusalem, which were already greatly toned down. But I always want to be irreproachable in my conduct.

At any rate, now I must send the Grand Duke a letter different from the one drafted earlier. The Kaiser will not be in Berlin before the end of November. So I have time to get information in Vienna, also to speak with Eulenburg, before writing the Grand Duke.

• • •

The fact that the Kaiser did not assume the protectorate in Jerusalem is, of course, an advantage for the future development of our cause.

My companions, it is true, were quite disappointed. For the protectorate would have been a clear immediate benefit. But not so in the long run. We would subsequently have had to pay the most usurious interest for this protectorate. It would only have been much more convenient, and Bodenheimer would have returned to Cologne a made man, which, to be sure, is not now the case. And since he proved to be rather unmanageable on the trip, I shall in future *doucement écarter* [gently sidetrack] him.

• • •

Schnirer and Seidener returned home directly from Naples. I parted from Wolffsohn and the slightly ill Bodenheimer at Rome.

November 18, Vienna

Insert for the revised letter to the Grand Duke, which I have now sent off after all via Cologne-Wolffsohn, omitting certain passages:

I wish the conferences, etc. etc.

November 18, Vienna

Home again.

The Inner Actions Committee gave me a tempestuous welcome. But they haven't done very much during my absence. Colonel Eiss said that after the dispatch from the German news-agency they had all been crushed.

Now they want to put on a monster party in my honor at the Sofiensaal. This I firmly refused.

They tried to get into the elections of the local Jewish Community, but gave it up due to the complete lack of organization and prospects.

• • •

At the *Neue Freie Presse* they only smiled, not laughed any more, when I returned. A few of them even smiled enviously.

Benedikt made a sweet-and-sour face and asked what the Kaiser had said about Austria.

Nothing! I answered. Bacher was very amiable. On his table, to his shame and embarrassment, there was a copy of the *Welt* which he didn't have a chance to hide. He, too, quizzed me; he, too, got only vague answers. I said I would enlighten him only after the *Neue Freie Presse* had published its first Zionist article. But after that we did get into a dispute about Zionism, with a pleasant ending.

• • •

Yesterday I went to see Newlinski, who really is gravely ill and *moriturus* [moribund]. He had reports from Constantinople. The Kaiser is said to have told the Sultan: "The Zionists are not dangerous to Turkey; but everywhere the Jews are a nuisance which we should like to get rid of." To which the Sultan reportedly replied, in his usual manner, that he was quite satisfied with his Jewish subjects. The Empress, for her part, is reported to have said that the journey was going to be very nice; the only disagreeable thing was that she would have to see so many Jews.

More gossip from Constantinople: Nuri Bey is hostile to us because he hasn't received any *baksheesh* yet, but an investigation is pending against him for having taken bribes for assigning consular posts. The ambassador at Berlin, Ahmed Tewfik, is also against us. In Turkey there now is a feeling of disappointment over the Kaiser's journey which ran up 16 millions in expenses and was not able to prevent the loss of Crete.

On the Roman side, Newlinski relates that he has spoken with Tarnassi in Munich and with Nuncio Taliani in Vienna, and has also had letters from Agliardi. The sentiment, he says, is divided. We should, in any case, attempt something in Rome.

Then came Kozmian, Badeni's friend, a bit toned-down and depressed. He spoke about Zionism, saw many difficulties in the question of the Holy Places, and does not quite believe in the implementation.

December 1, Vienna

Since I have had no sign of life from Ambassador Eulenburg, whom I informed of my return, I am today writing to August Eulenburg at Berlin:

Your Excellency:

I have the most humble honor to send a book and a newspaper article for His Majesty the Kaiser.

The book (*The Palais Bourbon*) is being sent under separate cover. His Majesty gave me permission at Constantinople to present it to him. The enclosed article is likewise connected with the audience in that city. In it are reproduced remarks which His Majesty was pleased to make to me. Naturally, in the newspaper I did not permit myself to make the slightest allusion to the exalted origin of these observations.

Thanking Your Excellency in advance for your good offices and begging you to accept the expression of my deepest respect, I remain

Your obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

December 6, Vienna

Since the lack of news had become alarming, the day before yesterday I sent my good Hechler, who is back from Palestine, to Karlsruhe to see the Grand Duke. If there was nothing wrong, he was to wire me: "Uncle's condition fine," possibly "splendid."

This evening his telegram came: "Uncle splendid, grandson (probably supposed to be "nephew") very well-behaved. Hechler."

So I hope that nothing has come 'twixt the cup and the lip.*

But why the long silence, especially Eulenburg's? A sort of waiting in ante-rooms.

• • •

* Translator's Note: Herzl's phrase, *Zwischen Lipp' und Kelchesrand*, is from Friedrich Kind's poem *König Ankäos* (1802).

Today the news from Paris, via Marmorek, that Nordau is ready to go to London with Wolffsohn, negotiate with the I. C. A., and call on Salisbury to whom he has access.

I had a wired reply sent, saying that this was welcome, but that for the time being he must not divulge the result of his conference with Salisbury to anyone but us.

• • •

The language of the anti-Zionist Jewish press, especially *Jewish Chronicle* and Bloch's *Wochenschrift*, has recently surpassed everything previous in vileness. I cannot answer, so as not to get into the dirtiest scuffle.

December 9, Vienna

Received a very fine letter from the Grand Duke, dated the 5th of the month.

Hechler's telegraphic bulletin is confirmed, then.

Yesterday I read the Grand Duke's letter to the A. C. Schnirer said half-heartedly: "The letter contains nothing positive." I explained our present situation to the gentlemen as follows:

Everything depends on the results of the Bank Committee which meets in London today. According to a confidential report from our Bank secretary Loewe, a few days ago a meeting took place at Lord Rothschild's which was attended by S. Montagu, F. Moccatta, Dr. Adler, and others. They were supposed to issue a manifesto against our Bank. Rothschild could not make up his mind to sign Adler's draft. If such a manifesto is issued, we must of course fight. Our Bank will be at stake, the whole thing will turn into a press fight, war against the big bankers.

Should Wolffsohn succeed in getting Messieurs Sassoon, Montefiore, and Seligman on our side—and I would unhesitatingly turn the direction of our Bank over to them, because we have no financial ambitions and only need the facility for political purposes—we shall immediately march as power against power.

With the banking facility, everything can be done in Turkey.

I shall send Wolffsohn to Constantinople to grease the palms of the pashas. Then I shall go to the Kaiser and ask him for an introduction to the Czar. This is why the Kaiser's good will is something wholly positive. Actually, the confidence of the two princes of Baden and Prussia is *le plus clair de notre avoir actuel* [the most obvious of our present assets].

• • •

From Paris Wolffsohn reports unsuccessful negotiations with Edmond Rothschild, etc. Narcisse Leven, as president of the I.C.A. and the Alliance, made the statement—in front of witnesses, I hope; Wolffsohn didn't say—that they don't know what to do with their millions, but that these millions will be at our disposal as soon as we achieve something positive.

• • •

Today Wolffsohn wired from London that the work is proceeding well. I am skeptical, however.

December 13, Vienna

Wolffsohn telegraphs that everything has been successfully completed. But I don't believe it, since I miss the names of well-known bankers.

December 14

Hechler was here yesterday. The Grand Duke spoke to him as affably as he had written me. The main difficulty lies in the diverse nationalities of the Jews; too many of them are under the protection of French citizenship.

• • •

Yesterday Benedikt brought Municipal Councilor Stern to my room, introducing him to me as president of the Federation of Communities (of 100 Austrian Jewish communities).

I said: "The organization is all right with me. What are you planning to do?"

Stern (without self-irony): "We shall rent an office."

I said: "A good thing that you created this organization—for us. Your office will be occupied by us Zionists."

December 15, Vienna

Letter to the Grand Duke:

Your Royal Highness:

My most humble thanks for the most gracious holograph letter of the 5th of this month.

That the present condition of the Jews in Jerusalem—unfortunately, elsewhere as well—could not make a favorable impression on His Majesty the Kaiser I had to assume in advance. But precisely these conditions and our ardent desire to change them are the main reasons for the existence of the Zionist movement. Incidentally, if His Imperial Majesty had inspected the agricultural colonies already established in the Holy Land, he would have been able to observe what a beneficial change, in a physical as well as a moral sense, the new way of life to which we wish to introduce our masses has produced among the people. We regard changing the standard of living not as the goal, but only as a means toward the improvement of our people. If we succeed in providing for our unfortunate brethren the opportunity for productive work on the historic soil—for which they have the desire, as has been proved irrefutably by many facts—this will at the same time give us sufficient authority to accomplish other things as well.

It is a great comfort to me to learn from Your Royal Highness that my most humble address in Jerusalem has not met with disfavor, and that we may now as before count on a benevolent interest. It appears that difficulties are seen in the different citizenship of the Jews who are already settled in Palestine or are to be settled there in the future. But may I in all modesty point

out that the assumption of a protectorate on the part of Germany would soon produce a change in this situation. Since at present virtually all the threads converge in my hands, I can assure you that this difficulty can be removed. Even the settlements of the *Alliance Israélite*, which has hitherto been under French influence, would, I definitely know, subordinate themselves without delay to the community as soon as it has come into being. The question is only how the German protectorate may be established without smoke and fire. For I understand full well that Germany cannot and will not enter into incalculable entanglements for the sake of our idea, no matter how universally humanitarian it may be.

However, we are in a position to propose a, so-to-speak, inconspicuous method by which the immigration of the Jews can be carried out under German protection gradually and steadily, and to which no valid objections could be made if things are handled cautiously.

This is the creation of the Jewish Land-Company for Syria and Palestine, which I mentioned in my Jerusalem address, with the provision that it have its seat in Germany. Such a land-company has a civil-law character. Any secret agreements between the German government and the leaders of our movement must not, of course, leak out. All that would be asked of the Turkish government would be to rescind the immigration prohibition. The latter is untenable anyway, because, as Your Royal Highness probably knows, only in recent weeks various representatives in Constantinople, especially the English one, have remonstrated against it.

At any rate, we shall establish the Jewish Land-Company in the near future, because we absolutely need this facility for future development. However, up to now I have intentionally treated the matter dilatorily, because even in its embryonic stages the future protective relationship of the land-company must be determined.

To avoid getting tedious, I shall give at this point the con-

clusion of various trains of thought—the question is: shall we obtain German or English protection? The protectorate of any other power is at present out of the question.

Today our movement is oriented toward the German protectorate. Since I have had the good fortune to be allowed to approach Your Royal Highness, it has been my constant thought—one toward which I naturally was inclined by my education and my capacity as a German man of letters—that we ought to exert every effort to acquire the protection of the German Empire and of German Law. The tendency of German policy, grown recognizable recently, to get a foothold even farther East; the religious and political interest on the part of His Majesty the Kaiser in the land of our fathers; the noteworthy actuality that German influence in Turkey has become the predominant one—all this has lent force, within our movement, to the viewpoint which I represent, in contrast to those which present English protection as desirable. The question presses for a decision in the near future.

Now, I do believe that even in the event that we establish a land-company, under civil law, with its seat in England, this need not exclude the possibility of having the established settlement placed under German protection, under international law, at a later date—perhaps a sort of German-English co-protectorate; but who can foresee what complications and difficulties might then arise. The whole thing would hover between two, and possibly several, powers.

At Jerusalem His Majesty deigned to tell me that our plan required further discussion. I now await commands.

During the Christmas holidays I could get away from here for a few days and go to Karlsruhe as well as Berlin in order to become acquainted with any decision.

I do not venture to ask Your Royal Highness again to take the trouble of a written reply. A brief notification by wire to say that Your Royal Highness has been pleased to transmit my present letter to His Majesty, would please me greatly.

I shall understand what is meant if the wire simply reads:

"Letter sent to Berlin. Come Christmas to Karlsruhe, to Berlin." And signed merely with Your Royal Highness' Christian name.

With the expression of my most sincere veneration and deepest gratitude, I remain

Your Royal Highness' very obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

December 20

The founding of the Bank drags forward, with an effort and under ridiculous difficulties. Wolffsohn informs me that he has completed the formalities.

December 20

Yesterday a long conversation with Eulenburg at the German Embassy. I explained to him the dilemma whether to establish the land-company under German or English auspices, as I had done in my letter to the Grand Duke.

He, for his part, confirmed the ill-humor of the Kaiser—who said very friendly things about me to Eulenburg, too—over the Jews of Jerusalem. So there too, said the Kaiser, the Jews flock to the big city. I pointed to the colonies. Eulenburg said that this made a big difference, and accordingly the Kaiser had made a mistake. He, Eulenburg, said he liked the idea of chartering the land company in Berlin.

He also spoke to me in absolute confidence about the current situation. He called the attitude of the *Neue Freie Presse* excellent. He told me about his conversation with our Emperor in the Thun affair (the threat that Prime Minister Thun had uttered in the Reichsrat, on account of the expulsions from Prussia). Eulenburg told the Emperor that Thun's language was alarming and that Austria's domestic policy could not in the long run be in logical contradiction to its foreign policy. However, our Emperor allayed his fears in the kindliest manner; and this had greatly touched him, because he tenderly venerates the Em-

peror. But Eulenburg was still afraid that the old gentleman's daily surroundings, the continued influence, might sway him in the opposite direction. Thun, he said, has Russian sympathies, and, indeed, the Emperor's recent visit to the Russian Embassy for the birthday celebration of the Czar had been counter to all usage.

Since Eulenburg had given me this information in confidence, but for the benefit of the *Neue Freie Presse,* I told it to Bacher and Benedikt, who pricked up their ears and were obviously pleased about getting this opportunity for information through me. *A quelque chose malheur* (Zionism) *est bon* [A misfortune (Zionism) is good for *something*].

• • •

I had also told Eulenburg how well I had liked the Kaiser. This pleased him greatly. I remarked that many unofficial press errors have been made; otherwise the people and the world would have to have a more correct conception of this amiable and great man. Eulenburg agreed with me about this. He repeatedly expressed his gratification at our having this mutual relationship, and invited me to visit him often.

However, I intend to make only very sparing use of this invitation.

December 22

Received the following wire from the good Grand Duke:

"Your letter sent to Berlin. Until answer from there, can hold out no promise of conference.

Friedrich."

December 23

The question occurs to me whether the "unpleasant impression which the Jerusalem Jews made on the Kaiser" is not merely German statesmanship's way of backing out of the protectorate.

Perhaps influences—today still unknown to me—have come up in opposition to the plan, and in order not to be considered weak or vacillating, the German statesmen give this pretext.

December 24

Nordau sent me an utterly incredible essay, which he wrote for the "Achiasaf" calendar, for publication in the *Welt*. In it he propounds the view that the conversations about Zionism between its leaders and statesmen, etc., had no more significance than discussions about the latest comedy or the last Derby race—as long as the Zionists were not everywhere bound together in tight organizations in whose name the leaders spoke.

This is basically incorrect, because we can proceed only by the method of *negotiorum gestio* and *ratihabitio*, and not by the impractical method of the mandate, which presumably is nowhere sanctioned by law. Added to this is the fact that today this article—which was written last June, to be sure—could almost be taken as being against my conversations with the Kaiser.

I answered him that if I, as president of the Congress and the leader recognized by all Zionists—without bragging—speak with statesmen, I cannot be considered a private person chatting about the subjects of the salons. Also, it cannot be regarded as levity or a crime if I speak in the name of the Jewish people—I can refer to Nordau himself as my chief witness, because after the First Congress he wrote me: Consider yourself as the government!

December 26

No news from Berlin. This means snow—and Bülow!

December 29

In yesterday's *Neue Freie Presse* there was a Berlin dispatch, evidently from an unofficial source. I asked Bacher: from whom?

He told me: "Steinbach is in Berlin and has talked to Bülow."

I am certain that Bülow also spoke about me and that Steinbach made some tepid answer disparaging me. Steinbach is an "anti-Zionist" and probably said I was a charming writer of *feuilletons,* but that no one took me seriously as a politician.—As if I had been present.

This is the curse of weakness. Just one lousy million for a newspaper—and everything would be different.

December 29

The condition of our cause is now a desperate one; I can't deceive myself on that score.

After the great success of the Palestine journey, the insufficiency of our banking people and financial forces is an absolute catastrophe.

Our Bank secretary Loewe is blowing the emergency whistle, saying he will soon be without money to defray the day-to-day expenses.

Wolffsohn arrives here today. I must have a serious talk with him. The others cannot do anything whatever, and I fear he is not the right man either.

• • •

1899

January 2, Vienna

Yesterday I sent the Grand Duke the following telegram: "I have the profound honor to send Your Royal Highness most respectful best wishes for the New Year.

Dr. Th. H."

• • •

To which I received the following reply today:

I am very grateful for your kind wishes and return them most warmly. Friedrich, Grand Duke of Baden.

• • •

I ought to have telegraphed the Kaiser, too.

January 2

Wolffsohn was here for a few days. *Il m'a un peu remis du coeur au ventre* [He put some heart into me] in regard to the Bank.

After all, I subscribed £500. for the guarantee fund, and this may be lost.

January 11, '99

Letter to the Grand Duke:

Your Royal Highness:

I am taking the liberty to draw your attention most humbly to the enclosed editorial from the *Welt*. To the extent of my knowledge of conditions in France, I think I may say that the appointment of M. Constans as ambassador at Constantinople is a direct answer to His Majesty the Kaiser's journey to the Orient and can only have the purpose of undermining German influence in Turkey. What path this man, at the same time the craftiest and the most brutal of French politicians, will take, cannot, of course, even be foreseen. Only one thing can be said with certainty: If the disreputable Constans is pulled out of his well-deserved oblivion, and if this is done by a ministry which includes M. Constans' adversary Freycinet, who has been deeply wounded by the Panama affair, they are planning something that requires a man who is capable of anything. Constans will within a short time be the center of all endeavors directed against German influence in Constantinople.

To be sure, I have reason to fear that my most humble remonstrances in Berlin are not being heeded at the present time, since the letter which Your Royal Highness sent to Berlin has not been attended to. Nevertheless, I should like to draw attention to this new turn of affairs if only because the work that Constans will without any doubt do at the Sultan's court is likely to demon-

strate soon that my modest warnings have not been wholly unjustified.

With the expression of my deepest respect, I remain

Your Royal Highness' grateful servant
Dr. Th. H.

Sent off via Cologne on Jan. 11, '99.

January 16

Everything bogged down. Something has to happen. I have decided to request an audience with the Czar via Bertha von Suttner.

Letter to Bertha von Suttner:

Vienna, Jan. 16, '99

My dear Baroness:

Today I come to you with a request which means a great deal to me.

Here, in a few words, is the story.

It would be of the greatest importance for the Zionist movement if I informed the Czar about the purposes and aims of the movement. I would have to discuss it with him in person in order to win him over to the cause, as I succeeded in doing with the German Kaiser. Therefore I should like to have an audience with him, and my magnanimous and greatly admired friend Bertha von Suttner is to help me toward that end. Count Muraviev is said to have expressed himself favorably about our cause. You have contact with him, and my request is that you write him a fine letter telling him who I am and what I want the requested audience for.

Although I feel that you are benevolently disposed toward me, I would certainly not trouble you for the sake of my humble person; but it is a matter of the cause on which, after all, you yourself have bestowed your interest. *Mettez, de grâce, tout votre esprit et tout votre coeur dans cette lettre* [Please put all your

soul and all your heart into this letter], then success will be assured.

The following points, among others, ought to be stressed. Zionism aims at creating a legally safeguarded home for the Jewish people. For Russia this cause, which I believe to be a humanitarian one, is also politically valuable for several reasons.

In Russia the Jewish Question poses an unsolved and very embarrassing problem. The Czar, whom all of us have recently come to recognize as a great heart, cannot possibly refuse to support a peaceful, humanly benevolent solution. This would end once and for all the persecutions of the Jews, which break out in Russia from time to time and at the same time are in the nature of serious disturbances of the general peace. By no means all Jews would emigrate from Russia—no more than they would from other countries—, but only a *surplus** of proletarians and desperate ones who, supported by their wealthy fellow Jews, would be able to establish a new, permanent home for themselves and at the same time substantially increase the cultural resources of civilization in the Orient. Furthermore, the weakening of the revolutionary parties would go hand in hand with this augmentation of culture and order. Particular emphasis should be given to the fact that we are everywhere engaged in battle with the revolutionaries and are actually turning the young students as well as the Jewish workingmen away from Socialism and Nihilism by unfolding before them a purer national ideal. These effects of our endeavors will be observable in Russia, too. All of the desperate Jews would have to become anarchists if Zionism did not draw them under its influence.

It will certainly be possible to solve the problem of the Holy Places through extraterritorialization by agreement among the powers. In the reorganization of conditions, religious interests can be safeguarded much better than in the present state of affairs, which surely is not satisfactory to the feelings of Christendom.

* In English in the original.

All this I might be able to explain well to the Czar *de vive voix* [by word of mouth]. That I am worthy of an audience, as it were, is certainly borne out by the fact that the German Kaiser has granted me *two major conferences*. By taking an interest in this cause the Czar will add a new leaf to his wreath of glory as one of the greatest princes of peace of all time. Please tell him also that, to the extent that it has lain in my feeble powers as a journalist, I have gladly devoted myself to serving the cause of peace.

In short, *madame et grande amie* [madam and noble friend], say everything that your heart and your mind prompt you to say. For you will bind many human beings, and particularly your obedient servant, to everlasting gratitude if you procure this audience for me. Naturally I am ready to appear before the Czar at any time and at any place, but the sooner the better. Present the matter to Count Muraviev as quite urgent, and assure him that I shall remain grateful to him, too, for his intervention. A pen is not worth much, to be sure; but one that has never been set in motion for anything unclean may under certain circumstances be something not to be entirely dismissed.

Since we would like to use the Peace Conference for a Zionist demonstration as well, it would be of the greatest importance if the audience were granted in advance, immediately if possible.

Gratify me with a prompt reply, and believe in the sincere admiration of

Yours very faithfully,
Th. H.

Postscript:

It might not be without interest to point out that news of the Czar's peace manifesto happened to break during the Basel Congress, and that the Congress responded to the telegraphic news by immediately passing an enthusiastic resolution of concurrence, the first such resolution to come from a representative body.

February 6

Dined yesterday with the Suttners. The Baroness told me that two days ago she was in the company of Kapnist, the ambassador. He told her he had received a letter from Count Muraviev saying that the requested audience was out of the question now, although the motives of our movement were looked upon benevolently.

February 6

From the 24th to the 29th the full Actions Committee met here, and Nordau was here. There are protocols of this. The statutes and prospectuses of the Bank were hauled about in idle talk and finally accepted without major changes.

I said that the decisive battle was over the Bank subscription. Nordau of a different opinion. The thing is this: I am concerned with migration and building, he is satisfied simply with polemics and demonstrations.

Nordau's big Vienna speech—which he also repeated verbatim in Berlin and Cologne—was inept, injudicious, incorrect. Many of the things I have built up by assiduous, patient work he recklessly destroyed. He was interesting as always, but didn't do any good. His success was a personal one; the cause he harmed. He made quite uncalled-for advances to Socialism, exposed all our weaknesses, told about our helplessness, etc. I was very dissatisfied and didn't conceal it from him either.

February 8

Went to see Nuncio Tagliani yesterday.

He gave me a very friendly reception, saying he personally was not unfavorably inclined toward the matter. *Il est très rond et paraît très fort* [He is very plump and seems very vigorous]. One of those fat men who have hair on their chest. He said I ought to send Newlinski to Rome, for he has the best connections there. Incidentally, the Holy See had always been well disposed

toward the Jews. If they were locked up in the ghetto, it was only to protect them from the mob.

"There have also been interruptions in this benevolent tradition," I remarked.

February 11

Days of despondency. The tempo of the movement is slowing down. The catchwords are wearing out. The ideas are becoming subjects for declamation, and the declamation is losing its edge.

I now face the Bank subscription with trepidation. Wolffsohn reports that no serious bank wants to act as the agent of subscription. Kann has the peculiar idea of naming the Cook Travel Bureau as the subscription headquarters. This I veto.

Hechler wants to go to Karlsruhe again. The Grand Duke wired in response to his inquiry that he could come. I am giving him instructions.

February 21

Hechler has been to Karlsruhe. The Grand Duke asked him to invite me to come and sent me a telegram setting the audience for the 27th of the month, at ten in the morning.

On Sunday I presented the question to the A. C.: Should I ask the Grand Duke to assume the protectorate over the land-company? Kokesch is in London, Schnirer was not at the meeting, Marmorek, Kahn, and Kremenetzky were unanimously in favor of my offering the protectorate to the Grand Duke. I said: After all, the Congress can later disavow me if it does not approve of it. I must always reckon with future ingratitude. Right now our situation is so desperate that without German aid we shall be stuck in the mud.

• • •

Hechler says that the idea of collaborating with England in our project struck the Grand Duke favorably.

On Monday I shall exert every effort to get the Grand Duke

to telegraph the Kaiser and secure an audience for me. From the Kaiser I shall request an introduction to the Czar. I am ordering Wolffsohn and Kann to Karlsruhe.

February 28. On the Orient Express,
on the way back from Karlsruhe

The evening before yesterday I arrived at Karlsruhe. Almost at the same minute Wolffsohn and Kann arrived on the train from Cologne. We met on the platform. A kind of Rütli meeting* of the Jewish Colonial Bank. We then discussed late into the night what was to be done. They anticipated the subscription as a *désastre* [disaster]. Up to now we have not managed to secure even one proper bank as a subscription agent. A first-class boycott on the part of Jewish high finance.

We agreed that unless help came to us from the Kaiser or the Grand Duke, we would be in hot water. I explained to the gentlemen my intention of asking the Grand Duke to persuade the Kaiser by telegram to receive me. Wolffsohn and Kann had *en route* agreed on what they should demand from me, *scil.* what I should demand of the princes. Their demand: The Deutsche Bank at Berlin should be appointed to act as a subscription agency.

• • •

Yesterday morning, at ten o'clock sharp, I drove up in front of the castle, in a small-town gala coach which is presumably used for weddings.

Once again I passed through the proud entrance hall into the green ante-chamber where, three years ago, the flags of 1870 in their leather casings had so stupefied me. By now I was more used to such sights, nor did I have any more palpitation when an

*Translator's Note: A reference to the Rütli or Grütli, a meadow in the Uri canton, Switzerland, where, according to the Wilhelm Tell legend, representatives of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden met in 1307 to swear the Rütli Oath, on which Swiss freedom was founded.

officer in court dress asked me to step from the green waiting room into the red salon.

Ten minutes later the good Grand Duke opened the door.

March 4, Vienna

The Orient Express had rattling carriages this time, my fountain pen was bad, and so I was not able to jot down the report *en route*. At home, however, I first had to take care of the everyday affairs and revise the letters to the Grand Duke and the Kaiser, which finally went off yesterday after hard work.

This way the first freshness of the notes is lost.

The good Grand Duke, then, opened the door of his study where I had been three years ago. He greeted me in his cordial, gentle manner, and invited me to sit down opposite him, at the desk.

I gave him a report and submitted my new plan involving his undertaking the protectorate over the land company.

The idea seemed to make a favorable impression on him; in fact, he even indicated his inclination in no uncertain terms. However, the Kaiser would have to give his consent. He recommended that I discuss the matter with Finance Minister Miquel in Berlin. After all, it would be indispensable for the project that we enjoy the protection of the Prussian monarchy. In Prussia they would not like the idea of one of the federal states having such major financial undertakings. He could give me many an instance of this—for example, the trouble they were making over the permission for the Baden lottery. So, to sum up, I ought to speak with Miquel. I also divined the feeling of the German government from his words of friendly reserve. They want us to complete the arrangements first, acquire land and settlers' privileges—then we should ask for and obtain the protectorate. One can't be any more cautious and prudent than that. The only thing to be said against it is that once we have got that far, we shall no longer need the onerous German protectorate.

Yet I accept further negotiations on this basis, because I must accept everything and because negotiations, even though they may be hopeless, have value for us. So I said that I intended to wire the Kaiser and request an audience for the following day.

The Grand Duke advised me to address the telegram to Lucanus. I had been with him for an hour, and half an hour previously a Minister had had himself announced. Therefore the good Grand Duke terminated the audience, but told me that, since I was staying until evening, I could call on him again.

I drove to the hotel, told Wolffsohn and Kann what had happened, and sent a long, urgent telegram, the request for the audience, to Lucanus.

At about four o'clock in the afternoon the reply came. The Kaiser could not receive me tomorrow, because he was just about to go away. I should speak with Minister of State von Bülow.

A rejection, then, since Bülow is antagonistic.

Rien n'arrive ni comme on le craint ni comme on l'espère [Nothing happens as one fears, nor as one hopes]. These words buzzed through my head during the whole trip.

Before I left to see the Grand Duke again, Wolffsohn and Kann told me to be sure to ask for a recommendation to the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, for they had not managed so far to get a bank for the subscription to the Jewish Colonial Bank. Everything, everything *I* am supposed to do.

Again I drove to the palace. The Grand Duke admitted me immediately. This time we conversed in the red salon, where there hangs an old portrait showing a sensitive, enthusiastic youth in the dress of the 1840's. I believe it is his portrait.

I gave him Lucanus' telegram and indicated that my hopes had shrunk greatly. He consoled me and expressed the expectation that my energies would not diminish. I reminded him of his words at Potsdam when he had recounted to me the difficulties attendant on the founding of the German Empire.

"Yes," he said, "and when the thing is finished, one has to step back and relinquish everything to others, who were formerly

opponents. But one must be content with the inner satisfaction, and also with the fact that one meets strong characters such as you."

As he said this he gave my hand a long squeeze. I was deeply touched.

As for the recommendation to the Deutsche Bank, he gave it to me most readily after I first mentioned it. He asked how the recommendation should read. I requested it in the form of a letter to me, and he promised this.

Messieurs Wolffsohn and Kann were very much satisfied with this outcome. Then we dined in our hotel drawing-room and afterwards went out to hear some music. When we returned at half-past ten, no letter from the Grand Duke had arrived yet. We went to bed a bit anxiously. But at 11:30 there was a knock on my door; it was a court lackey. The entire hotel staff, respectfully gathered on the stairs, watched him deliver a letter from their sovereign to me. I immediately informed Wolffsohn, who slept better as a result.

At 4 o'clock the next morning we had to get out of the hay. At five I boarded the Orient Express to Vienna; Wolffsohn and Kann took the letter with them to Cologne and were scheduled to go from Cologne to Berlin that evening.

On the trip home I went through the same sensations that I have had so often. The closer I come to the *Neue Freie Presse*, the smaller I become. At the same time, some uneasiness over whether a row was not in store for me on account of my repeated absence. *Mais rien n'arrive ni comme on le craint ni comme on l'espère* [But nothing happens as one fears, nor as one hopes].

I arrived in Vienna in the evening, and went to the office first. My masters were almost gracious and joked affably about my trip, the purpose of which I kept silent about.

On the second day telegrams from Wolffsohn in Berlin arrived, in the agreed-upon code: "Deebee" for "Deutsche Bank."

They had spoken for 1½ hours with Director Siemens; he was going to speak with his administrative board. But Wolffsohn and Kann were under no illusion that this wasn't a refusal. And

it was. He wrote them a rejection. Thereupon they had one more unsuccessfull conference with him and went back to Cologne. There the Schaafhausen Banking Association again rejected the proposal.

Today's telegrams from Wolffsohn sound very resigned: I wired him something like the following, sharpened by a passage which I hope he will not resent, saying that if we two didn't proceed energetically now, we would be incompetents.

D. Wolffsohn, Karolingerring, Cologne.

Conference with Siemens after rejection of Deebee pointless and undignified. Try Dresdener Bank. If refusal, immediately so organize subscription that Broad Street Avenue becomes center. Everything must simply be directed there. If Broad Street not allowed to accept down-payments only registrations should be directed there, but down-payments should be made at same places that served for preliminary subscription. Awaiting wired report on this. Every moment missed now means irreparable loss.

(Wolffsohn had wired me that I should speak with Siemens, who will be in town tomorrow, but I don't feel like it, because we have already been turned down.)

Letter to the Grand Duke:

March 1, '99

Your Royal Highness:

Once again I must express my sincerest and most respectful thanks for the encouragement I received from Your Royal Highness during my visit. The protectorate which I dared to request is already in virtual existence, our enterprise already enjoys the protection of the noblest prince. May it one day become plain for all to see.

Today I will write a report for His Majesty the Kaiser and address to it to Herr von Lucanus. In this report I should like to indicate the proposals I took the liberty of making to Your Royal Highness and to request an audience within the coming week for the purpose of documenting and implementing the

plan which is now ready in its altered form. In this way, through one of its federal rulers, Germany could assure herself of influence in the cause which may assume some importance in the future. And yet, through the circumstance that the initial practical steps are being taken by an enterprise based in England, any premature arousal of jealously would be avoided. A *fait accompli* could be prepared and established in all secrecy, and its proclamation would be reserved for the most opportune moment. The domiciling, according to civil law, of the land company which is to be created later, at Karlsruhe for example, would then depend on the political circumstances.

However, to connect permanently the so highly respected name of Your Royal Highness with this project would be an act of historic justice, provided that what we are attempting to do will receive a place in history.

With the expression of my sincerest gratitude and deepest respect, I remain

Your Royal Highness' most obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

• • •

Your Imperial and Royal Majesty,
Most Gracious Kaiser and Lord:

From Karlsruhe, where His Royal Highness the Grand Duke did me the favor of accepting my detailed reports, I took the liberty upon his exalted advice of requesting by telegram an audience with Your Majesty.

The reasons for this are the following.

Having received no word whatever since the Palestine journey about the assumption of the protectorate, which had previously been intended, I had to suppose that political difficulties had arisen. The mistrust of the Sultan and the jealousy of other powers seem to have manifested themselves. Must the implementation of a plan with a future therefore be given up? I fully understand that the Imperial government will not risk an entanglement on our account. But would it not be possible to find

an arrangement through which the goal would be attained inconspicuously and surely?

Such an arrangement I have permitted myself to submit to His Royal Highness. It is this: First we create a corporate body in England which will take the preparatory steps and, *moyennant finances* [for a financial consideration], acquire lands and settlers' rights from the Turkish government. On the basis of such concessions the actual *Chartered Company** will then be formed —and, circumstances permitting, with its legal headquarters at Karlsruhe and under the protection of His Royal Highness Grand Duke Friedrich. There will automatically result from this a political relationship of protection by the Empire, one to which there can be no objection from third parties.

No express declaration on the part of the Imperial government is required for this; in fact, we could be disavowed without further ado, as operating on our own, just as the English government was able to do with Cecil Rhodes at any time. Naturally there are big differences between Sir Cecil Rhodes and my humble self, the personal ones very much in my disfavor, but the objective ones greatly in favor of our movement, which has at its disposal a different kind of capital and, most of all, tremendous human resources in all of Eastern Europe.

Unfortunately Your Imperial Majesty did not see the activity of our colonists already in existence in Palestine. The sight of the Jews jammed together in Jerusalem is not a pleasant one. But even these Jews would like to get out in the country and till the soil, if, strangely enough, the Turkish government did not prohibit it.

To my sorrow I must fear many another incorrect report. I believe that Your Majesty's counsellors occasionally hear disparaging remarks about our movement especially from Jews who do not share my views.

The explanation for this is simple. A good number of rich *West-End** Jews are worried that we might take them with us; this is why they try to make us ridiculous or despicable in their

* In English in the original.

conversation and their newspapers. Methinks, however, that this very kind of opposition must recommend us.

Our endeavor has many aspects. One of them is the absorption of the Jewish elements that will remain in every country. But I believe that the adjustment to the national body should not be attempted through the process of revolution. The way to complete assimilation can probably lead only through the established church.

Only those are to go along who cannot or will not assimilate at their present places of residence—this is our principle. Those who remain behind will of necessity be even better citizens. No more unnatural alliances between iron safes and petroleum barrels.

The value of our movement for social betterment has no more remained concealed from Your Imperial Majesty than has its value for colonial policy. Actually, our movement would be strong enough even if it drew not one man or one penny from Germany. Our resources are in Russia, Rumania, Galicia, England, America, and South Africa. Nevertheless, Germany can, in a way which shall be kept secret for the time being and will even later involve no obligation, assure herself of influence for the future and at the very beginning of our colonization gain an industrial market of the first magnitude. The sole prerequisite is that we be able to organize in Germany.

I understand that written declarations may not be expected on this subject the way it stands today. Therefore I herewith venture once again most respectfully to request an audience after Your Majesty's return. I very badly need encouragement at this particular time. Then I will move on, attempt to win the favor of the Emperor of Russia, and not return again until I can present you the completed matter. On the other hand, failure to grant me an audience would be a *de facto* sign to me that we need not hope for even secret and non-binding participation any longer.

The idea I serve has already touched a great monarch in this

century: Napoleon the First. The Paris Sanhedrin of the Jews in the year 1806 was, to be sure, a last gasp of this idea.

Was the matter not yet ripe at that time, was there no resolute representative of the Jews, was it due to the paucity of means of communication?

Our time, however, is under the sign of communication!—to use a phrase that has become a household word.*

The Jewish Question must be brought under this sign; this is how it can be solved. And what was not possible under Napoleon I is possible under Wilhelm II!

With my deepest respect, I remain

Your Imperial and Royal Majesty's most obedient servant,

Dr. Th. H.

• • •

Covering letter to Lucanus:

Your Excellency:

I permit myself to express my sincere gratitude to you for your kind telegraphic reply to Karlsruhe.

I have written the enclosed letter to His Majesty the Kaiser, containing a request to grant me an audience as soon as possible, at the suggestion of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden. Important things are in the making.

Since I am permitting myself the hope of being ordered to Berlin by His Majesty in the near future, I have postponed my call on Minister of State von Bülow, which you kindly recommended to me, until that time.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my esteem, I am

Respectfully yours,
Dr. Th. H.

* Translator's Note: Herzl reminds the Kaiser of an inscription the latter wrote on a photograph presented to Dr. von Stephan, the German Postmaster-General, on January 7, 1891: "*Die Welt am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts steht unter dem Zeichen des Verkehrs. Er durchbricht die Schranken, welche die Völker trennen, und knüpft zwischen den Nationen neue Beziehungen an.*" (The world at the end of the 19th century is under the sign of communication. It breaks through the barriers that divide peoples and establishes new connections among the nations.)

March 4

Kokesch came back from London today. The horrible English legal work is now completed. The authorizations of the directors and members of the Council must be sealed; the unsealed ones, which we got together by the skin of our teeth, are not sufficient. Another loss of time; yet the subscription, on which so much depends, draws near. Today I gave orders not to delay any further and simply undertake the subscription at the Jewish Colonial Bank in London itself. *La dernière cartouche* [The last round of ammunition]. I am afraid it will be a failure—*mais rien n'arrive ni comme on le craint ni comme on l'espère* [but nothing happens as one fears, nor as one hopes].

The Bank is the hardest part of the work so far. If it works out, afterwards not a soul will suspect what we have gone through, how much energy it has required. For we actually have a boycott of the big bankers against us. If I ever get my hands on *them*, I'll give them a good going-over.

March 10

Last Monday the *Sonn- und Montagszeitung* carried an item to the effect that the Turkish ambassador, Mahmud Nedim, had been called to Constantinople, because a financial agent had attempted extortion from him and the Sultan.

To learn something about this I went to see Newlinski.

He guessed why I had come, but, since I didn't mention it, he didn't speak about it. I asked him, in order to orient myself, whether he would be able to go to Constantinople. He said he would, but added that it was hard, because once he was there, the Sultan wouldn't let him go—that is, not for four or five months; this is how much of a favorite he is with the Sultan. The matter would require further thought. Meanwhile, he said, he could give me the welcome news that we had gained a new helper in the person of Artin Pasha, the State Secretary in the Foreign Office, who was back in favor again. Proof: letters from Danusso

about conversations with Artin, who is willing to submit a memorandum on Zionism to the Sultan.

March 10

Getting the signatures of the directors, governors, councilors for the prospectus involves enormous difficulties. Some refuse to sign at the last moment—for instance, Ussishkin, the author of the *Lex Ussishkin* at the Second Congress.

Today, 18 days before the subscription, it is still doubtful whether we shall manage the signatures for the prospectus!

Go "parade in state" with this.*

March 10

Yesterday I received a refusal from Lucanus.

The Kaiser, he wrote, regretted being unable to receive me in the near future and left it to my discretion to discuss things with Minister of State Bülow.

The rejection, then, which I said in advance would be something *de facto*, too.

• • •

Letter to Bülow:

Your Excellency:

About two weeks ago His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden advised me to direct a request for an audience to His Majesty the Kaiser, in order to stir up the dormant Palestine matter. I did so, and received word from Herr von Lucanus to get in touch with Your Excellency. Accordingly I shall take the liberty during my next stay in Berlin to ask you for a conference—which, however, will probably not get beyond the academic. For I believe, Your Excellency, that you are not in favor of the project. I have been fully aware of this since the moment I first

* Translator's Note: Herzl's pun is based on the phrase *Staat machen*, which ordinarily means "make a show" or "show off"; but he obviously had the Jewish *Staat* (State) in mind as well.

had the honor to converse with you about Zionism. On the one hand, you consider the difficulties in Turkey and the resistance of various interested parties as too great; on the other, you regard the inclination of the Jews to emigrate as too slight. A responsible statesman must view a movement whose lofty character he may not entirely dislike *du point de vue de l'art* [from an artistic point of view] with the greatest coldness and even distrust. This much I understand.

However, Your Excellency, I believe that you have been unfavorably informed by our opponents, particularly our Jewish opponents. Our movement is a great deal stronger than, for a number of reasons, it appears to be.

That the rich Jews do not personally want to go along is well known. It would be worse if they did go—I don't mean just for us, but for the countries concerned.

Popular rage and popular humor, it is true, are directed against *Herr Kommerzienrat** but his departure would be a loss not only to the humorous journals. His amassed wealth should disintegrate right where it is: through marriages, wastrels, and in other natural ways.

A solution of the Jewish Question which promises such an assimilation as well as the draining off of the socially and economically frustrated and nearly despairing elements should perhaps not be rejected out of hand.

But even if *Herr Kommerzienrat* does not want to make a personal sacrifice (later on, during the pleasant season, he will make a little excursion to Palestine, when the hotels have the comforts of the Riviera), he will have no objections to poor devils and fools like me going and staying there. For this he is even ready to make financial "sacrifices"; I have it directly from him.

This attitude is comical, like most human weaknesses, but at any rate it is human. Who is not an opportunist?

* Translator's Note: Literally, "Mr. Commercial Counsellor," an honorific title awarded to businessmen for special services to the government. Its closest American equivalent would be a "Kentucky Colonel."

Similar forces are at work on various newspapers with which I am well acquainted. The fact that they are not on my side in the matter is surprising to Your Excellency, even makes you believe that our movement is insignificant. However, the more numerous the Jews on such a newspaper, the more they have to be afraid that people will reject their criticism of Germany, Austria, etc., with the shout "To Palestine!" And at the present time they still believe they cannot do anything smarter than criticize. Why don't I create a big counter-journal myself? Because that would be another story, as Kipling says. With such a paper one has to be on the job day and night, as with a boiler, and cannot undertake anything else. That is why I have declined offers of this kind, including one made to me three years ago by our government.

Your Excellency, I don't know how funny it may sound when I say that I want to solve the Jewish Question. To me it seems sensible, and I believe that the Zionist idea will make its way. Even soon, in a matter of a few years. All indications point to it.

If our project failed, hundreds of thousands of our adherents would at one swoop change over to the revolutionary parties; this too is a natural thing.

Cet animal est très méchant: il se défend lorsqu'on l'attaque [This animal is very vicious; it defends itself when it is attacked].

But our project must succeed—I am tempted to say, just as two and two make four.* Turkey needs the same Jews that are not wanted elsewhere.

The Turks are incapable of remedying the present wretched condition of their country. Occupation by any Power would not be tolerated by the others. The common crusades against the infidels are past. The cross is now perhaps less turned against the crescent than the Greek cross is against the symbols of other

* Translator's Note: Herzl's phrase, *nach Adam Riese*, is a reference to the author of the first German primers on mathematics. Riese lived from 1492 to 1559 and has been widely cited as a popular authority. His English counterpart was Edward Cocker (1631-1675).

Christian churches. But Palestine has also become a traffic problem, because it constitutes *the shortest way to India**—nay, the shortest southern route to all Asia, since the new northern one is in the exclusive possession of Russia. From the Mediterranean coast to the Persian Gulf a railroad will be, must be, constructed which only the Jews can build. After all, by now one knows what, oddly enough, was not known as recently as thirty years ago in the chancelleries of the states: what a short route like the Suez Canal means. The solution of the Palestinian Question—I no longer say "Jewish Question"—is a complement of the most recent happenings in Asia.

Now, I have had the good fortune to meet with approval of this idea on the part of His Majesty the Kaiser. The prospect of a German protectorate was held out to us. But it did not materialize. In fact, our expedition to Palestine was almost a failure. One little unofficial despatch from the telegraphic news agency simply reduced our audience in the encampment at Jerusalem to nothing.

I kept silent about this, as was my duty after the confidence I had been shown.

Today, then, the question presents itself differently.

Have we nothing more whatever to hope for from the German Imperial government, or is it simply that open support for us is not intended, for reasons that I do not know but can guess? If the latter is the case, i.e., secret support is regarded as admissible, I would make proposals in Berlin. I quote from my letter to His Majesty my new combination:

"First we create a corporate body. . . ." (p. 793), up to ". . . required for this."

It is an enormous difficulty for us that we have no firm point around which we can organize.

Lacking this, we need some existing organization which would offer us certain technical facilities. We have many letters, but no mail.

* In English in the original.

That is why I was willing to pay the high postage of the protectorate. I don't know whether we shall still apply for a protectorate later, when we have seen things through without any support; it will presumably no longer be up to me to the extent that it is today. Of all conceivable protectorates, I would still prefer the German, if only for the reason that German would then be spoken over there.

But perhaps in the meantime we shall have to commit ourselves elsewhere.

I am not worried about our ability finally to manage things all by ourselves, provided our will remains firm. It is only a matter of lost time. Perhaps this will make our enterprise loom larger in the judgment of future times; for glory increases with difficulties. But we would rather become less famous and get to the real work of colonization sooner.

Since I rarely indulge in illusions, I do not expect Your Excellency to be converted by my remarks of today. Should you have anything to tell me or wish any oral information, your call will find me ready to come to Berlin at any time.

Otherwise I shall postpone this visit until my way takes me there.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect, I am

Your obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

After the recall, dated March 18.
To His Excellency, Minister of State von Bülow,
State Secretary in the Foreign Office, Berlin.

• • •

Letter to the Grand Duke of Baden:
After the recall, dated March 17.

Your Royal Highness:

I permit myself to report most respectfully that His Majesty the Kaiser has declined my request for an audience and has re-

ferred me to Minister of State von Bülow. Since, for the sake of greater clarity, I had remarked in my request for an audience that I would regard a failure to grant it as a *de facto* rejection also, I know now where I stand. Herr von Bülow, whom I profoundly admire as an ingenious and skillful statesman, is nevertheless, if my observation does not deceive me, antagonistic to our cause. Nothing, I believe, can be expected from that quarter. This is why I am not going to Berlin.

But unfortunately, the recommendation to the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, which Your Royal Highness gave me with such gracious alacrity, has produced no result either. I sent two of our financial men to Berlin, to negotiate with Herr Siemens, the director. He turned down their proposals.

So I can only assume that a hope which was uncommonly dear to me has vanished, and that we shall not attain our goal under a German protectorate. I regret this more than I can tell you.

Begging Your Royal Highness to accept the expression of my heartfelt respect and continued sincere gratitude, I am

Your very obedient servant
Dr. Th. H.

Insert (cf. p. 801):
"That is why. . . ." to "commit ourselves elsewhere."

March 14, at night

This insert is responsible for my wiring Wolffsohn to hold this letter, which I had sent off via Cologne, and my making a fresh copy from Sheet II on. This evening, while I was listening to Hechler's speech about the Palestine journey, it suddenly occurred to me that the joke about the high postage of the protectorate could be interpreted as a presumption in bad taste.

• • •

Telegrams from the Bank Committee reach me *en masse*. Gaster and Bentwich are said to be making trouble. I simply

can't understand it. What does Gaster, who is only authorized to sign for us, want?

In the evening Heyman reported that Bentwich was asking 150 pounds sterling for putting his name on the prospectus. If this is true, I shall throw Bentwich out with scorn and loathing and kick him out of the party.

• • •

March 16, evening

Disagreeable telegrams from London during the day. Gaster, they said, in whose name all authorizations were made out, is refusing to give the signature needed for the registration.

I sent Gaster a categorical telegram in which I gave him a piece of my mind. I told him that he could only deprive us of 300 guilders and three, albeit precious, days. For if need be, Kokesch would be there on Monday morning and provide the signature, since the authorizations were made out jointly in his name too.

Thereupon Wolffsohn reported in the evening that Gaster had complied.

• • •

Today I went to see Newlinski, who is ready to go to the Grand Turk. I very much desire it, but only if his doctor declares that it could not harm his badly shattered health. Incidentally, I suspect that a trip to the South has been prescribed for him. We shall send along young Dr. Poborski as his medical traveling companion.

March 18

The journalist Ben-Yehuda from Jerusalem came to see me. A short red-haired Jew from the Orient. I am beginning to become acquainted with the various Jewish types. He is long-winded in his narratives and seems to have some ulterior motive.

But I learned from him quite a bit about the sentiment in Turkey toward Zionism.

He said that in the Orient everybody was afraid of everybody else. The people were a wild animal that could be unleashed, but also could be steered in any direction. If the authorities give a signal, the Mohammedans will fall upon the Jews—system of hatchet-men, as with the Armenians. This is my long-felt argument against infiltration.

In the higher *baksheesh* circles there is timid discussion of Zionism. Everything depends on the Sultan. Even the Grand Vizier is only a lackey.

The American Ambassador, Straus, is said to be secretly well-disposed toward Zionism, Ben-Yehuda assures me.

The Mutessarif of Jerusalem, he said, was an affable gentleman and had asked him why he didn't edit an Arabic newspaper. I asked Ben-Yehuda how much he would need for that. An annual subvention of 2000 francs. I told him to write me about it in the middle of May, perhaps I would get him that amount. (I feel that if the Bank comes into being it will be worth that much to it to have an Arabic voice which finds favor with the Mutessarif and influences the people in the proper way.)

• • •

Wrote Kellner about a matter which has been in my mind for a good long time. I want to start a press bureau here with news from the Orient for Western newspapers, especially English ones. Kellner is to lay the groundwork in London, and the thing is to be launched in the autumn. It will be an instrument of power either for or against Turkey.

Le sabre pour ou contre la sécurité publique [The sword for or against public safety].

The Bank! "Yes, everyone clings to, everyone rushes after, gold." * Actually, the entire further course of the movement depends on the success of the subscription which I have promoted in every way.

They all demanded the postponement of the subscription,

* Translator's Note: "*Am Golde hängt, nach Golde drängt doch alles*"—a slight misquotation from Goethe's *Faust, Part I*.

which was not ripe yet and had been dragged out by the difficulties of registration. Last week I had been softened up for a moment and was about to agree to the postponement. My father expressed himself against it—this reminded me of the days before the publication of *The Jewish State,* another occasion when at the decisive moment I found in him the support to stand firm. This strengthened me this time, too. We shall stick to March 28th. But the subscription will extend over 30 days.

According to the telegrams, pandemonium seems to have reigned in London the last few days. Wolffsohn traveled back and forth. Today he is in London again. This is the day on which the whole thing is to be registered, and under the name "The Jewish Colonial Trust (*Jüdische Kolonialbank*) Limited."

The name *Trust* was forced through by Bentwich and Gaster, by the latter under serious violation of the instructions he had accepted from the out-of-town members of the Council. What they [want] with the name *Trust*. . . .*

March 24

Alex Marmorek reports that Bernard Lazare wants to resign from the Vienna Committee, because he foresees a bust of the subscription and with it the collapse of the movement. Lazare has heard from Poznanski that the latter does not intend to keep up his subscription.

I immediately wrote Nordau an indignant letter about Lazare's cautelous policy. Lazare is said to have declared that he wanted to "keep leaders in reserve for the Jewish people in case the present leaders fail."

I asked Nordau to remonstrate with Lazare, so as to avoid a scandal.

• • •

Meanwhile rumors have spread here that the Hovevei Zion were planning a major action against me and political Zionism at their meeting in Paris.

* Translator's Note: Sentence unfinished in the original.

Bloch's *Wochenschrift* publishes the following Paris news from Landau's venal pen:

[Editorial:] [v.VI, p. 246.]

The Delegate Conference of the Zionist Federation at Paris.
Before the Meeting.

(By Our Special Correspondent)

Paris, March 17

The conference of delegates called by the Central Committee of the Zionist Federations has definitely been set for the 19th of this month. Delegates have already arrived from England, Germany, and Austria, and those of other countries are being expected. Brain, brawn, and bankbooks will be represented at the meeting. The promotion of large-scale colonization in Palestine is now to go forward.

This very city of Paris is the residence of those personalities who are willing to carry through the colonization of Palestine on a large scale, and one need look no farther for the resources required for it.

Now we mention first of all that great friend of Zion

Baron Edmond Rothschild. His great services to colonization in Palestine and his immense sacrifices are well known. However, it would not be correct to present him as a mere benefactor. Baron Rothschild's actions are motivated by a great idea, the idea of bringing ever greater masses of Jews into the land of their forefathers, in order there to create for them opportunities for earning a living and to regenerate them morally and economically, as was proved by his address to the colonists during his most recent stay in Palestine. However, Baron Rothschild, who is intimately acquainted with conditions in Turkey, does not consider it necessary to make a stir and cause a sensation; he simply is not concerned with publicity, but with action. For instance, for a considerable period of time he has been making efforts to purchase the antiquated harbor of Caesarea, in order to renovate it

and make it the base for Jewish immigration and Jewish export —a deed whose importance to the realization of the Zionist idea can only be called immense. The deal was almost completed when the journey of the German Kaiser interfered and the latter requested Caesarea from the Sultan as a German coaling-station. In this connection certain people will of course insist on asserting that the German Kaiser is the most zealous protector of Zionism. Let us hope, however, that the Baron who, unconcerned about the sniping from certain "Zionist" quarters, is proceeding with the execution of the great work, will also succeed in acquiring Caesarea in addition to other concessions he has been promised during his last stay in Constantinople.

Baron Rothschild is also doing his best to encourage the Galician colony "Mahanayim," and he has instructed his newly-appointed inspector, M. Barbier, who is leaving for Palestine in a few weeks, to transform the Kaba soil of this colony into an olive grove.

A second eminently important personality is

M. Narcisse Leven. During the time that he has been president both of the Jewish Colonization Association and of the Central Committee of the Zionist Federations he has placed the multiple millions of the society at the service of Palestine colonization. Apart from the numerous subventions to colonies already in existence, we owe it to him that the Jewish Colonisation Association has recently purchased 40,000 *dunams* in Palestine (Sejerah), in order to settle Palestine Jews as farmers there. This enclave has room for 400 families. The *kushans* (land-register transfers) have just arrived. The Jewish Colonisation Association has granted four million francs for the establishment of the Sejerah colony.

I will mention but a few others: *Zadoc Kahn,* the Grand Rabbi of France, who is a member of both executive committees and supports the cause of colonization; *Prof. Josef Halévy,* and so on.

These men will be joined at the meeting by others who have demonstrated through years of self-sacrificing devotion in the most diverse countries how very sacred the colonization project in

Palestine is to them. And it is precisely the purpose of the conference of delegates to safeguard it, expand it, and protect it against rash interference on the part of *va banque* [all-or-nothing]—gamblers.

• • •

After the Meeting.

(By Our Special Correspondent).

Paris, March 20

The hopes and expectations which true friends of Zion everywhere attached to the conference of delegates may be regarded as entirely fulfilled. What has for years been striven for by practical-minded Zionists, who prefer practical deeds to mere talk—namely, winning the support of the "Jewish Colonisation Association" for the colonization of Palestine—has now been achieved. Only if one considers that the "Jewish Colonisation Association" has over 200 million francs at its disposal, about four times as much as the "Colonial Trust" has yet to raise, will one appreciate the full import of the fact that the "Jewish Colonisation Association" now regards Palestine as the main scene of its colonizing activity and is making the funds available for it.

This is the significant success of yesterday's conference of delegates. It will certainly be learned with joy in Austria and particularly in Galicia that the conference has decided to allot 40,000 francs to the Galician colony "Mahanayim," thus fulfilling the condition on which the "Jewish Colonisation Association" made its subvention of 80,000 francs dependent. This fully gurantees the "Mahanayim" colony and shows up the ridiculousness of those prophets who predicted that this colony would collapse. The sympathy and the support which the Galician society "Ahavas Zion" and its endeavors have encountered among the local powers are also a personal triumph for Dr. Salz and ample compensation for many an insult that Dr. Herzl has recently inflicted on him in his mean and petty jealousy.

As regards the relationship between the "Jewish Colonisation Association" and the Central Committee on one hand and the Herzl party and the "Colonial Trust" on the other, this is best shown by the following fact:

Some time ago Mr. Wolffsohn, who is virtually assured of being the first director of the Bank and is moving to London, was in Paris in order to win over Narcisse Leven for the "Trust." The latter declared, however, that it was not necessary to found a bank, for there was plenty of money on hand that was available for all serious colonizing and industrial enterprises in Palestine. However, they should submit concrete proposals and plans to him. But this was not done. Instead, the "Jewish Colonisation Association" is now sending a secretary to Palestine for several months in order to study conditions there.

One of the most important matters on the agenda was the question of the reorganization of the Central Committee and of propaganda. On this point, however, most of the decisions have for the present not been made public. But this much can be said even now, the Central Committee has been expanded through new personalities from various countries. Among those who have been added to the old members like Narcisse Leven, Zadoc Kahn, Dr. Hildesheimer, Bambus, Colonel Goldsmid, etc., are the well-known gynecologist Professor Landau, the wholesale merchant Israel of Berlin, Sir Josef Sebag Montefiore of London, and Bernard Lazare, who has already resigned from the Vienna Actions Committee. Another new member from Austria is Dr. Salz, one of two additional members from Vienna whose appointment has been decided on.

It was further decided to set up an Executive Committee in Berlin, to take charge of propaganda and implement the decisions of the Central Committee.

A report was also presented about the favorable development of the Kastinie colony, which was founded by the Central Committee, and it was observed that the grain harvest alone netted the colonists 40,000 francs last year. For this colony a credit of up to 300,000 francs was granted.

This much in haste about the work of the conference which was guided by love and self-sacrificing devotion to the Jewish people, but also by real manly seriousness. And the fruits of such labors will surely not fail to appear either.

L.

• • •

In the next number of the *Welt* I plan to write a reply in which this turn of events will be flatly described as what it is: a victory of my ideas.

March 26

Alex Marmorek arrived here yesterday and gave a rather excited report on the happenings in Paris. B. Lazare did not keep his word to him, for he had promised not to announce his resignation from the Vienna Committee before the end of the subscription; and now that scoundrel Landau has already announced it in Bloch's smear sheet.

(Incidentally, I have had an advertisement of the prospectus of the Colonial Trust given to Bloch. For one hundred guilders that man of honor accepted it.)

• • •

Overnight a new plan of action occurred to me. I am having Alex Marmorek write Nordau to tell Leven the following.

I did not have sufficient confidence in the willingness of the Paris gentlemen and the I.C.A., and that is why I did not give them any details about my negotiations with the German government. Now that I have learned of their decision to go to Palestine, I am ready to come to Paris and submit the secret documents to them—under the following conditions:

The conference is to be attended by Narcisse Leven, Edmond Rothschild, and Zadoc Kahn from the other side, and from our side, in addition to myself, by Nordau and Alex Marmorek. The

conference is to remain absolutely confidential. Secrecy as to its substance will be stipulated in a sworn protocol.

March 29

Alex Marmorek tells me about a remark made by Bülow which Nordau heard from Huhn, the Berlin correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Huhn asked Bülow what he, and also his "gracious lord and master," thought of the Zionist movement. To which Bülow is said to have replied:

"Our gracious lord and master, as you know, quickly becomes ablaze for a cause. So it was in the present instance, too, and to such a degree that there was no arguing with him. But you also know that our gracious lord and master cools off again just as quickly. This time, too. Dr. Herzl made a very good impression on me, it is true, but I don't believe in the project. Those people have no money. The rich Jews won't have any part of it. And with the crummy Polish Jews nothing can be done." *

That was how I had construed Bülow's attitude long before I heard this story.

I had guessed this view, as is proved by my last letter to Bülow.

March 29, evening

This morning there arrived a telegram from the Colonial Trust in London which depressed me quite a bit:

The result of the first day of the subscription was—eight thousand shares.

In the evening there came a second wire which sounds fine but may be only bokum after all. It reads:

"Despite hostile press, tremendous local demand, particularly from provinces, for subscription blanks."

"Tremendous" certainly sounds wonderful! But demand for what?

* Translator's Note: Toward the end of his speech Bülow lapsed into the Berlin dialect.

At present only for subscription blanks, not shares. It this a trick of little Heymann or really the beginning of a great success?

I am now in one of those moods in which Faust is ready to make any deal with the devil. If anyone promised me the success of the subscription today, I would immediately sell him ten years of my life for it.

It is true, I wrote Wolffsohn yesterday that I had a presentiment the subscription would be a success—a sort of *flaire de l'artilleur* [artilleryman's instinct]—and if I was mistaken in this, it would be the first, and a most serious, mistake I have made in the Zionist movement. But those infinitesimally measly 8000 shares of this morning have made my expectations quite small.

• • •

This evening's telegram again produced a small boom in my expectations. But I don't quite trust that telegram.

Newlinski is leaving for Constantinople tomorrow. Since N.'s heart condition is quite serious, I am sending with him, as his attendant physician, Dr. Poborski of the Ivria. Naturally I had an inquiry made of his family doctor first as to whether the journey could harm him. Reply: He can have a fatal attack any moment, whether home in bed or on a train. I discussed the matter quite frankly with N's wife. N. himself feels like going and doing something decisive for us, in the expectation, which truly shall not be deceptive, that we in turn will do something for him.

But I *am* conscious of a grave responsibility in letting him depart. At present he is the only person who may be able to arrange an audience for me with the Sultan. I can't help but want him to go.

I only hope that the journey will not harm him.

Both of us were greatly moved when I went to see him today. He is afraid of the journey, but nevertheless has a fine, brave sense of duty toward what he has already received from us and what he still hopes for. Because of this I have begged his forgiveness for many a thought I once had about him.

He told me today, among other things, that the Vienna ambassador, Mahmud Nedim Bey, was now at Constantinople and would probably not return, because he has fallen from favor. *Quel sale pays* [What a foul country].

Mahmud Nedim has literally been starving here. He received no salary and lived on "scarlet runners and beans" which he cooked himself. The Caliph's ambassador! If all this were in a novel, people wouldn't believe it.

April 2

On awakening this morning, I received the following wire from Poborski:

"Newlinski died suddenly. At wife's request send the necessary, if possible. Conveying remains to Vienna tomorrow evening. Dr. Poborski. Hotel Bristol."

It was a great, unpleasant surprise with a whole vista of further troubles.

I wired back:

"Marie de Newlinski, Hotel Bristol, Pera, Constantinople.

"Deeply shaken. Mourning with you with all my heart. I remain to you and your children a faithful friend, ready to help. All the rest when we meet. Sending thousand francs to Poborski. Herzl."

Then I had to leave for the synagogue on Leopoldgasse where the head of the congregation had invited me for today. They honored * me by calling me up to the Torah.

But when I stood before the Holy of Holies and the cantor was fairly blasting out the beautiful chants, I could only think of poor Newlinski who is now stretched out in the Hotel Bristol "with a view over the Golden Horn."

I had previously instructed Oscar Marmorek to wire the thousand francs to Poborski.

In the afternoon the A.C. met at my house. We had to come to terms with the quite difficult situation. Apart from the emo-

* Translator's Note: Herzl uses the Hebrew term *mechabed*.

tional shock, we also had to solve the financial problem we were now faced with. The A.C. has to meet the heaviest demands, and the inflow of *shekels* at present equals zero. Three thousand guilders had already been expended on Newlinski's journey. Now the additional expense of conveying the remains back, the presumable claims of the widow, etc. Great worries, especially now when the Bank campaign is exhausting all our resources and imposing enormous sacrifices on each of us. As it is, a begging-circular was sent out during the last few days. Again I had to "set a good example" and part with 500 guilders.

The gentlemen this afternoon believed the transportation of the body would cost several thousand francs. To meet this outlay it was decided, after much having it back and forth, to raise a loan of 5000 guilders. I declared that I could not give any more money, because I do not ask for repayment and do not get it either.

So Marmorek is to try to borrow this money on the basis of the *shekels* offered as security by the A.C., from my brother-in-law Naschauer; and Dr. Kahn, from one of his relatives.

• • •

Newlinski's death is a terribly hard blow to me. Although he had one foot in the grave his widow will hold me responsible for the journey, despite all the precautions I took. I had made an inquiry of his family doctor, through Poborski, as to whether he might go without harm to his health. The answer was that he could die at any moment in his own room. And yet—and yet!

But Newlinski's death is a great loss to our movement as well. He had the best connections at Constantinople as well as at Rome. At this time, something virtually irreplaceable.

With him there disappears from the novel of the Zionist movement one of its most remarkable characters. He was a *grand seigneur déchu* [fallen aristocrat], likeable despite many a questionable quality, and truly charming in manner.

April 3.

A miserable night. Couldn't get Newlinski out of my mind. I racked my brain how much it had been my fault. Should I have kept him from taking the trip? He wanted to go somewhere south. The reason he preferred going to Constantinople was that this trip didn't cost him anything, provided him with a medical attendant gratis, and promised the possibility of greater results. For 14 years, since his first attack, he had been a doomed man. Did the journey cost him months, weeks, days, or hours of his life?

I told him often enough that he needn't go if he didn't want to. I let him keep the 2000 guilders for the Rome journey without ever reminding him of it with so much as a look.

Should I have held him back?

April 3

The Bank is also a great worry.

Heymann, the only director who lives in London, holds meetings of the Board of Directors with Gaster and Bentwich, who are only deputies of deputies of the Council, and makes basic decisions.

I will wait until the subscription is over and then put things in order.

But while the gentlemen are in command, they push the problems of fund raising for the preliminary work onto my shoulders. The guarantee fund is exhausted; I think it has been mismanaged. Now Heymann needs, as he writes me, £600-1000 more.

The envelopes having been switched by mistake, today I received a letter from Wolffsohn to Kann.

In it Wolffsohn writes that the subscription payments should be used to defray expenses. I am protesting against this today in a letter to Wolffsohn and in another to Heymann, Gaster, and Bentwich.

I don't like Wolffsohn's proposal. In any event, I shall keep a sharp eye out in the future.

April 4

This morning's mail brought me poor Newlinski's last letter:

Hotel Bristol, Pera. April 1, 1899

My very dear Friend:

We arrived here safely. I stood the journey well and am pleased about it. I have just returned from my first visit to Yildiz Kiosk; I was very agreeably received and told to come again on *Tuesday* afternoon.

Dr. Poborski is a nice fellow. My best thanks for everything, and many regards from

Yours sincerely,
M. de Newlinski.

The weather is cool.

• • •

To the Turkish *chargé d'affaires,* Resmy Bey:

Your Excellency:*

Day before yesterday I received the sad news of the sudden death, at Constantinople, of M. de Newlinski. Your Excellency will probably have been informed of it by yesterday's papers.

By this morning's mail I have just received the last letter of this sincerely mourned friend. He writes me that immediately upon his arrival he went to Yildiz Kiosk where he was given the best imaginable reception, and His Majesty set Tuesday—today, alas—for receiving him.

One of the best and most devoted friends of Turkey has just gone. He was also an outstanding friend to our cause. I should like to have the honor to discuss with you one of these days the situation caused by this grievous death of a mutual friend.

I remain, Your Excellency,

Respectfully yours,
Dr. Th. H.

* The letter is in French in the original.

April 7

The Newlinski case is singularly distressing and dramatic. The man was never presentable, and those who made use of him—princes and governments—always took care to conceal their relations with him. He was every inch the classic example of the "secret agent." Now his corpse lies across our path, and some people seem quite inclined to charge all of his dubious undertakings to our account. Fortunately, our account, even though we are not producing it, is clear, and my own conscience especially is at ease.

I never had any other relation to him but the acceptance of his intervention with the Sultan when it was offered to me.

He cost me a good deal of money, also drew a subvention from the Committee. I don't know to this day whether he did anything for us with the Sultan, or if he was even in a position to do anything. He never furnished any proof of it, if I except the fact that he introduced me to various Turkish dignitaries. Perhaps he merely played me up to them as an editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*. It is a secret he has taken with him to the grave.

Still, even as regards my *shekel*-payers my conscience is clear for having recommended that the A.C. pay him a subsidy. Even though he may not have been able to be of use, he could have done us a frightful amount of harm. Once or twice he had hinted as much, and I hastened to make him into a friend before he could become an extortioner. With a single paragraph in his *Correspondance de l'Est* he could have made us out to be dangerous enemies of Turkey, or, at best, as *blagueurs sans importance* [inconsequential wind-bags].

• • •

For the past few days, his death which "occurred in the service of Zionism" has been the talk of the town here in Vienna. A few people have asked me reproachfully why I made him take the journey. I gruffly sent them about their business. In truth I have no cause to reproach myself with carelessness, because I had con-

sulted his family doctor as to whether he might go, and he had said yes.

Despite my formal blamelessness and although his doomed life would hardly have lasted even a matter of weeks longer, the case is quite agonizing to me. Did I do enough to dissuade him from the trip? This is how I search my soul.

I never dunned him for the traveling money which he had had since October; I never pressed him to go; I reassured him when he lamented that he would not be able to use it; I told him that he should go to Constantinople only if he wanted to go somewhere south anyway. I am delivering quite tragic monologues to myself.

This evening his wife comes back.

The body is on the same train. I must go and meet her at the station, which is quite a hard task. Perhaps she will reproach me. If so, what shall I, what can I, reply? Another bitter occasion will be the funeral. It will require a great deal of fortitude, under the eyes of the mourners. *Il faut passer par là* [It is necessary to go there].

• • •

The day before yesterday Newlinski's family doctor published the following declaration in the *Neue Freie Presse:*

M. de Newlinski.

To the Editors.

In one of yesterday's Monday papers, the death of M. de Newlinski was presented as one that had taken place under mysterious circumstances. As the long-time physician of the deceased, may I be permitted to point out that he had for a number of years been suffering from a severe heart condition (aneurysm of the aorta). Last winter he had repeated attacks of extreme cardiac weakness, and consequently his sudden death was apparently caused by a similar attack which brought about cardiac paralysis.

With the respectful request to publish this letter in your esteemed journal, I remain

Yours,
Dr. Ludwig Frey

Vienna, April 4, 1899.

April 7

Yesterday Alex Marmorek told me, among other things, about a discovery of his which is still a strict secret; I am the only one he has told about it besides his family. He believes he has found a remedy for tuberculosis. If this is true, it is something colossal —this much is clear. He says that his experiments on animals have been successful. Now he intends to experiment on human beings. But first he will, and must, disclose it to Duclaux, the head of the Pasteur Institute. For his streptococcus serum he has received no financial remuneration whatever. Before he turns over the T.B. medicine, he wants to make sure of getting 50% of the profit the Pasteur Institute will make. He thinks this will amount to millions each year; and he wants to be rich so that he can do something for Zionism.

Now, it is possible that the Pasteur Institute will refuse him the 50%. In that event he intends to leave and offer the whole thing to Lord Lister for the Jenner Institute in London. I, however, advised him to submit it to the German Kaiser. As soon as Duclaux has refused, Alex will call me to a meeting *on half way** at which we shall discuss the further details, for naturally I want to utilize the moral effect of this achievement for the benefit of Zionism.

Since there is the possibility that the French, whether they reject him or accept him, can later reproach him with having acted not as a disinterested scientist but as a *commerçant juif* [Jewish tradesman], I advised him to accompany his verbal disclosure to Duclaux with a written one as well, saying that the reason he wants to participate in the profits is that the rich Jews are not

* In English in the original.

doing anything for our people and that he wants funds he can use for the good cause.

• • •

April 8

Rien n'arrive ni comme on le craint, ni comme on l'espère [Nothing happens as one fears, nor as one hopes].

This time, *ni comme on le craint* [the former].

A bit uneasy I drove to the station yesterday evening, to meet Mme. de Newlinski and the coffin.

An odd assortment of people at the station. Oscar Marmorek had come with me. Some poor relations were already there. Then came Resmy Bey, the Turkish *chargé d'affaires;* further, a few friends of the family and the family lawyer, the latter in a sparkling mood and with many anecdotes to tell.

A *communis opinio* [consensus of opinion] crystallized: it was all the fault of the family doctor who had attended Newlinski and had consented to the journey. (As a matter of fact, this is my real opinion, too.) But who knows? If I had not been diligently doing my duty, perhaps my absence would have caused them to call *me* the guilty party.

The lawyer expressed his confidence to me that the Zionists would do something for the children, since N. had made the trip on our behalf.

The train was late. All sorts of stories were told, including the one about an attempt to blackmail the Sultan, which had been falsely hung on Newlinski, whereas the blackmailers—according to Resmy Bey—were a certain Graf and his *bailleur du fonds* [silent partner] Eisner.

The lawyer told how he had introduced Eisner to Nuri Bey. It was at a stag supper-party with *dames nues* [nude women] that the Turkish State Secretary made the acquaintance of Herr Eisner von Eisenhof.

During the hang-over they are supposed to have got together

on a plot which was directed against Ambassador Mahmud Nedim and, it seems, netted the latter the Sultan's disfavor.

The train came in. Mme. de Newlinski got off, tottering and sobbing, and fell around everybody's neck, including mine. She begged me to come to the house, after the hearse had been driven to the Karlskirche.

So I drove from the station to her apartment. Several friends of the family were assembled there, among them the family doctor who was not at all depressed. There was also a big stock-gambler who had made many hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, out of Newlinski's tips.

I told the woman that she could always count on me as a good friend.

The children were in quite good spirits and laughed a lot.

I soon took my leave. The big speculator left with me and told me he hoped that "the powerful Zionist group in whose service N. died" would "do something for the children." This is passing the emotional buck. Each shifts it on to the next man. Luckily for the children, I at least shall not leave them in the lurch.

Poborski told me about Newlinski's last hours. He had been at Yildiz, to be sure, but had not spoken with the Sultan, as his last letter suggested. Poborski also told me about the shameful goings-on after N's death: how the doctors and the clergyman tried to squeeze every penny they could out of the embalming and the consecration rites. But also that Artin Pasha had told fat Danusso that I would soon be called to Constantinople. *Vederemo* [Wait and see]?

April 8

This morning the first extortioner called on me.

At ten o'clock a gentleman sent his card in to me. "Josef Graf, editor of *Information Wien*," it said on it.

The blackmailer, of whom Resmy Bey had spoken yesterday.

I admitted him. A shabby, elderly man entered. He had a pronounced nervous blink and spoke in a breathlessly tremulous

voice. Everybody in Vienna, he said, was talking about how Newlinski had gone to see the Sultan, on instructions from us, "with an entourage like an ambassador's." If this was correct, he had some interesting news for me. I gave him an evasive answer, but he made me his "disclosures" anyway.

A certain Bernhard Stern, former Constantinople correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*, had received from an opponent of the Zionist movement, Herr Richard Rappaport (of the group "Korah," which was mentioned on an earlier occasion) instructions and funds to go to Constantinople and work against the Zionists. He, Graf, had taken Stern in some time ago, when the latter was hard up. Recently Stern had come to him and shown him four thousand guilders which he had received to work against us at Yildiz as an "emissary." It was true, Graf said, that he himself was an opponent of Zionism, but it would be a shame if Jews did not stick together. Stern was scheduled to leave for Constantinople on the Orient Express on Monday, but on Sunday (tomorrow) he would come to see him once more. Why didn't I use this information in any way I thought appropriate. It was Rappaport's aim, he said, to demonstrate, by frustrating the Zionist movement, that only his Jewish People's Party was on the right track.

I replied that one opponent more or less did not matter to us. Our position was simply to reward the people who served us and brought us proof of the services rendered. We couldn't do anything else. My personal point of view, however, was not that of a politician. I would never join the Jewish People's Party, because I was not interested in political posts or the like. I have expressed my views on the Jewish Question; they seem to have found the approval of many. If these people turned away from me again, my activity would simply be at an end. But what our aims are we say out loud at the Congress and in our newspapers. We do not travel by secret paths.

Then I brought the conversation onto general things and dismissed the scoundrel.

• • •

In the afternoon I called on Mme. de Newlinski and discussed money matters with her. The widow is composed, very clear-headed and covetous. I promised her that, to begin with, we would continue to pay her the subsidy drawn by her husband (200 guilders a month) until the next Congress, with the proviso that she carry on the *Correspondance de l'Est.*

Then I will try at the Congress to bring about an arrangement favorable to her.

For it is to our interest that the *Correspondance* does not fall into the hands of blackmailers.

• • •

In the evening I convened the A.C. at my place, told the gentlemen everything, and they exonerated me. It was also decided that I should call Rappaport on the carpet tomorrow to find out whether Graf's tale was true.

Either extortion has been attempted on us, or Rappaport is being swindled. Perhaps both.

• • •

An additional detail. Newl.'s widow informed me, among other things, that the big-time speculator Zierer had told her before her departure that should her husband die in Constantinople, she ought to have him buried there, because the transportation back to Vienna would be too expensive.

And upon that note she departed.

They all—even including, in this case, the doomed man, the finest of the lot—calculated that his death on the journey would place us, the Zionists, under perpetual obligation to his survivors. He sold us his corpse, as it were.

Surely nothing remotely as strange as this occurs in novels.

Actually, the only dupe in this sad affair is myself, who failed to see through this scheme.

However, Newlinski himself showed courage and a father's tenderness. In my eyes, after his death, he looms head and shoul-

ders above the whole riff-raff; to get mixed up with this rotten bunch was the tragic blunder of his life.

April 10

Newlinski's funeral yesterday. First class. But many were absent from the Karlskirche who, while he lived, had caroused and gone on the town and been involved in all sorts of secret intrigues with him.

Jews were in the majority. Wonder what most of them thought of all this pageantry?

At the church-door most of the people who had stayed till then drifted away.

I spoke to Resmy Bey and made an appointment for today.

I drove to the cemetery in company with the journalist Konried. On the way out his conversation was a funeral march. We were driving slowly, for the undertaker's staff was walking alongside the hearse with torches. One of them, at the rear, bore the departed's decorations on a red cushion. Outriders, etc.

Out at the cemetery, the ceremony was brief.

Poborski took me aside: the widow counted on our defraying the funeral expenses, at least half of them.

Kozmian said to me: "The poor fellow had only another month at the most to live, anyway."

On the way back, Konried lit a cigarette and said with an air of consolation: "One more who's got it over with." And he blew the lively tunes of a military band returning home.

• • •

Then I went to see Rappaport about the Graf-Stern blackmail affair. Following my custom, I took the bull by the horns. Rappaport gave me his word of honor that Stern had been assigned no "political mission." He was only supposed to go to Constantinople as a representative of the *Extrapost*, in order to make connections with the aid of which the *Extrapost*—a little-read Monday paper—would obtain influence in Balkan circles.

I explained to him that the whole business amounted to blackmail and that he was being duped. This poor rich young man, however, trusts the pack of parasites surrounding him more than he does an honest adviser. I think that right afterwards he went to those scoundrels, in order to have them tell him fresh lies and to believe in them.

I placed myself at his disposal in case he wanted to unmask Stern.

April 11

Yesterday I went to see Resmy Bey, the Turkish *chargé d'affaires.* He spoke frankly about conditions in Constantinople. When I told him that I was able to catch the blackmailers Graf and Stern and show them up publicly, he told me with typically Turkish shoulder-shrugging and equanimity: "That won't do these two any harm in Constantinople."

He said further that I should win over either Nuri Bey or, preferably, Tahsim Bey. The reigning favorite now is Tahsim Bey. Lutfy Bey, the interpreter of dreams, was no good for our purposes. Lutfy's specialty was decorations and concessions. For political matters Tahsim was the best.

I also told Resmy that I was having the *Correspondance de l'Est* continue through a subvention I was giving to Mme. Newlinski and was keeping it at the disposal of the Turkish government—of course, quite free of charge *et sans arrière-pensée* [and without any ulterior motive]. It was to become a serious and decent paper.

He thanked me.

We finally spoke about Nuri and Tahsim. I said that perhaps both of them ought to be won over—*il y aurait pour tout le monde* [there would be something for everybody]. He gave a friendly smile, but said Tahsim would not like the idea of Nuri's getting something too.

• • •

Then I called on Mme. de Newlinski and went over her husband's books with her. The assets even less than I had anticipated. The whole *Correspondance* seems to have been a swindle. A dozen subscribers, *et tout finissait par du chantage* [and it all ended in blackmail]. Roughly the same sort of impression as when one uncovers a counterfeiters' press in a cellar.

And yet the man was useful to us. His greatest service was to teach me not to have any respect for pashas.

April 11, evening

I have just received a telegram from London giving the subscriptions up to now as 228,000 shares. I could not believe my eyes and wired back whether it was really two hundred and twenty-eight thousand with down-payments. If so, the subscription is a success, for in the remaining 18 days we are sure to raise an equal amount.

It would be a success such as I myself did not dare to hope for.

April 13

Those 228,000 turned out to be a *bubble*.* In reply to my inquiry there came a correction with different figures. I sent a sharp telegram criticizing this way of doing things. (Heymann's?) Fortunately I didn't fall for it and didn't put it in the *Welt*.

So the question of the subscription's success remains open.

Yesterday afternoon Resmy Bey came to see me. After a few words of mourning Newlinski he came out with his true view: "*Notre pauvre ami avait ses defauts* [Our poor friend had his faults]. He was a dubious individual." The dead ride fast.**

He very much likes the idea of my supervising and running the *Correspondance*. We parted friends.

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: *Die Toten reiten schnell*, a line from G. A. Bürger's celebrated ballad *Lenore*.

April 13

The Graf-Stern blackmail affair has now been cleared up. I informed Bergmann and Stern. The latter went to see Graf with Dr. Werner. Graf declared after the greeting that he didn't know Dr. Herzl at all. He claims never to have seen me!

With this the case is settled.

April 14

We are now undoubtedly in a state of being boycotted by the big bankers, a state that Seligmann predicted to me last October in London. If the subscription is a success, *we* shall later boycott *them*.

April 17

The following joke is making the rounds in Vienna now. The German Kaiser is supposed to have said to me: "Zionism is a splendid idea; the only thing is, it can't be carried out with Jews."

April 21

The incompetence of the London Bank Office exceeds all bounds. Or is it disinclination, laziness? Today, during the last week of the subscription, they give me the subscription agencies for Russia, to put in the issue of the *Welt* that appeared yesterday—which means, too late. The Rumanian ones are still missing!

Tomorrow I go to Cologne for discussions about the Bank. I would have wanted to enter in this Book Six as an important chapter heading whether or not the subscription has been a success.

This way the Book ends with a big

?

Contents

Volume III

Book Seven

Begun on April 25, 1899
on the train near Coblenz
On the way back from Cologne
to Vienna

April 25, on the train

I had told Kann and Heymann to join me at Wolffsohn's in Cologne in order to discuss the eventualities of the subscription to the J.C.T., which ends on the 28th of the month.

Day before yesterday we met in Cologne. For 24 hours, interrupted only by sleep, we discussed all matters affecting the Bank. According to our estimate the subscription probably won't yield more than 200,000 shares, 3/4 of which falls to Russia. Question is whether under such circumstances we can proceed with the *allotment.**

I told the gentlemen with *rudesse* [rudely] that now it would be demonstrated whether they were the suitable co-workers. Kann immediately said, "No."

Yesterday Heymann surprised us with the announcement that he had to resign as a director because he was going to South Africa for three months. After his return he intended to resume his post. I advised him to forego handing in his resignation and having it declined by the administrative board; during the period in which the letters went back and forth he would be free from any responsibility, about which he seemed to be reluctant; and after his return he could still be taken back on the *board of directors** without a new election. He said he would have to discuss this with his lawyer first.

After a lot of pointless, intricate back-and-forth, it appeared that the gentleman would proceed with the *allotment** in any case. The shares needed to make 250,000 are to be subscribed by a syndicate which will be formed by Wolffsohn.

* * *

As an interlude, which I presented as a matter expressly to be kept separate from the J.C.T. and the movement, I described for the three gentlemen a plan for the acquisition of a newspaper. This would require a war chest of 500 thousand guilders. With this money and a declaration of intention to found a rival paper, in my opinion the majority of the newspaper shares could be bought on

* In English in the original.

the basis of a ten-per-cent capitalization. Heymann, who would have the money for it, looked scornful and declined under pretexts. Kann and Wolffsohn don't have the money. In order to raise it, it would be necessary to confide in bankers. This would take the lid off the whole thing and make it impossible.

Nothing, then!

Never was a more difficult task undertaken with more inadequate means. I am going back deeply depressed.

Tomorrow I shall once again have to make post-facto excuses to my "chiefs" for the trip I made without previously requesting leave. Who knows how much longer they will put up with such escapades?

The movement requires continual *déplacements* [absences]; and there is no doubt that the *N. Fr. Pr.* could dismiss me for non-fulfillment of my duties at the office, "with all due respect for my differences of opinion." This wretched collision with duty tires, unnerves, and wears me out more than anything else.

* * *

Prior to my departure I received a letter from Danusso in which he requests a memorandum for Artin and Tahsin, to be submitted to the Sultan.

Kellner writes from Paris that he has won Sir Ashmead Bartlett, the English friend of the Sultan's, for our cause. Sir Ashmead Bartlett, M.P., is willing to intercede, but we would have to offer to procure for the Sultan a loan of at least a million pounds, for the time being, since the financial troubles are pressing ones.

* * *

From one of the next stations I will send Leon Kellner the following wire:

Kellner, c/o J. Kaufman, 2 rue des Diguiéres, Paris.

Will be in Vienna tomorrow morning. Would like to speak Ellis for few minutes when he passes through the *Westbahnhof*.

Go to *Gare Est* this evening, see if he travels Orient Express, and notify him orally.

Expecting wired reply Vienna.

* * *

Also, to Wolffsohn:

Inquire tonight at sleeping-car London-Vienna whether Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett of London aboard.

Expecting your wired reply home tomorrow morning. Regards.

Benjamin.

April 28, Vienna

The red-letter day. Will the minimum for the Bank be raised? I doubt it.

* * *

Wrote to Wolffsohn today and asked if it would be possible to raise 20,000 guilders, which would be a one year's subvention placing the *Wiener Tageblatt* at our disposal. I would make York-Steiner the editor.

* * *

Konried and Münz, contributors to the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt,* are now soliciting the *Correspondance de l'Est* which I am supporting. As Mme de Newlinski informs me, they would like to continue the journal with the aid of subsidies from the Turkish government and from banks. Thus, send it through the blackmail.* I am supposed to speak with them and sound them out.

April 28

Letter to Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, M.P., British Post Office, Constantinople:**

* Translator's Note: Herzl's pun (*auf der eigenen Erpresse drucken*) involves a combination of the words for "press" and "extortion."

** Original text.

Dear Sir,

Professor Kellner writes me, that he had the pleasure of explaining to you the aims of our Zionist movement, and that you were kind enough to take an interest in it. I should write you an "exposé" on the subject, but I am not able to do that in good English, and I would not put such a delicate matter into the hands of a translator. The thing may however be told in a few words. The Zionists are the representatives of the scattered Jewish People. They would reestablish their unfortunate brethren in Palestine under the Suzerainty of H.M. the Sultan, and under a sufficient guarantee of public right. The Turkish Government could, by coming to an agreement with the Zionists, regenerate the finances of the Empire. For that purpose we have founded a new Bank with a Capital of 2 Million Pounds Sterling. Our Bank is to be the financial instrument of our aims and the agent for procuring loans etc. for the Turkish government. I am ready to explain the matter to H.M. the Sultan.

It is easy to understand, that a capital of two millions is not sufficient to carry out such a great plan. It is merely the first step. The next would be to form a large Land-Company with a capital of ten, and more, million pounds.

All is prepared by me to make of that undertaking an enormous success, once the Sultan accepts my preliminary propositions. I have the intention to come to Constantinople within the near future.

With the personal and material means at the disposal of our people we should be able to construct, in a very short time, railways, harbours, a whole new culture. Christian fellow-workers will be welcome. The work is great enough for many energies.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully
Th. Herzl.

* * *

Letter to Artin Pasha, to be transmitted by Danusso:*

* In French in the original.

April 28, 1899

Your Excellency:

Permit me to introduce myself to you by recalling the memory of the lamented M. de Newlinski. He was a devoted servant of H.M. the Sultan and a sincere friend to Turkey. It was this devotion which was the source of his reasons for being a zealous propagator of Zionism, of which I have for some time been the humble representative.

The purpose of Zionism is to create a lasting and legally assured refuge for our unfortunate, persecuted brethren in various countries. We should like this refuge to be Palestine, if there is a possibility of obtaining His Majesty's permission. The Jewish colonists will be faithful and devoted subjects of H.M., who, I believe, has never had reason to be anything but proud of his Jewish subjects. They will pay taxes through new organizations which will have to be created in the country. They will increase, together with their own well-being, the resources of that province of H.M. and of the whole Empire.

For our part, we shall provide H.M.'s government with loans under conditions still to be worked out, but which will certainly be able to raise up to several hundreds of millions of francs. What we wish to obtain in return for these sacrifices and services is simply lasting security and a legal guarantee to work in peace for our poor, persecuted masses.

We have discussed our plans and projects openly and loyally in two public congresses held in Basel, and in order to avoid all misunderstanding, we have taken care each time to begin our deliberations by laying our respectful homage at the foot of H.M. the Sultan's throne.

The financial assistance that we wish to provide for Turkey, if she makes us welcome, will certainly not be limited to taxes and loans. Its entire financial situation can be put in order with our cooperation.

You will have to retire the public debt and once more freely

enjoy your own assets and resources. That will take perhaps a few years of circumspect and determined labor, but we will be fully successful.

This task would require absolute secrecy and mutual confidence, because your enemies will not want Turkey to rise again and once more become materially independent. Everything will be done to thwart our beneficent undertaking, if it is not carried out with the utmost caution and skill

I shall only call to your Excellency's attention that every time financial assistance has been promised or provided to Turkey it was done by those who exacted usurious interest rates, subjected you to foreign management, and went away having impoverished the country still further. With us it is the other way round. The conditions under which you will obtain the money are reasonable ones. We offer you freedom from foreign control. And, last of all, these are not people who want to desert you, to abandon you, but who wish to unite their destiny with yours.

To carry out our financial plans we have just established the Jewish Colonial Trust in London. It will serve as an intermediary in the initial transactions. For the future we have laid the groundwork for establishing the major companies that will be necessary. We can go no farther at present as long as we do not know whether an agreement is feasible or whether we will have to direct our plans toward another territory.

If His Majesty the Sultan would do me the honor of granting me an audience, I would come to Constantinople with all speed to place my homage at the foot of his throne, reply respectfully to any objections that H.M., in his lofty wisdom, might see fit to make, and finally to supply all desired explanations and proofs.

My numerous occupations would not allow me to go to Constantinople unless the audience were previously arranged.

Kindly accept, Your Excellency, my highest regards.

Yours faithfully,
Dr. Th. H.

May 23

Le ressort se fatigue [The well is running dry]. I can see it best by the gaps in the entries. Nothing since April 28.

Yet quite a number of things happened during this period. New arrangements, obstacles, especially emanating from the deficient J.C.T. However, I believe that the other people aren't any smarter and keener than our people of the J.C.T.

The meetings of the Board of Directors in London and elsewhere always run along without any results, and afterwards the gentlemen run off *comme si de rien n'était* [as if nothing had happened].

* * *

I have carried through two matters.

1. The liquidation of the Newlinski affair. In the interest of the widow I am transforming the *Correspondance de l'Est* into a French-language daily. It will be headed by Kozmian, and I believe that in this way he will be kept attached to our cause. His Man Friday will be a French teacher, M. Bresse, who introduced himself to me as a Zionist quite some time ago. If the paper turns out well, the widow will be provided for. The funds for the change-over will be contributed by us. She will continue to draw her husband's subsidy. 600 guilders a month for the production costs. By the end of the year the paper, to which I gave the name *Petit Journal de Vienne,* must pay its own way.

2. Baroness Suttner wrote me, asking me to persuade the *Neue Freie Presse* to send her to the Peace Conference at The Hague with a "partial subsidy" of 1000 guilders. The publishers refused. So I offered her 1000 guilders to go there on behalf of the *Welt.* She was to interview the chief figures at the Conference on the subject of Zionism. She accepted. In this way we shall have brought Zionism to the attention of assembled Europe without irritating Turkey or infringing on her rights.

I will go to the Hague myself in June and try to meet the peace people at the Suttner salon.

May 23

Yesterday, however, the A.C. decided that I should go to Constantinople first. I have to go to London, too. It will again be squandering my nervous strength if I am to go to Constantinople in June, from there to The Hague, and then to London to restore order in the Bank and revive the dormant subscription.

Fighting conferences everywhere, in London a *standard-speech**! Very exhausting!

May 27

Wolffsohn and Kann are here. According to their reports, the minimum for the J.C.T. is assured at last. To be sure, Lourié is contributing 175 thousand to it. The *allotment** is expected toward the end of June. But who can tell about that, with the business dragging on like this?

I am now concentrating on the creation of the journalistic organ on which I have been working for a good long time. Difficulty is the *nervus rerum* [keynote]. 500 thousand essential, in shares of 50 each. I have worked out a memorandum for Rosenbaum. The *clou* [crux] in it is the subsequent co-operative basis. Share certificates at 100 guilders, with the privilege of receiving a free copy and dividends. I don't know whether I shall carry this through, what with the lack of qualified assistants. But it is surely an idea of the coming century. This is the reform of the newspaper business. The subscribers as shareholders or cooperative members of the journal.

May 31

Through a peculiar incident I got to see Chief of Police Habrda yesterday.

That bastard Graf who had attempted an extortion or a swindle on me several weeks ago had the nerve to accost me yesterday in town and abuse me. Fortunately, all I did was to yell "You bastard"

* In English in the original.

at him. I had already raised my umbrella in order to strike him. Then I saw that passers-by were gathering about us, so instead I walked away quickly.

In the evening I called on Chief of Police Habrda, who greeted me charmingly, and turned the matter over to him.

Then our conversation took a political turn and lasted for an hour. He only talked about the troubles of the government and how happy they were when they found a way out. "Ain't there no way at all?" said the Chief, quoting a popular song. I slept on the matter and now, at 6:30 in the morning, am writing him as follows:

Dear Chief Habrda:

Our talk yesterday has given me food for thought. I really believe that there is a way out of the present botched situation.

The main problem of the moment, it seems to me, is to spare our Emperor the necessity of making a decision against Austria or against Hungary, to keep the anti-dynastic parties on either side from making capital of it.

The key to this is to make the Vienna Parliament capable of action again, so that the representatives of the people and not the Emperor may be responsible for the compromise. I feel that the present situation is enjoyed most by the most extreme obstructionists who are screaming the loudest about the lack of a parliament.

This pretext must be taken away from them without making them too many concessions. At the root of the trouble are the language ordinances. If they remained in force, the present situation would be prolonged and worsened, and would permanently affect the relationship between both parts of the monarchy. The solutions of controversial economic questions and other problems of the moment could, to be sure, be made under the authority of His Majesty, but that is an expensive procedure from the point of view of political economy, so to speak.

If, on the other hand, the language ordinances are simply withdrawn, this will be a blow to the prestige of the government which had to capitulate.

If there is a middle road, that is where it must be looked for. The languages ordinances—which, by the way, now arouse only boredom in the widest circles—would have to be eliminated for the time being from the discussions of the politicians.

To exert His Majesty's authority for this—that is to say, this elimination—would be less dubious than to exert it between Austria and Hungary. Indeed, the general personal popularity of our Emperor would only gain by a paternal interference in the German-Bohemian dispute.

I have in mind a campaign—naturally, one tactfully prepared for in advance by publicity—for the temporary elimination of the language-ordinances question. As a constitutional monarch, the Emperor desires the houses of popular representatives to meet together again, so that the compromise might be made by both houses. The language ordinances should be discussed once more at a conference of German and Czech representatives, one that might be opened by the Emperor himself. Depending on the result of this conference, the Emperor would then decide to what extent these ordinances should be modified. A further question would be whether the language ordinances should be suspended until this conference is held. However, perhaps the very announcement of such mediation to be handled by the Emperor himself will lead to appeasing the Parliament.

The final aim would be to let the entire question of the language ordinances dry up in the sand.

Any refusal on the part of the obstructionists to take this middle road would place them in the wrong in full view of their constituents, and they, not the government, would bear the responsibility for any economic disadvantages of the settlement. To sum up: It seems better to me from the point of view of political economy to use Imperial intervention, if indeed it must be resorted to, in an internal Austrian question, which can be dragged out and put to sleep through negotiations, than in a dualistic question, which presses for a quick decision and one against a part of the monarchy.

I am writing these lines, my dear Chief, confident that you will

bring their contents to the attention of only His Majesty and His Excellency Count Thun, if you so please, but give this information to no one else.

With the expression of my deepest respect,

Yours faithfully,
Dr. Th. H.

* * *

Karl-Ludwigstrasse 50, Währing, Vienna.

June 5, 1899

Dear Sir:*

In spite of what has happened I must correct an assertion made by Mr. Landau. He has written in his sheet that in the course of the suit which I have brought against him I have had you attacked by my attorney. That is a lie.

I certainly hope that you do not believe me capable of such an action.

Very sincerely yours,
Herzl.

To Bernard Lazare.

June 5

Had a peculiar experience yesterday. I wanted to have Eulenburg's Amsterdam letter photostated before my departure, so as to save the only copy from being destroyed. The letter had been kept in a safe since October. The day before yesterday I had it brought to my house, for Marmorek. I received it in the garden, then went to dinner, after which I drove to the city; and since I had an editorial to write for the *Neue Freie Presse* (about Dreyfus' return), I didn't get home until late at night.

* In French in the original.

Yesterday morning Marmorek came over with his photographic machine. I looked for the letter—not there. I got frightened, ransacked all drawers of my desk, etc.—nothing. For months there had been on my desk the manuscript of a novel, which I had happened to turn over to Rosenberger yesterday. Perhaps the letter had slipped into it. Kremenezky went to see Rosenberger, my father—nothing.

In the afternoon I drove to the city myself—to Rosenberger, to the office of the *Welt,* to my parents. Nothing! The letter which I had taken such good care of, which I wanted to protect from accidents forever, lost through this very precaution! A tragicomedy. In whose hands was it by that time? What a calamity!

At that point my good father advised me to look in the garden, too. I drove home, hurried to the knoll of firs on which I had received the letter the day before yesterday. There was the precious letter lying on a bench. As chance would have it, in 24 hours the gardener had not been there to clean up, nor had our children, who tear up all letters. Nor had there been any rain, which would have soaked the letter and completely destroyed it.

June 13, The Hague

Vreedensconferentie [Peace Conference].

If I were fresher in the movement, these days at The Hague would surely furnish me a good deal of material for my diary. But I have grown weary, blasé, through all the struggles and adventures.

This explains why people who do and experience many remarkable things seldom write anything remarkable.

I have come here because Suttner is here and may be able to put me in touch with the Czar's people.

The very first evening she introduced me to the Russian Councillor-of-State Bloch, the man who put the idea of a Peace Conference into the Czar's head. An intelligent, educated, old trading Jew. He interested me—and apparently I, him.

He asked me to put into more poetic form a parable he was going to use in his address. I did so. Then he thought my work too poetic. He couldn't pass it off as his own: he wasn't a writer.

* * *

Yesterday I was interviewed by Mr. Stead, the English yellow-journalist.

* * *

In the evening, dinner at Suttner's with Léon Bourgeois and others.

Bourgeois made, if anything, an unpleasant impression. *Poseur et phraseur sans distinction* [charlatan and phrase-maker without distinction], a faithless radical with unctuous manners, a freethinker's popishness. Toward the end of the dinner I heard Frau Suttner talking to him about Zionism. He agreed with her and said he liked the idea. But I deliberately refrained from listening more closely, not wanting to open a discussion at this table.

After dinner, in the salon, Suttner produced a recording machine, into which everyone was to speak, as a souvenir. Bourgeois spoke some twaddle, the Italian attaché said something silly; the French ambassador, whose name I don't know, was embarrassed. Fortunately it turned out that the machine didn't work. I poked fun at it: "*J'allais dire cette pensée mediocre 'Le phonographe nous inspire la crainte utile de la postérité'* [I was going to make this undistinguished observation: The phonograph inspires us with a salutary fear of posterity]."

Bourgeois said: "*Vous pourriez dire la même chose du photographe* [You could say the same thing about a photograph]."

I rejoined: "*De tout ce qui nous fixe* [About everything that fixes us]."

* * *

Then we all went to the concert at the Casino. There was, at any rate, something curious about seeing the representatives of all

civilized nations, and those who would like to become so, all dressed up and listening to music.

June 16, Scheveningen

Put in a few hours' work yesterday for State-Councillor Bloch, a peculiar human specimen. Energetic as if he were not 65 but 35 years old, crafty and good-natured, selfless and ambitious. We like each other.

* * *

Another curious old man usually shows up at meals: Tachard, an *ancien ambassadeur de France* [former French ambassador] of the Second Empire—*vantard, bon enfant, grognard de la paix* [braggart, regular fellow, grumbler about the peace], a mordant wit but a splendid fellow.

* * *

Talked at length with Bloch after lunch today. He told me the story of the Czar's manifesto. The Czar had told him that the original suggestion came from the Emperor of Austria. Later the German Kaiser wanted to take the peace idea for his and launch it in Palestine. Whereupon the Russians decided to beat him to it, because the Czar's authority was still too recent to permit him to tag along. The Russian people couldn't have been won to the idea if the Czar had accepted it as a follower of the Kaiser.

And today there is before the Conference a declaration by the German delegate, Zorn, to the effect that the Court of Arbitration is contrary to the sovereign rights of monarchs and the independence of nations.

I said that two blocs would form then: *Etats de l'arbitrage* [Arbitration States] and *Outlaw** States. Isn't this a specter that I ought to bring to the attention of the German Kaiser, via the Grand Duke?

* In English in the original.

Bloch warmly encouraged me to do this.

* * *

Letter to the Grand Duke:

Your Royal Highness:

Our good Mr. Hechler wrote me that Your Royal Highness would be gracious enough to receive me again when I pass through, in order to receive my reports about more recent developments in the Zionist movement.

Unfortunately Mr. Hechler's information did not reach me at Nauheim, but only here. May I therefore request your kind permission to present myself at Baden-Baden after my return from London at the beginning of July. After all the kindness that Your Royal Highness and His Majesty have shown me I consider it my duty to mention something quite timely today as well. Through a number of friends I have had the opportunity here to find out various things. The prevailing opinion throughout the Peace Conference is hostile to Germany. The German delegate Zorn's declarations against the Court of Arbitration, which are regarded as much too harsh, have given rise to an idea which I would like to bring to the attention of Y.R.H. before it is thrown open to public discussion. The idea has emerged to bring about agreement on the principle of a Court of Arbitration if need be even without Germany and other opponents.

Then there would be *Etats de l'arbitrage,* and others—a kind of *outlaws** under international law. The danger to Germany would be the formation of a confederation, on an idealistic basis of justice and without emphasis on any specific point at issue, possibly cutting across the existing alliances, which would suddenly leave Germany outside, as happened to Austria at the time of the Germanic Confederation. And precisely because there is no specific demand or point of contention, Germany would have no real way of opposing it.

I hope it is a case of reckoning without one's host, and I would

* In English in the original.

be happy if my modest information contributed to the timely averting of a danger to Germany.

The day after tomorrow I go to Paris from here. Only if Y.R.H. or H.I.M. should desire a further report about what I have mentioned above would I stay here a day longer. In that case, may I request your telegraphic instructions.

I also take the liberty of giving you my London address. Beginning the 25th of this month, it will be Hotel Cecil, London.

Begging Y.R.H. to accept the expression of my profoundest respect, I remain

Gratefully yours,
Dr. Th. H.

June 17.

On the train from The Hague to Brussels.

Tachard, who left Scheveningen yesterday, told us, among many other things, what he had once heard about Bismarck. At one time Bismarck is said to have sent 150 waiters to the Riviera to eavesdrop on the conversations of the fashionable travelers in the hotels.

Tachard followed every waiter with comically furious glances, saying: "*C'est un espion* [He's a spy]."

* * *

Yesterday afternoon I spoke to Bloch about Zionism at last. He raised no excessive objections. He said he would try to procure an audience for me with the Czar, provided that he himself was still in favor.

We walked up and down for a long time on the landward side of the Casino. He told me about his audiences with the Czar and the Czarina. He described the latter as a *forte tête* [good mind] and *grand coeur* [great heart].

He considers it possible that the Czar will receive me and even issue a rescript *en faveur* [in favor] of Zionism.

Mais après [But what then]?

For the present that would satisfy me, I said.

* * *

Yesterday evening Nuri Bey came to see me. We dined in the salon adjoining my room. I wanted to talk with him alone, not among the Suttner party. Nuri has an unpleasant rogue's face. The conversation at table was downright uncomfortable at first. I dragged it along over indifferent matters. Newlinski served as our *entrée en matière* [entry to the subject]. Nuri passed the hardest judgment on him, at first in guarded words. "*Appelons-le le défunt* [Let us call him the deceased]." Newlinski, he said, had cheated me, had never brought my proposals to the attention of those in authority, but, on the contrary, had offered to spy on us. Mahmud Nedim had gone along with Newl. in everything, *parce qu'il couchait avec sa femme* [because he slept with his wife].

When the conversation grew more intimate—along about the champagne—Nuri said: "*Tranchons le mot, c'était une sale canaille ce Newlinski* [Let's not mince words: this Newlinski was a filthy scum]."

The conversation got very intimate. When Nuri saw that I was hesitating and beating about the bush, he made things easy for me and spoke openly, frankly, and cynically. "There are people who want to make a buck. I'll get together a syndicate for you that will do the job at Yildiz. The Porte doesn't count at all. This man must get so much, that one so much. I'm on good terms with them all, because I always treat everyone correctly. Izzet Bey, for example, who is now out of favor, gets the same amicable treatment from me as before. I give him the same presents, etc. The man is too intelligent not to get back into favor again. Then he will be grateful to me for it."

However, Palestine is going to be difficult. *Il y a des questions qu'il ne faut pas attaquer de front, mais en biais. Prenez Halep, achetez des terrains autour de Beyrout, et faites après tâche d'huile. Arrivera un moment difficile où on aura besoin de vos services; vous vous présenterez et demanderez la Palestine* [There are some

things that shouldn't be attacked head on, but sidewise. Get Aleppo, buy land around Beirut, and then spread out. A difficult time will come when they will need your services; then you will present yourself and demand Palestine].

I told him that I couldn't do that. For the sake of our supporters I mustn't ask for anything but Palestine.

I required a *Chartered Company.** He asked: "Can you get the German Kaiser to back that proposition? *Oui ou non* [Yes or no]?"

I said vigorously: "*Oui* [Yes]!"

He replied: "*Alors la chose est faite* [Then it's done]. The Kaiser's recommendation alone, or a syndicate at Yildiz alone, can't do it. But if you have both, it can be done."

I: "Within what time?"

He: "One or two months."

I: "Should I go to Constantinople?"

He: "Yes. I'll introduce you to Tahsin. He is a friend of mine."

He made me various other propositions. Would we care to acquire real estate in Constantinople on a mortgage basis? Within a few years we could own half of Constantinople.

I rejected the idea, because this was bound to stir up anti-Semitism.

Next he offered to buy up the entire *public opinion** of Turkey for 3–400,000 francs. In short, anything I wanted . . .

Then we drove to The Hague and were friends.

When he came in he had called me *Monsieur,* at table *Monsieur l'docteur,* over the Rhine wine *Monsieur Herzl,* over the champagne *Monsieur de Herzl,* and over the cheese, *cher ami* [dear friend].

Aventure facile [Easy adventure]!

Paris, June 19, Hotel Castille

Out of piety I still stop at the old place where I wrote the *Jewish State,* four years ago now. What a road since then! And what weari-

* In English in the original.

ness. My heart is badly strained. I suffer from palpitations and an irregular pulse.

* * *

Supplement to Scheveningen.

On the morning of my departure (two days ago) Bloch came to my room and begged me to stay on, because the German delegate Zorn had been called back to Berlin, perhaps in consequence of my letter. But I didn't want to stay any longer, although he called my attention to the historic significance of the occasion. *J'avais produit mon petit effet* [I had had my little effect] and didn't wish to be waiting in vain for a wire from the Grand Duke. I thought it quite unlikely that the Grand Duke would answer me.

In the course of this final talk Bloch asked me to make a brief extract from my letter to the Grand Duke. He copied this extract, which I am pasting in below, and gave it to Ambassador Staal, who telegraphed it to the Czar, in St. Petersburg.

Bloch took this occasion to tell me the following anecdote about the Czar.

When the German Kaiser had a comparative chart of the Naval Powers made at the Navy's request, Bloch studied this graphic presentation, which seemed incorrect to him, and actually discovered that the scale used for the Russian ships was different from the correct one. During his next conversation with the Czar he drew the latter's attention to it. Whereupon the Czar said:

"That's quite like him (the German Kaiser)."

* * *

Presentation which Bloch gave to Staal:

I have associated here with the Viennese writer Dr. Theodor Herzl, who in recent years has made a name for himself particularly as the leader of the Zionist movement. When I told him about the difficulties being raised on the part of Germany, he wrote a letter to the Grand Duke of Baden the day before yesterday, for the sake of the good cause, and gave me its substance.

Inasmuch as Dr. Herzl has for years enjoyed the confidence of the Grand Duke of Baden and has also repeatedly been received in con-

fidence by the German Kaiser, his words, which were intended for immediate transmission to the German Kaiser, will probably not remain without effect.

Dr. H. wrote approximately the following:

He is of the opinion that the prevailing sentiment at the Peace Conference is not exactly favorable to Germany. Zorn's declarations in opposition to the Court of Arbitration have been regarded as much too harsh. The idea has arisen of bringing about agreement on the principle of the Court of Arbitration even without Germany and other opponents, if need be. Then there would be *Etats de l'arbitrage* and others. The danger for Germany would be that on an ideal foundation of justice, without stressing any specific controversial matter, a confederation would be formed, possibly cutting across the present alliances, and that Germany would suddenly stand outside it alone, as Austria once did in the case of the Germanic Confederation. And precisely because there is no positive demand or controversy, Germany would have no real weapon against it.

Dr. H. has made these disclosures about his letter to me in complete confidence.

June 19, Paris

Mandelstamm advises me that the Russian Minister of Finance, Witte, has ordered the censors not to let the leaflets of the J.C.T. enter any longer. I am to intervene via Bloch. Thereupon I wrote Bloch the following:

Paris, June 19

Strictly confidential!

Your Excellency:

It will be well if you keep me *au courant* [informed] regarding your address from now till the beginning of July, since I shall probably be with Uncle between the 2nd and the 4th of July and might be able to arrange a number of things there.

I have a request to make today. I have been informed that Witte is not very favorably disposed toward the Zionist Bank which is in process of formation (it is called The Jewish Colonial Trust [Jewish Colonial Bank], London). Please write him a few words of explanation, saying that it is a matter of a perfectly loyal enterprise, one designed to carry out the surely praiseworthy tasks of Jewish colonization. Therefore he should put no obstacles in the path of the subscription in Russia, but only maintain a benevolent inactivity. I don't require any support or money from him. I probably don't need to tell you that I have no personal and material interests whatever in this Bank. I am not even on the Board of Directors, but only on the Council, *honoris causa* [as an honorary member].

Always ready to perform services in return and with the kindest regards, I am

Your Excellency's obedient servant,
Th. H.

June 21, Paris

Yesterday morning I went down the old rue Cambon to the Tuileries gardens, where there is an Automobile Exposition now. Automobiles are as though made for us. We shall have cement roads, fewer railroads, and right from the start institute new forms of traffic.

When, with such thoughts, I left the Exposition and got out into the gardens, I suddenly found myself in the square bordered with mythological statues where, at exactly this season four years ago, I conceived the *Jewish State** while walking. And as though awakened by the *genius loci* [spirit of the place], plans of social reform again popped into my mind, which has since become more sluggish.

At the exhibition I saw the American "*Cleveland Car*," the best automobile available. The French cars are too complicated to operate. The Cleveland Car seems to be the last word as of today. It

* In English in the original.

operates on storage batteries which, it is true, have to be recharged every 100 kilometers. Relays of electric power, as once there were relays of post-horses. Still, practical even today, provided there are enough recharging stations in the area one drives in. A cooperative society of such car owners could provide for the stations, in the absence of individual enterprise.

This gave me a further idea, that of developing *mutualism** (the word occurred to me while I was writing; yesterday in the Tuileries I searched for it in vain to express the idea which was clear in my mind) in all areas. *Mutualism** strikes me as the middle road between capitalism and collectivism. Producers' and consumers' cooperatives are only beginnings, suggestions of the *mutual** principle. I already had it in mind in Vienna, at the founding of the newspaper: subscribers and advertisers as co-publishers of the mass-circulation paper.

I presume that the American insurance companies are also based on this principle. I will make a study of *mutual** companies.

June 21

Went yesterday afternoon with Nordau and Marmorek to see Narcisse Leven, the president of the Alliance Israélite and the I.C.A. We had previously agreed on what was to be brought up; Nordau also edited the written note we were going to leave. But then I thought that this wouldn't be the right thing to do, and it was decided that Alex Marmorek should afterwards make a protocol which we would send to Leven.

Leven received us in his slippers, old floppy house shoes, and Nordau, who sat next to him, later assured us that Mr. President's feet had not been free from odor. The conversation zero. Leven yielded on everything. The I.C.A. would go with us once we had achieved the "Charter." We must not make reference to the I.C.A.; but as soon as we have the "Charter," they will be with us.

* In English in the original.

Alex Marmorek will make a record of this dreary, unresisting conversation for reference and send it to the A.C.

July 4, Bad Nauheim

I am back from London.

Now at last the Bank is ready.

I arrived in London with Wolffsohn on the evening of the 25th. In the Hotel Cecil, DeHaas and two other gentlemen from the *Federation** were waiting for me. They wanted to translate my speech, which I hadn't finished yet. I worked on it until 12:30 midnight and sent it down to them page by page.

The next morning I drove to the Bank Office with Wolffsohn. Then to St. Martin's Town Hall for a conference of the English Zionist Federation. I spoke in support of the Federation, which is being fought by the Russian element in the East End. I told Bentwich that we must proceed with the *allotment** on Thursday, July 29, no matter what. He made all sorts of objections, but still I carried my point. By now the difficulties have been overcome and are therefore forgotten. They loomed large on June 27.

At one point Bentwich, who for reasons incomprehensible to me is slipping *bâtons dans les roues* [a spoke in the wheel], demanded the approval of all out-of-town directors for an amendment to a resolution on which he was making the *allotment** dependent. By this he obviously intended to delay the matter, during which time I would have to leave. I beat this down with long telegrams which cost £17., and the next morning everyone's consent to the *allotment** was on hand. In London cash down-payments in the amount of £57,000 had been made for over 250,000 shares (the minimum), but only 228,000 shares had been registered. I ordered full steam ahead in the office. On the morning of the 29th we proceeded with the *allotment**, with 240,000 registered shares. Meanwhile, by five o'clock that afternoon the missing ones were registered, and the

* In English in the original.

very same evening I had that fact certified by Auditor Jackson. The *allotment** was made on the basis of our material conviction that at least 250,000 shares had been subscribed. The registration of the shares that had come in by mail in the meantime, a task completed by evening, cut the ground from under the feet of any subsequent slander, which we may count on with certainty.

Heymann, the South African, who had rendered us good service as a director in the preliminary work on the Bank, handed in his resignation.

Gaster and Bentwich having made things unbearable for him, Gaster and Bentwich want to seize control of the Bank for themselves. I urged Heymann to stay, but after much back-and-forth he finally did stick to his decision.

Gaster proposed another director, who is loyal to him, to take Heymann's place. Him I rejected. Now we have no director in London, nor a manager. Our worries grow.

As trustees Wolffsohn and Kann nominated myself, Nordau, and Mandelstamm. At this proposal Bentwich declared he would have to withdraw—Bentwich, whom I made the Solicitor of the Bank because he was a Zionist. The Gaster-Bentwich faction wants Gaster or Montefiore as a trustee, because the opposition of one single trustee blocks any action. However, after the experience we had with Gaster on that first power of attorney we have grown cautious.

Today Kann informs me from The Hague that he has spoken with Nuri. His reply to the proposal that the "Alphabet" participate in the syndicate was something like this: "*Un tiens vaut deux fois un tu l'auras* [A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush]."

"Money talks," in other words. I must try to get Nuri round. Kann does not seem to suffice for the job.

In London I received a wire from the Grand Duke: "Thanks for Scheveningen letter; matter has made progress in meantime. Shall not be here the next four weeks. Friedrich."

* In English in the original.

So I shall not visit him until after the Congress.

* * *

A wire from Bloch also. He will try to intervene (regarding the release of the Bank subscription in Russia).

July 23, Reichenau

Yesterday I wrote the following letter from Vienna to Minister of State Bülow, who is currently spending his vacation on the Semmering:

Your Excellency:

Tomorrow, Sunday, I shall be in Reichenau near Payerbach, in the vicinity of the Semmering. It would be a great distinction and joy for me to be received by Your Excellency, of course not as an inquiring reporter, but as a Zionist of proven discretion.

In response to a wire that I might receive at the Hotel Thalhof at Reichenau in the morning, I would come out to the Semmering at 4:30 p.m. I am permitting myself this exact determination of the time not out of immodesty, but also to facilitate the refusal of my visit in a way least painful to me. I should like to be able to think: Count Bülow did not wish to see me this particular Sunday at 4:30.

With sincere respect, I am

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

This noon the following wire came from him:

For reasons of health and to my great regret I must forego all visits and have a complete rest. Hope to see you another time. Kind regards, Bülow.

July 26, Vienna

Gaster is mulish because I wish to bridle his lust for power in the Bank. In response to my most amiable letters, in which I draw

his attention to the consequences of his trouble-making, he irritably throws his accomplishments up to now in my face and throws his "office" at my feet.

Today I am writing him another (the third) conciliatory letter.

* * *

Nordau doesn't want to come to Basel, because he has to go to Rennes for the Dreyfus trial. Am writing him, too, a serious letter, saying he must come.

July 28, Vienna

Only now do I have a chance to enter the *Alphabet* which Nuri sent me in London through Kann:

Leurs Excellences [Their Excellencies]

Hadji Ali Bey	(a)	Ilias Bey	(g)
Tahsin Bey	(b)	Raghib Bey	(h)
Izzet Bey	(c)	Hadji Mahmud Eff.	(i)
Faik Bey	(d)	S.A. *le Grand Vizir*	(j)
Arif Bey	(e)	*L.L.E.E. les Ministres des Travaux publics* [Their Excellencies the Ministers of Public Works]	(k)
Kiamil Bey	(f)		

August 6, Vienna

The chief tenet of my life:

Whoever wishes to change men must change the conditions under which they live.

* * *

My testament for the Jewish people:

Make your State in such a way that the stranger will feel comfortable among you.

August 11, on the Orient Express, beyond Munich

Before my departure from Vienna there was a row with Bacher. I had written a *feuilleton* for the Sunday paper ("The Automobile") and had done a good job, so as to have a good exit for a leave of absence. On Monday, after the evening paper had been put to bed, I told him that I now wanted to go on leave. I thought it was an oversight that to date he had not made out the train ticket to Buchs which had been lying on his desk for three days. However, it was no accident. Through the shabby expedient of denying me the ticket he wanted to keep me there longer. He said: "Now, before the Goethe number, you want to leave me alone? And how long do you wish to stay away?"

I: "Until the beginning of September."

He (gruffly): "That can't be done."

I: "All right, then I'll be back on the 24th of August."

He went out without saying good-bye. I left him the key to the *feuilleton* desk with a brief, dry note.

To this day I am in this humiliating position of having to ask for leave like an office boy.

But things came to an even prettier pass. The day before my departure the *Neue Freie Presse* carried in its "Foreign News" section an item taken from German papers according to which the Grand Duke of Baden "expressed himself very skeptically about the Zionist movement" to the Jewish scholar Dr. Berliner at St. Moritz.

The opposite is true. The Grand Duke's statement, which was very friendly to me even according to the *Jewish Chronicle* (it is contained in today's *Welt*), was printed in falsified form by the lie sheets *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and *Jüdische Presse,* and made its way from these infamous sheets into the general press. The *Neue Freie Presse* took it up with delight. This is the reward I get for many good services.

* * *

I had sent Hechler to the Grand Duke of Hesse in order to request an audience for me. I will ask the Grand Duke of Hesse to

procure an audience for me with the Czar, his brother-in-law, when the latter visits him at Darmstadt soon.

* * *

More than with my still unfinished Congress speech and with the princes and my slave drivers at the *Neue Freie Presse* I have been occupied all these days with the plan of my new play *Die sündige Mutter* [The Sinful Mother], the thought of which delights me.

August 12, on the train, approaching Basel

After complicated train changes I arrived in Heidelberg at midnight yesterday and, this morning, sleepy, at Darmstadt, where the good Hechler was already waiting nervously. He had feared that I would not arrive in time. We had an appointment at the palace between nine and twelve, i.e., the time of the general audiences.

I tried to catch a short half hour's sleep, finally bathed the sleep out of my bones, dressed (not swallow-tails, however, but only the Prince Albert), and then we drove to the palace, which is patriarchally situated at the vegetable market. Or, the vegetable market is intimately near the palace.

One gets accustomed to audiences, too. The coolly courteous adjutant, whose friendliness is artfully disobliging; the guards at every door and gate; the important lackeys; the officers waiting for those minutes of the audience, all slicked up, and decoration-studded public-school teachers in the ante-chamber—all these no longer impressed me. I unabashedly studied their transparent decorated souls, enjoyed the pretty rococo paneling over the doors, and looked out at the castle courtyard.

We had been waiting for a half-hour—the thirteen of us—when the Chief Adjutant went out, apparently to submit a list of those present.

He had previously jotted down our names in a notebook. The order is determined by the Grand Duke. Most of the audiences last only seconds. Hechler and I did not come until toward the end, so

we were able to watch the entrances and exits of those distinguished men.

Finally the adjutant called out: "The two gentlemen!"

We passed through the second reception salon and entered a third salon, at the last window of which a young officer was sitting at a desk. He got up, walked toward Hechler, and spoke to him in English—the Grand Duke of Hesse.

He gave me a friendly handshake and was "glad to make your acquaintance."

He stood in the middle of the salon, his hands nonchalantly on his hips and gently swaying with his thighs, as though he were about to make a short *assaut* [leap].

After the introduction I said to him: "I don't know to what extent Your Royal Highness is informed about our movement."

He smiled: "All I know about it is what Mr. Hechler has told me."

Accordingly I let loose and gave him the main things in brief outline.

He amiably agreed with everything I said. *Il abondait dans mons sens* [he agreed with me] in the court manner. While he spoke I kept my eyes on him—in fact, I kept looking him full in the face. He is a good-looking, blond, slim, well-nourished, well-colored man in his early thirties. He strongly resembles his sister, the Czarina, according to her pictures. He is cross-eyed.

Nevertheless, the total impression is very pleasant and friendly.

Since he agreed with most things, the conversation ran quite smoothly. Regarding anti-Semitism he remarked that it seemed to be petering out, stopping.

He recommended a "newspaper war," if one could call it that.

Every week things ought to break somewhere else—one week in England, the next time in America, then in Germany. Every moment people should be reminded of the matter through the newspapers.

I thanked him for this really not bad advice. He asked: "But how do you propose to git (get)* the land?"

* Translator's Note: *Kriechen* (*Kriegen*), in the Frankfurt dialect.

"In the form of a *Chartered Company,** I said.

Then I begged him to recommend the cause to the Czar, who was going to visit him.

He nodded: "Yes, he can be interested in things like that. I will do it."

After that we spoke about this and that for a little while. He showed himself not very well informed about the geography of Palestine, for when I spoke about the Mediterranean-Persian Gulf railroad, he said: "Well, not much is known about Arabia at all." I think he confused Syria with Arabia, but, court-like, I accepted this princely geography.

He dismissed me amiably after we had run out of things to talk about.

August 13, Basel

The faithful assembled at the Hotel Trois Rois. Wolffsohn, the Gottheils from New York, etc.

August 13, Basel

Telegram to the Sultan.**

To His Excellency Munir Pasha, Grand Master of Ceremonies to H.I.M. the Sultan, Yildiz, Constantinople.

The Zionists assembled in Congress at Basel consider it their first duty to place at the foot of H.I.M. the Sultan's throne the avowal of their respectful devotion and their deep appreciation of the kindness which His Majesty has always shown his Jewish subjects. It is the desire of the Zionists to succor their unfortunate brethren in various countries of Europe and to contribute to the greatness and prosperity of the Ottoman Empire.

They sincerely hope that the loyalty of these aims will be appreciated and encouraged by the Caliph's exalted wisdom.

* In English in the original.

** In French in the original.

I beg Your Excellency to be kind enough to convey these sentiments and sincere wishes to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

Dr. Theodor Herzl,
President of the Zionist Congress.

August 17, Basel

The Third Congress!

My impressions: On the first day I was bored stiff in my presidential chair, on the second I was irritated.

Gaster came here and agitated against me in the corridors and on the committees, saying that we two had reached a parting of the ways!

A sort of court of arbitration was set up to which he submitted his grievances against me. I replied, demonstrated that he was in the wrong, and we shook hands.

He was so little placated that he stirred up feeling against me in an obscure way, especially when he was in the chair.

Greenberg spoke in English in opposition to the A.C. Gaster translated his attacks with voluptuous delight. But when the chairman of the Finance Committee, likewise speaking in English, recommended absolutism, Gaster forgot to state in his translation that the committee was perfectly satisfied.

Bentwich demanded more detailed financial statements. This aroused a confidence crisis, in the course of which Gaster suddenly deserted Mr. Bentwich and spoke theatrically in my favor, something that could only harm me with people of taste.

Then we sat up until 2 o'clock in the morning over the Bank affair. The deliberations took on the character of a respectable drowsiness, as in a real parliament.

I couldn't sleep later than 6 o'clock. Then the morning idea occurred to me to announce at the beginning of today's session the details which Bentwich had demanded and the Congress had denied, for otherwise there would be agitation against me on this score all year.

August 18, Basel

The third day was somewhat more interesting. Toward noon I established a precedent by asking for a vote of confidence so that the Congress would not run too smoothly. Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*. While I was threatening to resign if the Congress did not approve the founder shares which I had promised to the seven founders of the Bank, I remembered the tunnel at Baden which the builders of the *Südbahn* [Southern Railroad] had also constructed in the middle of a plain, so that the Viennese might see what a tunnel was.

* * *

Yesterday Gaster made a "cultural address" which was more like a theological beerhall rant. *Le bois creux des guitares* [the hollow wood of guitars].

* * *

In the evening the general meeting of the Colonial Trust, a parade. A statistical presentation, that is to say, a presentation of facts and figures by figure-heads.* But very effective.

August 21, returning from Basel

On the train, beyond Salzburg.

The Congress has gone off smoothly. A good atmosphere has once more been achieved—which again will gradually peter out. This time, as a matter of fact, the continuation of our work will be facilitated by a confidential loan on the forthcoming *shekel* payments. Good old Schalit of Riga, Barbasch, Dr. Katzenelsohn, and Sachs each promised 5000 guilders—and want to go on collecting, so that I can take steps in Turkey and promise Nuri immediate *baksheesh*.

* * *

By the fourth day I was very tired. I had told Gaster that I would take him to the station in the evening. But when I told him at ten

* Translator's Note: Herzl's pun is based on the similarity between *statistisch* ("statistical") and *Statisten* ("supernumeraries," "extras").

o'clock in the hotel that I was tired, he looked so insulted that I quickly added that I would go with him anyway; and I did. All popes want to have their slippers kissed.

* * *

And having tasted the feeling of freedom and been a lord for one week, I must return again to my vile servitude at the *Neue Freie Presse* where I am not allowed to have an opinion of my own. It is a question of a measly few thousand guilders which I, being the head of a family, must not give up.

August 23, Unterach

On the morning of the day before yesterday I wrote a letter-card to Nuri Bey from Salzburg, asking him to advise me how long he was staying at Karlsbad, because I had to tell him something in connection with the "*chose immédiate* [pressing matter]" for him which Kann-The Hague had told me about in Basel. I asked him to sign his reply "Charles."

Thereupon the following wire came from Karlsbad yesterday:

"*Resterai ici jusqu'au 27 courant* [Staying here till 27th inst.] Charles."

* * *

I am now writing to Nuri:*

August 23, 99

Your Excellency:

I am on my way back to Vienna. Here, in two words, is the story. To begin with, I shall send you twenty thousand francs the day I am received by H.M. the Sultan in order to present the Zionist plan to him. Of course, it is not for his consent that I am offering you this small first token of my friendship. Only an audience in

* In French in the original.

which I could explain to him all the good, all the benefits, that we can and will bring to Turkey in exchange for the Charter.

I shall expect you in Vienna in order to reach an understanding with you on the other things for you and your friends in case the matter is concluded.

Kindly notify me of your arrival in Vienna at my private address, Carl-Ludwigstrasse 50, Währing. It would be useful for you to do me the honor of coming to my house. At a hotel or at the railroad station one is seen, and the less is known of our relationship, the more we shall be able to work as we please.

With my sincere respect,
Th. H.

August 24, Vienna

"*J'ai connu la grande blessure de l'argent* [I have known the great injury of money]," said Henry Becque.

Je la connais aussi [I know it too]. My work would appear much more miraculous if people knew with what financial worries I have to contend, as the result of the money I have spent on Zionism.

I miss everywhere the more than 50,000 guilders which I have put into it, and that makes me even more restricted in my relations with the *Neue Freie Presse* than I was before. I have to tremble lest I be dismissed; I cannot dare to take the leave my health requires, for I have already been away for six weeks, although I spent all that time in the service of Zionism.

Today, then, I return to the office once more, after having been a free man and a great lord at Basel, and have to enter the room of Big Boss Bacher like a meek little office boy.

Cruel!

August 24

Once again went to the office "ready to do battle." Again saw the grinning faces of those who refuse to believe in it. But their grins have become older and, it seems to me, more dispirited.

Bacher greeted me *comme si de rien n'était* [as if nothing had happened], as if he hadn't poisoned the last two weeks for me. He spoke about the Congress with patronizing irony. "But now you really ought to free yourself of the thing soon."

I: "I wouldn't dream of it. Why should I?"

"Because there'll be a stink about the Bank."

"This Bank," I said, "is cleaner than the ones we are accustomed to seeing and reading friendly write-ups about in the newspapers. Its founders enjoy no benefits, as they do, for instance, at the *Kreditanstalt*."

He pulled in his horns a bit. Then some people came in and we broke off.

Earlier Reichsritter von Vincenti had tried a little mockery. But I got him onto the subject of the position of the editors vis-à-vis the publishers of the *Neue Freie Presse*, an outfit that truly is crazier and lower than Zionism. Thereupon Vincenti, casting a shy glance at the publishers' door, flew into a fit of rage against Benedikt, whom he hates and despises and whose filthy bread he has to eat. I forgave the poor *Ritter* for his mockery. I enjoyed his impotent outburst of rage, for he is a character in my drama about modern slavery, *Der Herr* [The Master]. This drama shows how such pebbles are ground up into sand.

August 28, Vienna

Last night I went to "Venice-in-Vienna," the Trianon Restaurant, because if Nuri Bey had arrived in Vienna he would certainly have to be there. He had not written me.

Sure enough, he was there in the company of the grotesque Turkish Consul-General Dirsztay, for whom, as Newlinski had told me, he had procured, *moyennant finances* [through money], title and decoration. I spoke to Dirsztay; Nuri looked embarrassed and acted aloof.

This morning I wrote him that I should like to talk to him, at his hotel or at my place. He sent me word through Schmidt, my gardener, that I should come to the Hotel Impérial at 4 o'clock.

August 28

Hechler is going to Marienbad this evening, to see the Prince of Wales and induce him to receive me.

August 29, Vienna

Yesterday I went to see Nuri Bey at the Hotel Impérial. He was in his shirt-sleeves, kneeling before his trunk and packing it preparatory to leaving for the Semmering.

At first he was cool and distant, as though he had no idea of why I had come.

I had soon guessed that 20,000 francs weren't enough for him. He said: "Considering your position in the Zionist movement, your audience would certainly not be something of no account. As a matter of fact, any banker would give me twice what you have promised in return for an audience with the Sultan."

"*Qu'à cela ne tienne* [Let it go at that]," I said. "You shall have 40,000."

At that he began to get more human. The matter was not so easy, he said. An agent would have to be secured to work up sentiment for our plan in Turkish circles. He would give me the name of such a person. It was a certain Eduard Crespi, his own confidential agent, who was also employed by various high officials for collecting "*bons* [bills]." I saw what he was: some opportunist rascal who, when necessary, can be repudiated or put out of the way.

"You ought to give Crespi ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand francs to work up a favorable attitude in the *Servet* and elsewhere. If you spoke to me, in my capacity as an official, about straightening out our finances, I would reply: 'I didn't send for you; our alleged embarrassments are none of your business.' But I am speaking to you as a friend and I tell you: You have to sow before you can reap."

I saw what he was driving at. Money talks. So I said to him, almost rudely: "I shall give you 10,000 francs in advance and 30,000 on the day of the audience. What use you make of the money is your business. I won't ask you what you do with it."

He melted like butter and said: "Done! I shall have to add to it out of my own pocket, but the gamble is worth it. I think I can make a couple of millions on it; a man will risk a little on that."

I acted as though I believed all he said. Now he began to boast about all the things he could do. He said he was a jurist and a civil engineer; he could set up any sort of factory; he could write to order a newspaper article columns long, on any subject, in French or Turkish. If I wished, he would sit right down and write a few columns about the importance of the safety-match to the Austrian national economy. He had routes of access to the Sultan that no one else had; he could obtain anything and everything by devious means—"*par des moyens perfides* [by treachery]," as he himself put it. Through women and favorites. He would explain to the Sultan how he could achieve his heart's desire: a new fleet, 25 armored cruisers at once, as well as 2000 Krupp cannon and the coastal fortification of Constantinople. "*Laissez-moi faire* [Let me do it!]!" He boasted up a storm, like a sharper bragging about his stratagems.

Finally he got down to cases:

"I am going up to the Semmering now. I'll be back on Saturday. Have 10,000 francs ready for me. But they must be paid to me in cash, without witnesses or a receipt."

I said I would have the money sent to him through my lawyer, Dr. Kokesch. He made a show of reluctance, but in the end consented. We parted friends!

A detail: he wouldn't write down Crespi's name with his own hand, but merely dictated it to me.

* * *

Naturally I am not going through with paying the 10,000 francs without a receipt.

I shall pretend that Kokesch refused and say that he would either have to sign a *reçu pour frais de presse* [receipt for press expenses] or accept a check made out to Crespi.

* * *

Now our worry is how to get these 10,000 francs. We immediately wired the underwriters of the outstanding debt: Schalit, Barbasch, Katzenelsohn, Sachs.

The trusty Schalit was the first to answer, saying he had already sent off his 5000.

* * *

Hechler telegraphs from Marienbad that the Prince of Wales is not in today.

August 30, Vienna

I forgot to enter the following from my talk with Nuri:

When, *marché conclu* [the bargain concluded], he began to brag he told me that he, too, had advised the Sultan to engage in the Greek War in order to divert attention from the Armenian question.

He had made an exact calculation of the relative strength of Greece and Turkey and had then counselled war. And this is what they call high politics! *Pour rompre les chiens d'Arménie on fait des massacres en Grèce* [To break the Armenian dogs, they massacre the Greeks]. Our present-day civilization takes its hat off before the organized bloodshed of war—more correctly: it salutes.

* * *

Today I received a wonderful letter from Nuri on the Semmering. It is a half sheet of note-paper, with the following lines in a disguised hand resembling print:

M. Charles est d'avis, après mûres réflexions et calculs, qu'il vaux mieux, si on accepte conseil amical, porter premier chiffre à 15,000—quitte à déduire les cinqs des trentes milles ultérieurement payables. (Orthography of the original.) [Mr. Charles is of the opinion, after mature reflection and calculations, that it would be better, if one accepts his friendly advice, to raise the initial payment to 15,000—the extra five thousand to be deducted from the thirty thousand due later.]

Enclosed was his visiting card: Nuri Bey, *Sécrétaire général du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères* [Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs].

The bottom of the right-hand corner of the card has been turned down and smoothed out again. I think this was intended to make it appear as though it had been taken from some tray of visiting cards.

Incidentally, the envelope with his handwriting and the Semmering postmark also has some documentary value. Will give it to Kremenezky for safe-keeping.

August 30

While riding out to Währing today on a jolting bus the title for my Zion novel occurred to me:

Alt-Neuland [Old-Newland].

Allusion to the name of the Prague *Altneuschul*. It will become a famous word.

August 31

Letter which I am giving Kremenezky for Nuri*:

September 1, '99

Your Excellency:

Mr. Kokesch being unavailable, this is my intimate friend Mr. Kremenezky, a man worthy of complete confidence, whom I am asking to turn over to you the agreed-upon sum of ten thousand francs. My committee has agreed to the promises I made you, although there had been an earlier decision to give no more advances and to wait for a result. In the very interest of our relationship I think it well not to reopen this question. The thirty thousand will be paid the day of the audience.

Now another point, on which I hope there will be no difficulty. Neither Kokesch nor Kremenezky wants to be responsible for

* In French in the original.

handing over the money without a receipt. They want to be covered even as far as I am concerned. It is a scruple which I am bound to respect.

On the other hand, I want to respect your wish, which I understand perfectly. Please choose then, Your Excellency, between the two following procedures.

Either please be good enough to give my friend a note to this effect: Received of Mr. Kremenezky ten thousand francs for press expenses (or for an agent or anything else), and signed with your name.

Or in several hours Mr. Kremenezky will give you a check in the name of M. Eduard Crespi and drawn on whatever bank you wish to designate to him.

It is up to you which you prefer. In any case, you can be sure of the most absolute discretion. We are not people to commit the least indelicacy. Furthermore, we hope to work in complete accord with you, now and always. This is only a small beginning.

Please accept the expression of my great esteem and my wishes for a good trip and great success.

Very faithfully yours,
Dr. Th. H.

September 2

Kremenezky is back from Nuri. The latter gave the following receipt on his visiting card. (I am reproducing it from memory).

Reçu la somme de dix mille francs qui m'était due—Nuri [Received the sum of 10,000 francs which was due me].

Kremenezky contented himself with that. Nuri declared he hoped to achieve good results.

September 3

Hechler has returned from Marienbad *bredouille* [empty-handed]. The Prince of Wales evidently scented that he was a

vieux raseur [old windbag], and since His Royal Highness prefers the photographs of young Israelite women to those of old Jewish walls, Hechler was not even admitted by the adjutant.

* * *

Received a good, friend's letter from Col. Goldsmid today.

September 4, Vienna

After the opera yesterday, supped with Martin Fürth at the Hotel Bristol. He told me he had been to the races with Nuri Bey that afternoon. The latter had spoken very favorably about Zionism: it was not impossible to win the Sultan over to it, as he was a friend of the Jews.

Only, the newspapers must not write that we wish to found an "Empire."

Nuri was *tout ce qu'il y a de plus sérieux* [could not have been more serious]. Did I know him? "Very slightly," I said.

September 4

Hechler was here and reported that recently an aristocratic English lady had asked Lord Salisbury why he wasn't helping the Zionists. He is said to have replied:

*"Wait, it is coming."**

Because of this lady I am writing Gaster to take some action with Lord Salisbury in association with Sir Francis.

September 4

On the curtain at the Opera there is a picture of fighting *putti* [angels] after the victory. The victor is being handed a wreath. This is an unwitting allegorical representation of the whole

* In English in the original.

cowardly injustice of the prevailing view of life. The victor gets a wreath, on top of everything! As if the vanquished weren't more in need of a lift.

September 13, Vienna

Among the many newspaper clippings which *Argus* sends the following is especially interesting. It is an interview by Madame Lera, the wife of some South American diplomat.

The statements in it made by Nuri Bey are curious.

*News of the Day**

An Interview with the Apostle of Zionism.

It is common knowledge that the Zionists are those Jews who dream of re-establishing the kingdom of Judea and rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem.

From a practical point of view, many obstacles appear to stand in their way. The Turks, no doubt, will not be eager to give up Palestine; and if the promoters of Zionism succeed in convincing them by persuasive arguments, Christians of every persuasion would rise *en masse* indignantly to oppose an arrangement that would put the Holy places in the power of Christ's executioners.

The Zionists, for that matter, are not numerous; the great majority of the sons of the Widow prefer to build up among the infidel nations the strongholds of an imaginary Jerusalem, and it is only the mystics attached to tradition and believing in the Messianic future who wish to lead their people back to the Promised Land.

It is no less interesting to follow a movement which aims at reuniting the dispersed Jews, at pitching a tent for the wandering flocks of the encampment of Israel.

Did the Congress held at Basel at the beginning of this month make progress with its plan? We don't know. One of our correspondents sends us the account of an interview he had with one of

* In French in the original.

the most devoted apostles of Zionism: M. Herzl. Our correspondent limited himself to recording his interlocutor's arguments just as a recording machine would do. It is for our readers to draw their own conclusions.

M. Herzl kindly consented to satisfy my desire to know more about Zionism and more than the superficial accounts in the newspapers. The day before his departure for The Hague he came and spent an hour with me.

Not being familiar with interviewing, I shall limit myself to summarizing as best I can, and very faithfully, the principal ideas put forward by M. Herzl.

"What is Zionism, and what do I want to do? What I have been dreaming of for four years and what haunts every hour of my life? This is it. I want to give the Jews of all nations a corner of the world where they can live in peace, no longer hounded, outcast, and despised. Among us, as always happens, it is the poor who are most to be pitied. The others, who can change their place of residence as they see fit, who are in contact with the upper classes, have to put up with a great deal of damage to their self-esteem and with wounded dignity; but you could not believe the extent of the poor Jew's misery in certain countries. I want to offer these outcasts a country that will be their own, where, with complete freedom and thanks to that freedom, their abilities can be developed and at the same time the vices and faults which centuries of persecution and ostracism have fostered in them may be shed; to rid them in time of that moral scurf; to allow their very real intellectual and moral gifts free play, so that finally my people may no longer be the dirty Jews, but the people of light that they are capable of being.

"The new Jerusalem that I foresee in my dreams, the revived Palestine, rejuvenated and flourishing, that haunts me, appear before me in their minutest details, and I see them as the summary, the essence, of everything it has taken civilization centuries to achieve." And growing more fervent: "You must realize that the origin of countries and cities has always been haphazard, that they have grown little by little, have improved by a slow progression,

and that even in the most beautiful city, side by side with progress and modernity, there is always a more or less considerable trace of past ages: old sections, picturesque but unhealthy, where it is often difficult to introduce modern improvements.

"Over there, in that land which seems dead today but which is only sleeping, ready, like Jairus' daughter, to rise from the grave and take her place among the living once more, it will be entirely different. There is everything to be done? Well, all the better! We shall do everything. We shall choose the best sites for our cities; to build them we shall use all the resources of modern science; we shall make the earth fertile, and our people will learn to cultivate that earth; they will learn to exercise their abilities and their gifts of perseverance, industry and intelligence in other ways than those to which they have been, so to speak, confined up till now.

"I want to drive the hucksters and the filth that dishonor Jerusalem out of that holy city. To clean it up without harming it, respecting every stone, and to dedicate it to humanitarian works, asylums for the aged and for children, to the products of the mind, to everything that would preserve its character of contemplation and august grandeur. Only outside its walls would rise the new city, modern Jerusalem, dominated and protected by the majesty of the old walls."

"But," said I, "as a practical matter, how will you make your dream come true?"

"Ah, that's it! We need the country first! . . . Will Turkey consent to let it go? And yet, what could be more just, more natural, than to permit us to establish ourselves in that land which is ours, to whose possession no one can contest our moral right! And then there are the European powers: another big question mark! And lastly my own people. Yes, you would not believe that even among the Jews my project has many enemies. Some don't understand it, others don't want to understand it, still others seek to interpret my motives, to see in them the calculations of ambition and interest, there where there is an idea which has taken possession of me and which I would make triumphant. But no matter; I go forward with my dream, in my dream, if you will, and for it.

It is so dear to me that I have always resisted the desire to give it shape by spelling out, in a novel for example, what the future of our race may be."

M. Herzl said all this in a warm, expressive voice, with vibrant, moving words; and as I listened, I recalled that passage in *Tancred* where, speaking of the constancy of the Jews who throughout the centuries and in spite of persecution maintain the traditions of their race and still celebrate the feasts of Israel, no longer under the burning sky of Galilee but in the damp cities of the north, Disraeli adds: "A race that persists in celebrating their vintage, although they have no fruits to gather, will regain their vineyards."*

Several days later I was with some diplomats, among them one of the Turkish delegates, His Excellency Nuri Bey, secretary-general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The talk was about all sorts of subjects, among them Zionism; His Excellency's sly smile gave me to understand that this would never really be more than a dream—at least in this form. To admit the Jews, yes indeed! Turkey is vast; she is far from being developed as she should and could be; there is room for millions more of inhabitants, and the Jews, under the protection of Turkish law, would be safe from all persecution in the enjoyment of absolute freedom of conscience. But the Holy Places cannot be turned over to them; even the laws of Turkey forbid Jewish groups to establish themselves there.

It would not be acceptable to the Christian nations to see pass into the hands of the Jews the sacred soil where Golgotha and the Mount of Olives rise.

M. L.

September 13

The Anarchist Marcou Baruch shot himself in Florence. This obvious madman had pursued me with threatening letters between the Second and the Third Congress. I was seriously afraid

* Translator's Note: The quotation is from *Tancred*, London, 1882, p. 388.

that he would attempt to assassinate me this time in Basel. Meanwhile, no one protected me. Marcou Baruch stood in front of me, next to me, and behind me, whenever he pleased. He could have plunged his knife in whenever he wanted to. However, I seem to have given him the right tamer's look, for he spoke with me bashfully and amiably. That I correctly read the murder in his eyes is now proved by his suicide.

* * *

On many other occasions, too, madmen come to see me. I am haunted by Messiahs of every stripe. The latest thing is a "Jesus Christ" named Lichtneckert who writes me in an otherwise intelligent letter that I am Elijah, *his* Elijah, and wants me to give him 5000 guilders for the publication of a work that will redeem the world. I turned the letter over to my good Hechler, who will call on him and calm him down.

Hechler took the occasion to tell me the following story: "When I was in Stockholm, a similar false Jesus Christ appeared in the vicinity. He again gathered together his twelve apostles. But when Good Friday approached, he saw his apostles tying sticks of wood together. He asked them what they were doing. They said: 'We are going to crucify you again now.' But this *was* too much for him, and he disappeared from that vicinity."

September 25, Vienna

Bernstein Kohan writes that the I.C.A. Secretary Meyersohn and Edm. Rothschild are in Constantinople. He does not know what for.

To spit in our soup, take the wind out of our sails, exploit our ideas or thwart them?

At any rate, if Edmond Rothschild is in Constantinople, I suspect some typically Rothschildian villainy.

How many times I have offered to withdraw if only they would carry this idea out.

After all, I am not concerned about getting the charter myself, but about the Jews getting it.

* * *

Today I am making the following declaration in a secret session of the Actions Committee:

For more than two years I have been defraying the costs of the party organ *Die Welt* out of my own pocket. As party chief I could not conduct the enterprise on a business basis and also had to refuse the subsidies that were offered to me. However, since the paper demanded more and more sacrifices, which exceeded my means, and I did not wish to sell it, I decided to let it die after the Third Congress.

I informed several friends of this situation. Mr. Heinrich Rosenbaum of Jassy then offered to get together a syndicate for the continuation of the *Welt* in the form of a joint-stock company. I accepted this proposal. By making this announcement to the A.C., however, I repeat for the record the declaration I made when the paper was founded—namely, that I desire no financial gain whatever from the funds I have invested in the paper, and that if such gain should nevertheless fall to my share, I shall turn it over to our Zionist propaganda fund.

I request that this last declaration be kept in complete confidence, since I do not wish to impose upon the other shareholders among our followers the moral necessity of acting likewise. I, too, would not disdain the legitimate earnings of a newspaper, if it were not the special case for me that it is the official organ of a movement of which I am the head.

September 29, Vienna

The Austrian crisis is now being solved exactly the way I advised in my letter to the Chief of Police a few months ago: through revocation of the language ordinances and personal intervention by the Emperor with the factions.

October 1

Today Josef Lichtneckert, the "returned Jesus Christ," called on me—a lunatic of the purest water. To get rid of him, I let him come in, made friendly conversation with him, and explained to him that I could not give him the 5000 or 2000 guilders he was asking for; why didn't he apply to the Bible Society. This suggestion he received gratefully. Whether I have got rid of him this way is still doubtful, to be sure.

October 5

Today I happened to run into Dr. Kornfeld, the psychiatrist, in the print-shop of the *Welt.* I told him about the "returned Jesus Christ." He told me that this was probably a dangerous lunatic and took it upon himself to call on him and, if necessary, to notify the police. He said that one would incur a responsibility if one did not do this, for the man could suddenly get the compulsion to kill someone.

October 6

Hechler is to go to Darmstadt on Monday to request an audience with the Czar for me. I am giving him this letter for the Grand Duke of Hesse:

Your Royal Highness:

The kindly Rev. Hechler is the bearer of this note. May I recall myself to your memory in a few words?

When last August I had the distinction of being received at Darmstadt, Your Royal Highness made me the most gracious promise to intercede with His Majesty the Emperor of Russia to the end that I be received by this exalted lord as well in order to explain the purposes and aims of Zionism.

For Russia the question is important enough. Our proposal means a solution which is humanitarian and complete at the same

time. Your Royal Highness said further that ideas of such *envergure* [scope] were capable of arousing the Czar's interest. God grant it!

Begging Your Royal Highness to accept the expression of my deep respect, I am

Your obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

October 13, '99, Vienna

To Dr. Alfred Stern, the Community Councillor and Vice-President of the Vienna Jewish Community, I owe—who would have thought it!—an idea for the future. The other day he asked me not to let their Polna Protest Meeting at the Musikvereinssaal be disturbed by our students. I promised it to him on the condition that we at least be permitted to put up one speaker to discuss the question of what was to be done with the exiles and "burned-out people" of Polna, Kuttenberg, etc. Should not a campaign to aid them be started? Stern implored me in dismay to abandon this idea. It would be tantamount to mobilizing all of Bohemia. That is to say, the poor Jews from all over Bohemia would come to Vienna in search of help, and the local *upper Jews** would have the bother.

I pretended that I was being dissuaded, but immediately made a note of the effect *in eventum* [for possible future use]. Once the moment—of the Charter!—has come, I shall intimidate the upper-class Jews in Vienna, London, and Paris with a pilgrimage of *misère* [misery]. I can easily give the word, as was recently done at Creusot.

October 14, Vienna

Hechler's expedition seems to have failed. He telegraphs from Darmstadt:

Brother-in-law (Grand Duke) very friendly, will ask father

* In English in the original.

(Czar), but impossible in immediate future. He wishes to issue direct invitation. Returning today. Heinrich.

October 16, Vienna

The Boer War may be Pandora's box for the Jews of England. If the English troops should fare badly, the repercussions can hit the Jews. The mine speculators will be accused of having plunged England into this misfortune.

Am I seeing things aright?

October 21, Vienna

Hechler returned today from the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse. Baden was kind and good as always, Hesse cool and reserved. Hechler thought my letter had not been subservient enough, and said: "The smaller a man is, the more he wants to be flattered."

Bref [In short], a failure.

Now, following the Czar's departure from Darmstadt, we will try a letter to the Czarina, asking her to procure an audience for me at St. Petersburg.

October 27, '99

In today's *N. Fr. Pr.* there is a despatch from Karlsruhe to the effect that the Czar plans to visit the Grand Duke of Baden. I am writing the Grand Duke:

Your Royal Highness:

In a few words—so as not to be a burden—I should like to present a great, earnest request.

There are reports in the newspapers that His Majesty the Emperor of Russia will visit Your Royal Highness within the next few days. To me this seems like a sign from providence.

It is of vital interest to our movement that I obtain an audience with H. M. the Czar.

There are two reasons: First, to inform the exalted lord about the honest aims of Zionism. Second, to make our movement appear as recognized in Russia through the fact of this audience. My poor associates in Russia are continually trembling for fear that here and there some governor might see something wicked in their Zionism, too. His Majesty's ukase in favor of Zionism would be too much—for in filtering down to lower echelons it would be given the character of a deportation order. Since we still have no Charter from the Turkish government, this would be a mass catastrophe. On the other hand, my audience would be just the amount of benevolence that we need at present to continue our work. I will not even ask for another, a positive, kind of help.

Your Royal Highness has known for a long time how earnestly I have been serving this redeeming idea, what great pains I have taken and how I have not given way to enmity. May I request aid this time, too, from Your Royal Highness' good will which has already been a comfort to me in many a difficult hour?

I would immediately respond to a telegraphic summons to Baden or to Darmstadt. However, should the Imperial visitor have no more time for this now, let him order me to St. Petersburg or any place whatever.

I believe I may already point to one useful effect of my activity: I have converted many from the false doctrines of social revolution and turned them to an ideal.

May my habit of looking up to Your Royal Highness as to my most gracious helper serve as my excuse if my request of today contains anything improper or impracticable.

With my deepest respect and heartfelt gratitude I remain

Your Royal Highness' most obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

October 30, Vienna

I have a report from the University that several students are rebelling against me.

Columbus' crew is also immortal.

This week I am sending for the officers of the student associations, in order to knock some sense into their heads.

* * *

Nuri writes he will soon send me a confidential agent here in Vienna.

* * *

Trietsch is spreading successful propaganda in Rumania for his Cyprus project which I consider very sensible, although out of consideration for the *Hovevei Zion* I must not come out in favor of it.

November 2, Vienna

From my bathroom this morning I saw a telegraph messenger walk by the garden fence. I watched eagerly to see if he would stop at my gate. He did. The maid brought me the telegram with the red paper strip of court telegrams. Aha! From the Grand Duke. The wire could be interesting. I prolonged my anticipation a bit in order to amuse myself. The fact that he had sent a wire proved that he had something to tell me. But what? The summons to the Czar?

The telegram reads:

Baden-Baden Palace, Nov. 1, 7:45 p.m.

Going to Darmstadt tomorrow and expecting final decision there which I shall report immediately.

Friedrich

The words "final decision" permit the assumption that he has already spoken with the Czar at Baden-Baden and received no outright refusal.

It would be a tremendous step forward. On the other hand, I

read today in the official newspaper despatches that the Czar is staying in Darmstadt until Nov. 7.

Thus it might be possible that we are at the threshold of a great success of Zionism.

November 3

The expected reply from the Grand Duke has not come.

Since by today he must have left Darmstadt, this silence only admits of the explanation that the Czar, who did not wish to refuse outright in Baden-Baden and asked for time to think it over, meanwhile had an excuse prepared for him by Minister Muraviev or his staff.

To be sure, it would also be conceivable that he simply does not wish to receive me now and that he will summon me to Russia. I would even much prefer the latter. Another possibility would be that the good Grand Duke had to march off completely *bredouille* [empty-handed].

Bref, nous verrons [In short, we shall see].

* * *

Letter to Nuri:*

November 7, Vienna

Your Excellency:

Permit me to outline briefly for you the current state of affairs.

Since the last Congress at Basel the movement has begun to lean toward Cyprus. Seeing that the Turkish government does not appear disposed to come to an understanding with us, they want to turn toward the island which is controlled by England and is always accessible to us. After several years immigrants there become full-fledged citizens, enjoying a large measure of autonomy, etc.

* In French in the original.

Until the next Congress I will still be master of the situation. But if I have nothing to show up to that time, our plans fall into the water—of Cyprus.*

It is up to the statesmen of Turkey to understand in time the advantages that would slip through your fingers. You would not have the Jewish establishment in Palestine that would have brought you a great deal of money immediately, then the ordering of your entire financial situation, a modern fleet, industrial and commercial life, finally the well-being of the Empire.

But if you do not have Jewish colonization to benefit you, you will have colonization by others to cost you dearly. You will not be able to deny immigration to "friendly nations." From one concession to another, step by step, you will be forced to give up for pleasant words and handshakes what you could have yielded for real benefits. Others are interested in making you weaker and weaker—we, on the contrary, are interested in making you stronger and stronger, for you will have to protect us.

The sovereignty of H. M. the Sultan which with us would be lasting and strong would become, thanks to "capitulations," a formality that would finally disappear like that of Crete.

Please accept these sincere, serious words from a devoted friend who does not conceal the fact that he has his own people's interests in view, but in full accord with the interests of Turkey. In order to restore the patience and courage of the Zionists, it is indispensable that I be received as soon as possible by H.M. the Sultan and that I explain our loyal, advantageous projects to his exalted wisdom.

Please accept the assurance of my profound regard.

Your very devoted
Th. H.

That entails no commitment yet; the Sultan will decide after having heard me.

* Translator's Note: Herzl humorously alludes to *eau de Chypre*, the name of a perfume. Thus, "our plans fall into the toilet water"!

November 8, Vienna

No news from the Grand Duke. In any case, his attempt to have the Czar receive me at Darmstadt has failed, since by today the Czar is at Potsdam. Perhaps I shall yet get a letter explaining the detailed circumstances.

Perhaps I didn't manage to make a good impression on the Grand Duke of Hesse and he has prevented it?

* * *

I foresee the next developments like this: If by the Fourth Congress I have not made any headway with the Turkish government, I shall prepare the Cyprus project *sous la main* [in short order], go to London, speak with Salisbury, and induce the Congress to go to Cyprus for the time being.

At any rate, I believe that after the next Congress we shall actually go to the country, to some country.

I could, of course, hasten all this if I were a free man and could travel whenever necessary. Then I would have been in Karlsruhe, near by when the Czar was there, and umpteen other opportunities would have been created and taken advantage of. By now I would have gone to Constantinople, too, and accomplished something there.

But I am a little clerk of Messieurs Bacher and Benedikt. I must show up at the office every day, even though I don't do much there.

If the *Welt* had offered me some financial support, everything would have been better and quicker. But I had to declare in advance that I would turn any profits over to the movement. On the contrary, the movement has left me in the lurch, and so far I have lost more than 25,000 guilders on the *Welt*. And as if this weren't enough, they are now arming against this paper to which we owe the entire development for the past three years, the Congress, the Bank. Everybody is dissatisfied with the articles. They all want to interfere, but when it comes to paying, they give me a free hand.

It is a good lesson for me. Probably things would be even worse if I were already completely ruined.

Verlasse dich auf Fürsten nicht,
Sie sind wie eine Wiege
[Put not thy trust in princes who
Like cradles rock from side to side]

I could say with reference to the German Kaiser's "help."

But when I think of my adherents, who will rebel at the slightest provocation, I can add the conclusion of the verse:

Wer heute Hosiannah spricht,
Spricht morgen: Crucifige!
[They who today's 'Hosanna' cry,
Say next: 'Let him be crucified!']*

In truth, I put my trust neither in princes nor in the people, but only in myself.

For that reason I must work tremendously hard in order to meet my needs: one play after the other (unfortunately, it's hard to get them performed), and now the novel *Altneuland*.

In order to get some grist for my mill, I now have even revised my old farce *Muttersöhnchen* [Mother's Boy] and included a part for the comedian Girardi. There is no literary work that would be more loathsome to me. And there will probably be reproaches levelled at me when it becomes known that I as "prophet" am performing such *basse besogne* [hack work]. But what am I to do?

Zionism is costing me money and must not yield me anything. On the other hand, I have done myself very great harm as a "German writer," and they don't quite dare to perform me. For the same reason, there is no hope for advancement with the *N. Fr. Pr.* Yet the claims upon me grow from every side. *Shnorrers* [beggars] of all kinds come to me, from as far as Persia. Again and again I must put out money for the *Welt*, the Congress, and the Bank.

* Translator's Note: Herzl undoubtedly read these lines, part of an old Protestant hymn, in Prince Bismarck's autobiography *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* (1898). Bismarck quotes them in connection with his memories of his early political tutor Leopold von Gerlach. The translation given here is from the English edition (*Bismarck, The Man and The Statesman*), vol. 1, 1899.

If people knew all this, they might admire me more than they do.

But the explanation that is presumably circulating about me among the public is probably either that it is netting me a pile of money, or that I am doing it out of vanity.

If, however, I break down, the public will rain kicks on me; people will laugh at me and be ungrateful.

So, don't break down!

November 12, Vienna

Received a fine holograph letter from the Grand Duke, dated Baden-Baden the 10th of the month.

He writes that he discussed my request with the Czar at Baden-Baden and at Wolfsgarten. As regards the cause, the Czar was favorably disposed to it even at Baden; but he did not want to express himself about my audience until Wolfsgarten. When the Grand Duke brought it up again at Wolfsgarten, he could tell that Muraviev, who had returned from Paris in the meantime, had used his influence against it.

However, I am to work out a memorandum in French which the Grand Duke offers to transmit to the Czar.

November 12, '99

I am answering:

Your Royal Highness:

I have just received, with heartfelt thanks, Your Royal Highness' most gracious holograph letter of the 10th inst.

Even though unfortunately no immediate success is noted, all the exalted kindness of the noblest prince once again speaks from it directly to my heart. It goes without saying that I shall take Your Royal Highness' advice, which guides me under all circumstances, and work out a memorandum in the French language. As soon as it is completed, I shall take the liberty of sending it to Karlsruhe.

Begging Y.R.H. to accept the expression of my deepest respect and everlasting gratitude, I am

Your most obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

November 22, '99, Vienna

Yesterday I sent my vague, prolix, court-style memorandum for the Czar to Alex Marmorek in Paris for translation.

Like Sheherazade, I made less of an effort to please with my narrative than to arouse a desire for more. I supplemented this endeavor in my covering letter to the Czar:*

Sire:

It is to the graciousness of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden, who has consented to become the exalted sponsor of my humble request for an audience with Your Imperial Majesty, that I owe my permission to submit the Zionist plan for the final solution of the Jewish Question. The Zionists wish to benefit their unfortunate brethren, draw them away from subversive doctrines, and set them on the way to a more exalted morality in the very interest of all humanity.

The enclosed account contains only the broad outlines of the plan. Not to be too long about it, I have restricted myself to supplying only some general indications. As for the numerous questions about detail, I am at all times at Your Imperial Majesty's disposal. For the manner in which the project could be executed, for the ways and means of making it a reality, an oral explanation would be of the greatest usefulness. If I presume, then, humbly to ask the favor of being allowed to present myself at St. Petersburg or any other place it may please Your Majesty to designate, it is in the highest interest of the cause to which I have devoted myself. The solution of this painful question would be a great and splendid act, worthy of our time, worthy of the most magnanimous sovereigns.

I am, Sire, with the profoundest respect

* In French in the original.

Your Imperial Majesty's very humble and obedient servant.
Dr. Th. H.

Covering Letter to the Grand Duke of Baden

Your Royal Highness:

I am taking the liberty of respectfully submitting, as an enclosure, the memorandum I composed at the most gracious advice of Your Royal Highness, as well as a letter to H.M. the Emperor of Russia.

In accordance with Your Royal Highness' wish, I have kept it brief.

God grant that I have hit on the right thing this way.

Should my text have to be revised, cut, or expanded in any way, I beg most respectfully to have the unsatisfactory places indicated to me.

With the expression of heartfelt respect and loyal gratitude for all your gracious help, I remain

Your Royal Highness' most obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

Nov. 25, Vienna

Yesterday Carl Herbst of Sofia was here and made the good suggestion of having the Young Turks work on the Sultan. In the papers of the Young Turks we should have the government censured for its carelessness in not taking up the advantageous offers of the Zionists.

December 2, Vienna.

Rumors about Bacher's leaving the *N. Fr. Pr.* have been floating about the office for the past few days. He is said to have sold his interest in the paper to financiers. I discussed it with Cousin Moritz, who held out to me the possibility of finding the money

to acquire the shares, provided that Bacher lets me have them. A great deal would depend on it. I shall try to talk to him.

December 5, Vienna.

I am suddenly facing a turning point in my life. It is very much in the nature of an outbreak of war which one has expected for a long, long time and which surprises one intensely when it does burst forth.

In the last few days the following happened:

On Saturday, December 2, I left with Bacher after we had put the evening paper to bed, and accompanied him to his home. At first I joked with him. Then I suddenly said to him:

"I am going to interview you now. Do you know what people are saying in Vienna? That you want to retire."

He: "That is not quite correct put this way. I have already heard it myself, but it is not true. Unfortunately! I have the desire all right, but as yet there is no possibility."

I: "You won't consider my question indiscreet. You understand that the matter is of interest to a colleague, too. In our relationship there is a lot of the personal. A man does not want to obey just any superior."

He understood. Then we went to his new house which he had just bought and moved into. Together with his wife he showed me the place. Then I left without having said any more.

After that I consulted with my parents and with Moritz. They were of the opinion that I should ask him directly whether he was willing to relinquish his share to me.

Thereupon I wrote him immediately to give me an appointment at his home for the next day (Sunday), morning or afternoon. On Sunday I waited with impatience and astonishment until ten o'clock; nothing came from him. Then I had to go out, and only when I got back at 1:30 p.m. did I find his letter, saying that he expected me between 11 and 12 in the morning. The appointment could not be arranged for the afternoon either. Thus our meeting was postponed until yesterday.

Ready for battle I went to the office. Bacher had already inquired about me and apologized amiably. I told him that I would like to go home with him. Then I had an excited half-hour of anticipation. I tried to compose myself in case he came into my room to pick me up for leaving. The wait unnerved me. So this is how people feel before a crucial conversation with some superior. Finally I couldn't stand it any longer and went *au devant du danger* [into the face of the danger]. Bacher was sitting in the reading room with Wittmann. Their conversation revolved around theatrical matters. I participated in it halfheartedly.

Before I had gone to the office, I had visited my good parents, as I do every day, and had them give me their blessing for the difficult, great undertaking. It may be ridiculous, but I did feel a need for it. In addition to their blessing they also gave me the good advice to act with assurance. And I did.

The chat with Wittmann was over. We left. On the stairs I joked with Bacher. Then I preceded him out through the gate, silently saying to myself: "Now I may be leaving the *N. Fr. Pr.*, never to return."

We were on the Parkring. On the staircase I had said to Bacher when he was starting to talk about it: "*Quand on est mort, c'est pour longtemps—et quand on parle de choses sérieuses, c'est aussi pour longtemps* [When one is dead, it is for a long time; and when one talks about serious matters, it is also for along time]."

When we had arrived at the Ring, I started in. I had learned the opening by heart, so as not to falter.

"For some time I have harbored the idea of striking out on my own. Every little clerk wants to become a manager some day. The way you replied to me the day before yesterday will probably make my intention mature earlier. If you retire, the situation at the *N. Fr. Pr.* will in any case become different. That situation will hardly be to my taste any more. So I prefer leaving before that."

He said: "I assure you that all this is still highly premature. I should very much like to retire, because I am tired and have worked long enough. I have no children and don't know for whom I should wear myself out like this. But I haven't got that far yet.

This is, above all, a question of property. I can't abandon my interests like that."

Thereupon I said to him *à brûle pourpoint* [point-blank]:

"I shall buy your interest if you want to let me have it. The funds will be made available to me by a few people in my family. I want to become independent. I am forty years old. Right now I still have ten years of full-strength work ahead of me. In that time I want to acquire something for my children. You can relinquish your share to me. After all, I have given my best to the *N. Fr. Pr.* for ten years now. I am a son of the firm. Certainly you can give it to me sooner than to strange financiers. Do you know what people are saying? That you are going to give your interest to coal-Gutmann!"

He, indignantly: "And you believed *that* about me?"

I shrugged my shoulders.

He: "Who told you that?"

I: "I don't want to gossip."

(I had it from Goldbaum).

He: "The difficulty was precisely that I had no suitable person to take over. I can't turn over my holdings to a bank. The *N. Fr. Pr.* is a matter of honor with me. I can't run away like a pig from its trough."

(Never had I liked him as much as at that moment).

He concluded: "I am ready in principle to turn my interest over to you. But Benedikt's consent is a *condicio sine qua non* [indispensable condition]. It would be an act of impropriety if I let my share go without his approval. Whether he will ever give it, I don't know; I rather doubt it."

I: "If he doesn't give his consent now, he never will. So I won't gain anything by waiting. It will be better for me to leave immediately and start a "*Neue Presse*" of my own. I can do it. All you did four years ago, when the government made me an offer, was to tell me that you would be hurt if I left. That was enough to induce me to stay. I asked nothing in return and got nothing. That time you added: 'We are old; who shall succeed us?'—Today, now that the matter is becoming serious, I am told that Benedikt

would never accept me as a partner. Then it is really wiser for me to leave."

He reiterated that he was willing, but everything depended on Benedikt, whom he wanted to tell about it the very same day. With this and a hearty handshake we parted in front of his house.

I related this incident to my parents, Moritz, and my wife.

It had excited me a great deal.

I had exerted so much will-power to be controlled, but afterwards I did have cardiac pains and wobbly legs.

Last night I slept little. The morning paper cheered me, because it was bad, empty, and skimpily put together. I inferred that it had suddenly become a matter of indifference to him, like some merchandise that one wants to get rid of.

Am I mistaken?

At any rate, today there will follow the second round with Benedikt. More excitement, perhaps even the decision.

I am right up against victory or defeat. Never has the psychology of a war been so clear to me.

It is a foolhardy undertaking, such as one is lured into by one's imagination and which one then goes through with *tant bien que mal* [after a fashion], because one is too cowardly to back out.

Tomorrow I may be out in the street—or perhaps be the ruler of the roost.

If I fail, I still won't face myself and my family without vindication; for Benedikt's refusal will have demonstrated that he intended to keep me in this inadequate, badly paid position the rest of my life, to squeeze me dry like a lemon, only to throw me away some day.

As it says in the French farce: "*Si je n'avais pas peur, où serait le courage* [If I weren't afraid, where would I find the courage]?"

December 6, Vienna

The second round is over.

Yesterday, after the evening paper had been put to bed, I accompanied Benedikt home.

He had already been prepared for the *assaut* [attack] by Bacher and defended himself absolutely brilliantly.

I began: "Did Dr. Bacher tell you?"

He: "What? That you want to start a paper? Why shouldn't you?"

The other possibility—my moving into Bacher's place—he didn't even mention, evidently because he thought it the more frightful one. He explained to me for what two papers there was still room in Vienna: a radically popular liberal paper and a genuinely Social-Democrat one. I rejected both.

"I am going to start a distinguished paper on the largest scale."

He: "There is not room in Vienna for two such papers."

I: "We shall see. Unless you accept me as a partner in Bacher's place."

He: "Bacher has no intention of retiring."

I: "He specifically told me so yesterday."

He: "He didn't want to give you a flat No. Why, *I* have more thoughts of retiring than he does." (Of course, neither is true; Bacher is tired, *he* isn't.)

We then got into an extremely affable conversation. I had to accompany him upstairs to his apartment and have coffee with him. He offered me great opportunities with a cigar. He confidentially painted for me the dangers I would be facing with my experiment. I depicted for him the dangers of his refusal and told him the program of my paper: a "*Neue Freie Presse*" which wouldn't be Zionist, to be sure, but would report on the Zionist movement.

Thereupon I went into the grievances I had stored up over the years: the silence about our movement, the grotesquely inadequate position I have on the paper, the ridiculously small salary, the lack of freedom whenever I want to make an important trip.

He said: "I'll take care of that. Your demands are justified."

I: "I beg your pardon, I am not demanding a thing. I am merely telling you that I am dissatisfied with my present situation and see no improvement in the future. Just as you think of your children,

I think of mine. You want to make the *Neue Freie Presse* into an heirloom of the Benedikts, as the *Times* is that of the Walters—but I don't want to be the *Erbförster*."*

We spoke about this, that, and the other thing, and talked around it. His line was to look right through me, with an unconcerned face, and to frighten me about the experiment. My line was to intimidate him.

We finally broke off and postponed it until another time.

I promised him to work on the Christmas number in any case. That was a *point d'honneur* [point of honor] with me.

December 7

Yesterday all quiet on the Plevna front.**

Only two signs were to be noted, one favorable and one unfavorable.

Favorable: Hugo Ganz came to me at noon yesterday and complained that in his *feuilleton* about Nordau more than half—namely, the tempering of the praise—had been blue-pencilled, so that only boundless admiration remained. This is an indication of lack of courage on the part of Benedikt who does not want to incur the displeasure of my associate Nordau. The entire *feuilleton* is a concession of cowardice, to keep Nordau for the *Neue Freie Presse*.

Unfavorable: Bacher and Benedikt avoided a discussion with me yesterday. Benedikt asked Wittmann to accompany him home. I kept silent.

Today I shall engage him and tell him that I won't allow the matter to be shelved.

* Translator's Note: A reference to Otto Ludwig's tragedy *Der Erbförster* (The Hereditary Forester, 1850) in which the protagonist claims that, since he has inherited his position from his father and grandfather, he cannot legally be discharged. When the forester receives the threatened dismissal from the new owner of the estate, he tries to take revenge, with tragic results.

** Translator's Note: Plevna was a town the Russians besieged for 143 days in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. What Herzl *really* means is: "All quiet on the *N. Fr. Pr.* front."

December 8

Yesterday, the third round with Benedikt.

He made me some propositions: Equal salary with Wittmann. Expansion of my sphere of influence, a kind of sovereignty in the literary section. He also seemed mollified in regard to Zionism. I rejected his proposals.

He was evidently shaken by this, and started to think of my resignation as a more serious possibility. We talked back and forth for hours.

* * *

Yesterday the rumor circulated at the Stock Exchange that Bacher was retiring from the *Neue Freie Presse* and that I was taking his place.—When I left Benedikt, I ran into coal-Gutmann who acted very familiar, linked arms with me, and walked part of the way with me—evidently also in connection with the rumors that I was going to be boss; his talk was awfully Zionist.

December 12

Yesterday, suspension, actually conclusion, of the duel. Benedikt proposed that I should stay. The publishers grant me the highest salary of any staff member of the *Neue Freie Presse*—3000 guilders more than Wittmann gets. Moreover, whenever the Zionist movement achieves any practical result, they are willing to record it without bias. I am to be given the exclusive editorship of the entire literary section of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

I asked for time to think it over, inwardly determined to accept.

What was to be won at this time I have won.

December 12

Wrote to Nordau to intervene on behalf of my memorandum with Pobedonostsev, and to Baroness Suttner to do the same with Muraviev and Ambassador Kapnist.

December 18, Viennna

Baroness Suttner writes: *"All right!"** She has written to Muraviev and Kapnist, but does not expect much success from her intervention. Neither do I. I was only interested in showing Muraviev and Kapnist that I don't want to bypass them.

* * *

The day before yesterday the following letter arrived from *Moi's*** pen-holder Crespi:***

Dear Sir:

Thanks to the formation of a company at Stuttgart, to which the king and queen of Württemberg have subscribed the major part, a company with a capital of 500,000 marks intended for German farm colonization in Palestine, the matter entrusted to us has taken a giant step forward.

Please be ready, upon receipt of a telegram which I shall send you, to come here immediately, for H.M. will be disposed to grant you an audience.

Negotiations are so far advanced in your favor that I need only wire you "Leave at once," and you will be received immediately upon your arrival. I cannot give you the details of the colossal efforts that have been made during the past month, but I can assure you that the result has been and will be a *practical* one. Please keep what I have told you in the strictest confidence.

With kind regards,
Crespi

* * *

If this is true and is not intended as the groundwork for some vague demand for money or to reassure me about the first payment, it is an enormous step.

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: Herzl refers to Nuri Bey as "*Moi*." The English equivalent might be "The Great Ego."

*** In French in the original.

It doesn't sound improbable, either. Siemens of the *Deutsche Bank* is in Constantinople in connection with the Bagdad Railroad. The Turks have his knife and the water at their throats. Germany is making tremendous progress in the Orient. However, the benefits the Sultan has from it are highly Platonic in nature. Porcelain vases, handshakes, decorations, telegrams—that is all. The German crusade looks like railroad construction and such tomfoolery. Meanwhile the Turks are beginning to see the light. Perhaps Ambassador Constans did his share in arousing suspicion against Germany.

But perhaps I am only being called to get Siemens to make a better offer. I am being treated as the Jew with whom they threaten to sign.

Whatever may be the case, I shall make the trip at once. Of course, I wouldn't put it past the good *Moi* to have some bandit friends pull me off the Orient Express *en route*, so he can extort some ransom from Jewry as whose head he regards me. Therefore, if I am really summoned and if it is at all possible, I shall go to Constantinople by sea.

If I go, I will send Hechler to the Grand Duke in order to influence German diplomacy and banking in my favor. They shall give orders from Berlin that I am an ally and secret friend, and even though I am not supported, I shall not be hindered.

December 27, Vienna

Nothing from Constantinople, nothing, nothing.

Je me désespère [I am in despair].

Precisely because the summons seemed to be so imminent, this day-to-day disappointment is so extremely distressing.

Today's papers report that the Constantinople ambassador Straus is passing through here. Gottheil wrote that Straus would look me up. In any case, I think the dignified thing for me to do is not to call on him.

The papers further report from Constantinople the conclusion of a preliminary agreement, with advance payment, between the

Porte and the *Deutsche Bank*. Perhaps, as the temporary need for money disappeared, so did their desire to call in the Jew.

Or was the whole thing hokum on Nuri's part?

December 29, Vienna

Spoke yesterday with the American ambassador to Constantinople, Oscar Straus, who is passing through here. I had Schalit inquire in the morning when we could have a talk. He invited me to come to the Hotel Impérial at 5:30 p.m.

He is of below-average height, lean, with a reddish, sparse beard, a hook-nose, Jewish handle-ears, scanty hair; 48 years old, dry, *smart*,* and yet instantly likeable because of his honest eyes.

After five minutes we were on familiar terms, although he began by remarking that I enjoyed the reputation of being indiscreet. However, he couldn't blame me for my inconsiderateness, for in such a great matter persons cannot be spared. He himself was neither for nor against Zionism, for he held an official position. Then he needlessly pledged me to divulge nothing of our conversation.

He considers Palestine impossible for us to attain. The Greek and Roman-Catholic Churches would not let us have it. I told him that I considered only Rome an opponent. I forgot to give him my deeper reason: that only Roman Catholicism is as oecumenical as Judaism. Rome is the rich brother who hates the poor brother. The other Churches are national and therefore don't need Jerusalem as an Archimedean point.

Straus is for Mesopotamia! He said he knew that a long time ago a pamphlet on Mesopotamia had been sent me by Cyrus Adler, at the instigation of some friends (Judge Sulzberger and others in New York).

Mesopotamia, he said, was attainable. There are no church rivalries there, and it is the original home of Israel. Abraham came from Mesopotamia, and there we could make use of the mystic elements, too.

* In English in the original.

It is the idea of *faire tâche d'huile* [spreading out] which Nuri expressed at Scheveningen. Artin Pasha, too, had written me in a similar vein—acting, as I now guess, on the advice of Straus, who was acquainted with my letters to Artin. Straus sharply denounced the riffraff in power in and around Yildiz Kiosk. All the power was united in the Sultan's fist. The ministers were idiots and cowardly, corrupt characters. The Sultan didn't give a hoot for the whole of Turkey. With talk about *humanity** and the like nothing whatever could be accomplished with him. Oh yes, if he could see money or benefits of some other kind, he might perhaps be won over. But any conversation or negotiation with others was worthless. With the Sultan, or not at all.

I told him about the prospect which had opened up to me two weeks ago, but unfortunately remained *sans suite* [unconcluded].

He pressed me hard to give him the name of my intermediary. I kept stubbornly silent and thus gave him some proof of my discretion. He guessed over and over who it could be. I let him go on guessing.

We parted as friends. I took his promise that he would send me tips which might be useful some time, signing himself with the pseudonym "Mesopotamicus."

1900

January 2, Vienna

Yesterday I sent the Grand Duke a New Year's telegram, as I had done the previous year, and today I received the following wire:

Grateful for your valued New Year's wishes; returning my cordial wishes for your well-being in the new year.

Meanwhile I received word from St. Petersburg two days ago, acknowledging receipt of the memorandum you sent me. It was favorably received, and I am to thank you for it.

Friedrich, Grand Duke of Baden.

* In English in the original.

January 12, Vienna

Mandelstamm worriedly reports that the Chief of the Russian Police has threatened Dr. Awinowitzky of Odessa that he would "close up the Zionist shop." An allusion to our stand against the Socialists put the mighty man in a more gracious mood.

I sent Mandelstamm my memorandum to the Czar as an amulet in case of emergency.

* * *

Moi's agent, Crespi, made me the ridiculous proposal of buying the Constantinople paper *Stamboul.* At the same time he said that our efforts had been interrupted by the Ramadan.

So at least there is again some hope that after the Ramadan things will perhaps go forward.

January 13

Yesterday, at the opening of *I Love You* at the Burgtheater, they once again made me suffer for my Zionism. At the end of the harmless play there was violent hissing, which obviously could not have been caused by this unpretentious comedy.

I must not live on Zionism; I am not to live on literature.

A problem!

January 30, Vienna

Last Saturday's papers reported that Nuri had arrived here with Turkhan Pasha from The Hague (after the signing of the Peace Conference Protocol). I sent Kremenezky to the Hotel Impérial. Kremenezky waited for Nuri for hours, finally left, and when he returned on Sunday, Nuri had already departed.

The fact that he did not call on me makes me fear the worst—a fraud.

I am writing him today in an envelope addressed to Crespi:*

Your Excellency:

* In French in the original.

To my great disappointment I was not able to have the honor of seeing you when you passed through Vienna, though M. Crespi had told me of this opportunity.

What am I to think of our project?

I still think we are losing precious time, an opportunity that will never return. In his last letter M. Crespi very wisely pointed out that the audience, while freeing our friends of their obligations, commits H.M. to nothing. Let him only deign to hear me. I am so convinced of the value of my proposals for the empire that I have no doubt of my success.

Now there is a new, very powerful argument. Mahmoud Damad Pasha and the Young Turks are saying everywhere that the present government is incapable of finding resources, of bringing prosperity to the country, and of constructing the indispensable fleet. With the assistance that we can provide, all this can be accomplished in no time.

Think about it, Your Excellency and most honored friend, and as soon as possible let me have the joy of a summons to an audience.

Be assured, Excellency, of my highest esteem and complete loyalty.

Th. H.

Already in European public opinion and, less publicly (perhaps even unbeknownst to those in power at Yildiz), in certain high political circles the possibility of changing the whole government of Turkey is beginning to be discussed. Accept this warning from a sincere and completely trustworthy friend.

All can collapse. Let us be foresighted and pursue the work of salvation.

February 5

On the train from Pest to Vienna.

Again a time of great worry has come.

According to signed and anonymous complaints which have reached me, things at the Bank are in a state of disorder.

A trip to London would be an urgent necessity. However, if I don't want to risk my position with the *Neue Freie Presse,* I can't get away, and must entrust things to the *Board** which is working against me, partly out of carelessness, partly wilfully and in deliberate opposition to me.

I have had no word whatever from Nuri at Constantinople. In Russia and Rumania the movement is slowing down, in part because of the economic crisis which oppresses the Jews even further and makes them reluctant to make even the small sacrifices they have made up to now.

Finally and chiefly, a great worry for me has appeared in Austria. The government has turned its attention, in an unwelcome fashion, to the Bank subscription. Brecher was summoned to the Vienna police headquarters, in Galicia the governor's office sent a form to the communities; the subscription was declared disloyal and its continuation prohibited.

I can only believe that this importunity is the consequence of a denunciation. Naturally we shall make an appeal against this decree. Besides, Oskar Marmorek is to speak with Governor Kielmansegg, and I shall try to get to Prime Minister Koerber.

It would be a shame and incomprehensible if the government did not understand us. If it undermines Zionism, all the Zionists will turn Social Democrats. But another consequence of this prohibition would be that the poor people who have made a part payment would lose it, because the Bank is not authorized to refund the money. I only hope that I can make Koerber understand this.

* * *

Yesterday I had a little discussion with some Hungarian Jews: Agari, Deputy Visontai, Dr. Reich, Viola, L. Neugebauer, Sebestyen, Guttenberg, Dr. Alexander.

I counselled them as non-Zionists to speak out publicly in favor of our movement. With a *beau geste* [nice gesture] they could

* In English in the original.

accomplish something that might avert future dangers for them. Russian immigration would be channeled away from the border, and at the same time a safety-valve would be provided for future anti-Semitism which is probably unavoidable in Hungary, too.

The gentlemen undertook to discuss the matter with some influential Gentile friends.

Visontai plans to interest his party chief Ugron in it.

He also gave a description of conditions among the Hungarian Jews which are by no means as rosy as people abroad believe.

February 9, Vienna

Governor Kielmansegg gave Marmorek very reassuring information. The decree against the Bank subscription is not political but fiscal in nature. He knows Zionism and myself and considers our movement a humanitarian one; and, as far as he knows, the Imperial government has no objections to us, either.

Crespi sent me the draft of a letter that can be shown around which I am to address to him (Crespi). The letter is in the most Levantine French, full of incredible mistakes and lapses of taste. However, I am copying it word for word and sending it off today.

It says in it: why will the mighty Caliph, who receives the poorest, not give me a brief hearing? *J'apporte des millions de livres* [I am bringing millions of pounds], etc.

But evidently this is the effective tone—they wouldn't use it just for fun.

February 16, Vienna

Yesterday morning I had the audience with Prime Minister Koerber which Dr. Ehrlich had arranged. At 9 o'clock I appeared at the Ministry of the Interior and was immediately taken to Koerber who gave me an extraordinarily friendly reception. He was already fully informed about the Bank matter, which I had come about, had got out the file on it, and read me the decrees of the governor's offices of Lower Austria and Galicia. He said he was

prepared to be as obliging to me as the law permitted. I replied that we would be satisfied if at least the people who had already made down-payments were allowed to complete the transaction and pay up their shares, so that no one would lose money on the Bank. Zionism, I said, deserved to be encouraged rather than weakened by the government, for it constituted the only way out of the serious Jewish Question. Otherwise all the persecuted Jews, to whom we are opening up an ideal vista, would become enemies of society.

Koerber said: "I admire the perseverance with which you have been pursuing this work for years."

I remarked that it was really the most beautiful life-work. I was aware that people were laughing at me.

He smiled: "Yes, I know that, too."

I: "But I pay very little attention to it."

Civilities and amiability concluded the half-hour conversation. He asked me for a concise, factual presentation of the entire subscription project, and invited me to call on him whenever I had anything to say to him. He would also ask me, as occasion offered, to visit him at his home in the evening, where we could then talk at greater leisure.

February 28

The memorandum requested by Koerber:

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to give you the following information regarding the Jewish Colonial Trust (Jewish Colonial Bank) Limited of London, which I was privileged to tell Your Excellency about in person.

This Jewish Colonial Trust was founded to serve the purposes of the Zionist movement.

The founders of this Bank pursue no aims of profit whatever in this. In fact, the prospectus and the statutes preclude from the

outset that the Board of Directors and the Council (which does not consist of businessmen and of which I am a member) derive any profit from the enterprise. The founding costs were contributed *à fonds perdu* [outright] by a number of our followers. I myself put 500 pounds sterling into it.

The Bank is intended to constitute the body corporate which is necessary for acquiring a settlement charter from the government of His Majesty the Sultan. By colonizing Palestine under the guidance of great principles the possibility is to be created of alleviating the lot of the Jewish proletarians who are suffering greatly in many countries, particularly in Galicia, Rumania, and Russia.

The Bank is to have a share capital of two million pounds sterling in one-pound shares. The Zionist movement has the resistance of the rich Jews to contend with. Therefore the subscription had to address itself mainly to the masses. To safeguard the deposits it was stipulated that operations must not start until at least 250,000 pounds had been paid in cash in London. The subscripion yielded 300,000 shares; up to now, however, not quite 100,000 pounds have been paid in at London, because the subscription is being handled in instalments.

Through the governors' edicts which impelled me to intervene with Your Excellency, the continuation of the subscription in Austria has been prohibited. This is all the more regrettable because to date 5790 subscribers in Austria have subscribed 14,044 shares and made partial payments on them.

The down payments have, of course, been transferred to London.

The subscription has been publicized in the papers, but a special announcement was also made to the authorities. Early in November of 1899 the representative of the Jewish Colonial Trust, Dr. O. Kokesch, attorney to the Court and to courts of justice and Dr. Brecher of the banking house of I. & A. Brecher, Vienna, called on Baron Odkolek, departmental councillor in the Ministry of Finance. Dr. Kokesch informed Mr. Councillor of the founding of

the Colonial Trust in London, as well as of the desire of the Board of Directors to have the banking firm of I. & A. Brecher serve as the subscription office in Vienna. Dr. Kokesch produced a share-allotment letter, and, referring to the fact that Baron Odkolek had collaborated in drafting the law governing the sales tax on securities, he asked him for information on this matter. Mr. Councillor stated he shared Dr. Kokesch's opinion that no sales tax was payable on the letters of allotment, but that he could give no authoritative information until a written request had been made to the Ministry of Finance.

The house of Brecher, which, incidentally, was to handle the matter without financial remuneration in view of the good cause, subsequently refused to act as subscription office for the Jewish Colonial Trust, and promised to establish business contact with the Bank only to the extent of accepting monies for it. After this decision on the part of the house of Brecher, the representative of the Jewish Colonial Trust regarded it as superfluous to direct a further written petition to the Ministry of Finance.

The prohibition of subscriptions—against which an appeal has been made, to be sure—has now created a distressing situation. The subscribers have made part payments which the directors of the Bank are not authorized to refund. Thus it may happen precisely because of this prohibition that the little people will lose their money.

I am therefore taking the liberty of proposing this expedient:

"Those subscribers who have subscribed before the decree was made should be permitted to complete their payments and receive their shares. There will, of course, be no further subscription in Austria. And as soon as the Colonial Trust in London begins its operations, it will apply to be certified in Austria as well."

Through such an equitable measure any inconvenience would be prevented. After all, neither the subscribers nor the solicitors could have known that a subscription which was so abundantly brought to the attention of the authorities would be prohibited a few months later.

But there are probably political considerations also in favor of my most humble proposal.

The Zionist movement undoubtedly has a salutary effect in countries with a large proletarian Jewish population.

This is recognized even in Russian government circles. The masses that are so hard pressed by anti-Semitism would probably one and all join the extremist revolutionary parties unless Zionism showed them a hopeful solution of their sufferings.

Our movement thus deserves to be assisted rather than impeded. But perhaps the purely fiscal prohibition of the subscription, which is directed only against the foreign joint-stock company, would be misunderstood by the crowd, which does not make such fine distinctions, as a political measure against Zionism. That would be extremely harmful to our movement. I do not believe that this is intended.

A short time ago another member of the Council of the Colonial Trust, Mr. Oskar Marmorek, the architect, had an opportunity to discuss the matter with His Excellency the Governor, Count Kielmansegg, and received the assurance that the prohibition of the subscription was only fiscal and not political in nature, since the exalted Imperial government appreciated the humanitarian significance of our movement. I was very pleased to find a corroboration of this attitude in the friendly co-operativeness with which Your Excellency has honored me.

If this good disposition is put into action in the way I have requested, something useful could certainly be promoted. Some day the Jewish Question will flare up in a terrible form in our country, especially in Galicia. One hears too many anti-Semitic remarks about the Jews and not enough about the despair brooding in these wretched masses. *Gouverner c'est prévoir* [To govern is to foresee].

I believe in all modesty that the Imperial government which is headed by Your Excellency will not do a disservice to the monarchy if it undertakes to further, not impede, the Zionist movement. The people who are directing this movement are not interested in political posts, nor can they derive any personal advantage from it.

It seeks to help very poor people without a lot of verbiage. Perhaps that ought to be encouraged.

With deep respect I remain

Your Exellency's very obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

March 5, Vienna

Letter to the Grand Duke of Baden, to be transmitted by Hechler:

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,
Most Gracious Prince and Lord:

Hoping for Your Royal Highness' continued benevolence for our Zionist movement, I permit myself to report in a few words on the present situation of the cause.

Unless everything deceives me, the moment suitable for action has come. The general international situation is favorable to it. At present the attention of rival Powers has been diverted from the Orient. *Faits accomplis* may be managed without arousing much opposition. Such a *fait* would be the one we have been preparing for so long.

All the prerequisites are ready. With the greatest circumspection we have created an organization of our masses that is ready to move. At a signal hundreds of thousands would set themselves in motion. According to reliable reports from confidential agents I may estimate the number of colonists that we could get to Palestine within a few years at three to four million people. Coverage of the financial expense, which will be very substantial even at the beginning, is assured. The most important Powers are, if not actually favorably disposed, at least not hostile. As for Turkey, I have succeeded in gaining supporters of our cause in government circles. The decision, to be sure, is in the sole hands of His Majesty the Sultan. At the end of December, 1899, I was even expecting a summons to the Sultan at any time. The Ramadan interfered, and in the past few

weeks things have quieted down again. Now, however, the historic opportunity seems to be one that demands decisions.

With my accustomed respectful confidence I am turning to Your Royal Highness for advice and help. Two things would now be necessary to carry out the great plan.

First, the personal support of His Majesty the German Kaiser with His Majesty the Sultan. From sources close to the latter I have been informed that such a step, which could—in fact, must—remain completely secret, could bring about the decisive turn.

The Sultan would accept my proposals if his exalted friend presented them to him as worthy of consideration.

Second, my audience with His Majesty the Emperor of Russia. This would have a dual purpose. For one thing, it would let the masses in Russia see that our movement is being favored.

Also, the Turkish government would realize from it that it need fear no objection from that quarter if it contracts for a Charter with us.

The Charter which I would submit at Constantinople after having made sure at each separate point of the consent of Your Royal Highness and His Majesty the German Kaiser shall have as its subject the colonization of Palestine and the administration of the settled area. I am in a position to provide Turkey with great financial benefits in return for this.

No one will find out that the entire matter is under the control and protection of Germany until His Majesty the German Kaiser decides the moment for this has come.

A German protectorate would be created, without any sacrifice, without any risk. Asia Minor under German influence!

The question is whether I enjoy the personal confidence of being discreet, loyal, and energetic enough to carry the matter through in this spirit.

There are people who calculate all too prosaically and to whom the whole plan seems fantastic. But there has also been a narrow Brandenburg view to which Prussia seemed a fantasy, and a narrow Prussian view to which Germany seemed so.

The prince who was one of the architects of the miraculous German edifice cannot be of this opinion.

With deepest respect and loyal gratitude, I remain

Your Royal Highness' most obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

March 8, Vienna

Letter to Kann:

Strictly confidential.

Dear Mr. Kann:

I will not conceal from you that it costs me an effort to write to you. In your letters to me you have repeatedly struck the wrong note, and only recently you gave Loewe a countermanding order when he informed you that a meeting had been called. According to Article 65 only the Council is authorized to do this, quite apart from the fact that the meeting of the Viennese directors consented to it.

The purpose of the meeting is to rectify one of the many careless mistakes that have been made in the Bank. Only during the local discussions in February was it discovered that according to English law a shareholder can demand the liquidation of the Bank if the Bank does not start operations within a year, that is, by March 20th.

To guard against this threatening danger, we decided to amend the by-laws to permit the circulation of checks even before the £250,000 have been paid. This is the purpose of our meeting.

Through Loewe's well-known incompetence and recalcitrance, holding the meeting in time has virtually been frustrated. In this emergency I have hit upon the following expedient which can only be carried out by you. This is why I am writing you.

We would have to find one or more bankers who will immediately subscribe shares in the amount lacking from £250,000. The money—about £170,000—which comes in thus is again deposited

with the same bankers, and in such a way that they earn 1% or 1½% on it. For this purpose you would have to go to London immediately and persuade Seligmann, or speak with Dutch bankers.

You will find the suitable method better than I can.

The shares subscribed by the Bankers will either be offered for sale or exchanged for the shares (over 300,000 of them) subscribed by the instalment buyers after full payment has been made.

I expect to hear from you by telegram whether or not you will or can carry this out.

The deal involves absolutely no risk for the bankers and will yield them a certain clear profit of 1 to 1½%.

With kind regards,
Th. Herzl.

March 9, Vienna

Yesterday this visiting card came by pneumatic-tube mail:

Ernst von Koerber,
Imperial-Royal Prime Minister

asks *Euer Hochwohlgeboren** kindly to call on him tomorrow, Friday, at 9 o'clock in the morning at the Ministry of the Interior. Pardon the early hour, but my time is completely taken up all day.

* * *

Naturally I was there punctually, as I had been the first time, and was received by Koerber with the same amiable ceremoniousness. After I had been seated on the sofa and had lit my cigar, he began by sighing over the Vienna question. He said he had done all he could in the way of an electoral reform for Vienna; he was truly no anti-Semite, but was now being made out one by the

* Translator's Note: Archaic form of address, used mainly for higher-placed members of the middle-class.

Liberals. (In today's *Neue Freie Presse* there is an editorial on the subject from the pen of little Community Councillor Stern)

Then he turned to my subject. He had fetched the file and read to me. Naturally the government could do nothing else but proceed according to the law; but my proposal contained an acceptable solution, and they wanted to go along with it by "looking the other way." These were his words. The only condition was that none of it be done in public. Nothing must be reported in the papers; but the subscribers could be informed directly that they would be permitted to complete their payments and receive their shares. I offered to submit an appropriate circular to him. He accepted; he would then speak with the governors of Lower Austria and Galicia so that the prohibition would be lifted.

I thanked him for his obligingness. Then, amid renewed sighs over the Viennese question he saw me out into the ante-chamber, which caused a sensation among the *valetaille* [staff].

I am now writing him:

Your Excellency:

I am taking the liberty of submitting, as an enclosure, the draft of the circular which is to be sent to the Austrian subscribers to the Jewish Colonial Trust.

What Your Excellency said in conclusion about the Viennese difficulty has been going around in my head. I believe that there are expedients about which something could be said as soon as I again have the honor to be summoned.

It is possible, but not yet definite, that I shall have to leave town on Sunday—for three or four days. Therefore I should like to request with due respect that any summons to an audience be conveyed to me not by pneumatic-tube mail, but by a messenger who would learn then and there whether I am here. Naturally I would get in touch with you immediately upon my return.

With deep respect, I remain

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

March 14, Vienna

Yesterday Oskar Marmorek told me that Alex had succeeded with his attempts to cure tuberculosis in humans. It is such a colossal thing that I am skeptical. For the sake of that good soul and most high-minded man Alex, as well as for humanity, but most of all for the sake of Zionism, I wish it would turn out to be true.

Today I wrote Alex about the possible utilization of his discovery for the promotion of our movement, perhaps through turning the exploitation over to the Bank.

* * *

The Bank continues to cause me great concern. Kann is refractory, gives counter-orders, disputes the validity of the Vienna board meeting, because he was not there. In short, he impudently acts the part of the head of the Bank, because he knows that we have absolutely no one else.

However, according to information from the secretary Loewe, who, to be sure, is incompetent and unreliable, there is no danger of an official liquidation, although operations will not be started by March 20th.

Since the inefficiency of our offices has made it impossible to hold the meetings of the general assembly as scheduled in order to make the change in the by-laws, I have to let things take their course and stand by with arms folded.

My task now is to find a manager who is dependent on myself alone, as well as a house to replace Lissa & Kann in the public sale of the shares. Then Kann, who has mutinied, must get out.

* * *

Several telegrams have come from Hechler who has been gone for almost a week now.

The Grand Duke received him well; my letter has had an effect. I should come to Karlsruhe right away.

Since I am acquainted with Hechler's illusions, I first wired back asking whether it was the Grand Duke or he who wished me to come.

Answer: he (Hechler) did. However, the Grand Duke wanted to help.

So I asked him to procure for me, if at all possible, an introduction to the Sultan from the Kaiser personally. This would assure me of the audience I need. Then I could go to Constantinople.

Hechler wired back that Uncle (Grand Duke) felt one ought to go easy with the nephew (Kaiser). However, the letter of recommendation had not been denied. Apparently Uncle is willing, but doesn't know whether Berlin will be. Bülow can again do good or harm.

Recently Sigmund Münz of the *Neue Freie Presse* was in Berlin and had dinner at Bülow's house. Bülow inquired about me and asked how things stood with Zionism. Münz wasn't able to give him any information. To Münz's counter-question as to what our chances were Bülow, on his part, gave no answer.

However, I consider the general situation—England tied up in South Africa, Russia reaching for Persia—as favorable to us.

We shall see what truth there is in Hechler's telegram from Karlsruhe of March 13:

Have just returned from Uncle; he will write and report to Constantinople and to nephew. Please prepare proposal (i.e., Charter).

The main thing about it is that my line to Berlin hasn't been cut yet. *Pour le reste—attendre* [For the rest—wait]!

March 17, Vienna

Yesterday the following card came:

Ernst von Koerber

begs to request *Euer Hochwohlgeboren*, if your time permits, kindly to call on him on Monday the 19th at 9 o'clock in the morning at the Ministry of the Interior.

* * *

Shall not fail to.

But more interesting is this letter sent by pneumatic tube:

Vienna, March 16, 1900

Dear Doctor Herzl:

Will you have lunch with me tomorrow, Saturday, at 1 o'clock? An acceptance would please me greatly.

Very sincerely yours,
B. Eulenburg-Hertefeld.

I have had almost no contact with Eulenburg in 1½ years. This invitation seems to be a consequence of Hechler's expedition—unless, grotesquely, it refers to tomorrow's benefit matinee which is taking place under Prince Eulenburg's sponsorship.

Vederemo [We shall see]!

* * *

With these things on my mind, today I am supposed to do a funny little write-up of the fashion show for the *N. Fr. Pr.! Clown** and *Leader** rolled into one.

Moses had an easier time of it.

March 18, Vienna

The *luncheon** at Eulenburg's was just a *luncheon.** The others present were Count Pückler, Captain of Cavalry von Bülow, another attaché, also Frei the physician and Dr. Friedjung.

Conversation informal but refined.

Eulenburg told a story about Prince George of Prussia. While traveling he was accidentally locked into his hotel room by his

* In English in the original.

valet, got a belly-ache, screamed loudly for help, but wasn't liberated until—it was too late.

After that I told a story about the Austrian Parliament. A Polish deputy wanted to say: "Serves Prince Lichtenstein right on the school bill; why did he reject our water bill?" but said instead: "Serves right to him; why didn't he pass water?"*

Apart from these risqué things, our conversation was usually very refined.

I sat at Eulenburg's right. After lunch he drew me aside. I told him that I had intended to call on him one of these days anyway, and sketched the situation, approximately as in my letter to the Grand Duke. I am only afraid that Friedjung may have caught some of it.

We finally agreed that Eulenburg would send for me shortly.

* * *

Letter from Crespi, dated March 15.

They say they are working. I should write a fresh letter, which would go via Izzet Bey and in which I state the purpose of the audience more clearly.

Accordingly I am writing the following letter.**

Your Excellency:

You are probably familiar with the letter I sent to my friend in which I outlined the considerable advantages of Jewish immigration to Palestine. I am firmly convinced that His Majesty the Sultan's lofty wisdom would appreciate the fortunate opportunities of the Zionist plan if I were allowed to explain it at the foot of the throne. All that I have heard about His Majesty's great qualities of mind and heart leads me to believe that he will become the ardent friend and protector of the Zionist undertaking, which is useful to the Ottoman Empire and beneficent to the persecuted Jews.

I have, then, the honor to beg you to procure an audience for me with H.I.M. The purpose of this audience would be to explain

* Translator's Note: *Recht ihm so, warum hat er Wasser abgeschlagen?*

** In French in the original.

our plan in all sincerity and trust and to propose the forms and the means of executing it, as well as the financial services we wish to render His Majesty's government.

Those things can only be dealt with orally. There is the matter of rather large sums which I have mentioned to my friend. If the Empire needs a fleet—here are the means to obtain it without Europe's being able to prevent you and without onerous or difficult conditions. On the contrary, the result would be an increase in the country's wealth and an increase of H.M.'s loyal subjects. The agreement to be reached is so beneficial to Turkey that that is perhaps the very reason for delay and suspicion. One might suspect that something mysterious or dangerous was concealed behind it.

Well, there *is* something behind it: the moral and political misery of the Jewish people which requires a relief that we are rich enough to pay for.

Let me have the favor of an interview with the Caliph—and God will put arguments to convince His Majesty in my mouth.

If he consents, it will be the finest page of his glorious reign, the greatest benefit he has procured both for his Empire and for the unhappy Jews who will place themselves under his protection while bringing him innumerable advantages of every kind.

If H.M. wishes to find out about my character and the usefulness of my plan to Turkey—nothing is easier.

I have the great honor of being known to His Majesty the Emperor of Germany. Let H.M. the Sultan deign to learn about me from his powerful friend.

Take action, Your Excellency, to procure the audience which I request, take action in the interest of your beloved sovereign, of your beautiful country, and of the unhappy people whom I represent. Already they are beginning to be impatient; leaders are rising to launch other projects: settlement in Cyprus, emigration to America, since Turkey does not want to come to an understanding with us!

Who knows—perhaps it will be realized too late that an opportunity has been missed; and your Moslem enemies who are working

abroad against the existing government will forge a new weapon from the fact that you have let such a chance escape you.

I still hope that this last appeal I am sending you will be listened to. To sum up: procure me the favor of an audience with your venerated sovereign; I have confidence in his magnanimity and in his grasp of important matters.

With my profound respects to Your Excellency,

Dr. Th. H.

March 20, Vienna

Remarkable the way one gets used even to Prime Ministers. Yesterday I forgot to enter that I was with Koerber again. He received me charmingly, as usual, handed me the settlement the way I had desired it, and expressed the expectation that at a more opportune moment we would come back to the "admission to this country" of the Colonial Trust.

He would invite me to his house some evening soon, so that we might discuss the domestic political situation, particularly his apparent, unfortunately forced yielding to the anti-Semites.

"I am certainly not an anti-Semite," he said. At the door I told him: "Your Excellency, I believe you will be in power for a long time!"

He gave me a grateful smile for this prophecy and showed me out through the ante-chamber where the governor of Silesia had had to wait until our conversation was finished, although he had arrived at the same time as I had.

March 25, Vienna

I am not only a 'Clown,' but also a servant or an office boy at the *N. Fr. Pr.*

Only now does it occur to me to document the experience which I had a few days ago.

I told Benedikt in Bacher's room that an engineer was asking for

a manuscript that he had submitted for our "Communications" section. Benedikt said he didn't know where the manuscript was.

I: "I'm sure you have it."

He gave a start: "How dare you speak to me this way?"

I said (quite calmly): "I am saying that you must have the manuscript; I sent it to you through Klinenberger."

He (grimly): "I know nothing about it."

I: "You must have it."

He: "How do you know that?"

I: "I assume that Kl. didn't lie to me."

He: "You assume! . . . But I don't want you to use that tone toward me. I don't want that!"

I turned my back to him, stepped to the window—and he ran into his office. He came back a moment later and said meekly: "I've found the manuscript."

I didn't bother to reply.

Then we turned to the subject of the novel. The Ohnet serial had been completed and no new one was on hand. I declined responsibility, because so far I had not been put in charge of this department.

I said rudely: "I have to be told in advance what is wanted."

From this he noticed that I was angry. I went to my room. Three minutes later he came running after me, whining like a cowed cur.

Just as the insult had only been in the tone of voice before, the miserable beg-your-pardon now was also only in the tone.

I sensed immediately that he wanted to give me something to put me in a good mood.

Sure enough: he came in with Bacher and asked me for my 19-year-old, bad youthful novelette *Hagenau* for the serial section. I gave it to him, but without signing my name to it. 18 years ago I went peddling this manuscript to the smallest papers; now it appears in the *Neue Freie Presse* under the title *Die Heimkehr* (The Homecoming), by H. Jungmann.

Two things are apparent from this experience.

1. That Benedikt hates me, even though he is coward enough

to tremble at the consequences. He considers himself the big boss and regards me as an office boy.

2. That it doesn't do any harm if people have a low opinion of something. After 18 years a piece of obscure trash is raised to fame and fortune. How, then, will it go with the derided Jewish State!

* * *

Koerber has again sent for me for tomorrow morning. Now I don't know whether this is in reference to the domestic situation and the *N. Fr. Pr.* (which I would prefer) or to the arrest of a Galician share-subscription solicitor which was reported to me from Kolomea today.

March 27, Vienna, 11:30 at night

The last 36 hours were again interesting. Because of the rehearsal of *Gretel* and my work at the office I found no time during the day to enter these memorable incidents.

At nine o'clock yesterday morning I was with Koerber. It was not about the subscription, but about sanctioning the Viennese electoral reform.

He greeted me with amiability and embarrassment: "So this is the day on which the bomb goes off."

I again had to seat myself on the by now familiar sofa and light the customary cigar, whereupon he presented his request to me. Oh yes, the Prime Minister of Austria had a request to make: the *Neue Freie Presse* should not make too much of a row about the electoral reform. Of course, it would have to come out in opposition—he realized that; but it should not strike too massively.

I briefly explained to him that he need not worry too much about the Platonic demonstrations of the Liberals and their papers. But should the situation grow more serious, more alarming, I might be in a position to come to his aid.

In the *N. Fr. Pr.*, I said, I was next in line to succeed Bacher; Bacher himself had already agreed to it in December of '99, and

this had run aground only on Benedikt's opposition. When the hour came, I might force a showdown with Benedikt.

He was visibly impressed. Then I said that he should first publish an unofficial presentation of his non-antisemitic motives for sanctioning the reform of the Vienna municipal elections.

He said he had already written one for the *Wiener Abendpost.*

"May I see it?" I asked.

He immediately went out, got the release, and showed me into an adjoining room where I was to look through the manuscript. Then he troubled himself to get me a pencil and left me alone, while he used the time to receive someone.

I now went through the release and found some things to criticize, which I told him about when he returned. I thought that he left himself wide open with the passage: "The electoral reform means no serious encroachment on any part of the electorate." He immediately crossed out the phrase "serious encroachment," and at my suggestion he changed this to ". . . partisanship for any part, etc."

Two other places he changed without further ado on my say-so.

Then he showed me out the back way.

After that I went to the Raimundtheater for the rehearsal, and from there, in the afternoon, to the office.

Benedikt already knew about the sanction. But I advised him not to make too sharp an attack on Koerber, who, I said, was a better Minister for the Jews than one of the Bohemian feudalists.

However, to play safe, I went to the office again in the evening, in order to influence Benedikt before he wrote his article. While we were talking about it, Koerber's private secretary telephoned him and invited him to call on Koerber at his private residence.

I had an unpleasant feeling when Benedikt told me this. What if Koerber gave him the substance of our conversation to make Benedikt more favorably disposed toward himself?

I was very worried and, although it was ten o'clock, drove to Koerber's private residence. In a coffee house I bought an envelope, put my visiting card in it and sent it up by the superintendent's

wife. I waited in the carriage. The woman came back and said the Prime Minister was not home yet.

I spent a bad evening. At first I was going to write him that I counted on his discretion. Overnight counsel came to me in my sleep, as usual. Writing is always tricky. I decided to go to see him at the Ministry, as I had on the previous occasions.

I was there at 9 o'clock and was admitted after only a few minutes of waiting. He came toward me beaming. The article in the *Neue Freie Presse* suited him just fine. He had been on the point of writing me a letter of thanks. Now that I was here, there probably was no need for it. He hoped that we would remain in contact—"in amicable contact," he added, and repeatedly pumped my hand.

Now there began a one-hour conversation in which he spoke with the greatest frankness about everything, including his relations with the Emperor.

His position, he said, was basically different from, and better than, that of his predecessors who had never dared to say No to the Emperor.* "The Emperor don't dare to talk to me like he did to Badeni or Thun, 'cause he thinks I'm gonna resign on him. The previous Prime Ministers, they always had kittens if four days gone by without their gettin' called to an audience. Why, they thought right away: I'm in dutch. Me, I'm not pushin' my way in. I do my job, and he knows I do. He sends me Schiessl to ask if I ain't too busy—Sometimes I talk 'im outa somethin' he wants to do, but so that he don't catch on to the reason. F'r instance, he was gonna invite the deputies to court dinner, one by one. Now I t'ought to myself, he can invite two dozen of 'em, at most. So who are you gonna take? Them that you don't invite, they're gonna be gunnin' for me. And another thing—the Emperor, he's startin' to get talkative as he gets older. He tells them deputies or delegates anything that happens to come into his head. Then the embarrass-

* Translator's Note: Koerber spoke in the Viennese dialect, and Herzl took the trouble to reproduce it faithfully. Essentially, this dialect, which was and is spoken with zest by most Viennese from governors to garbage men, professors to proletarians, is untranslatable. An attempt has been made here to achieve a similarly relaxed tone in English; but it must be pointed out that this language does not necessarily denote a low educational level on the part of the speaker.

ment is there. Well, so I tole him why don't cha put off them court dinners for them deputies till October, then we can invite them one by one. But I t'ink by then the critical period's gonna be over."

And in this tone of complete confidence he spoke about a lot of other things: About Badeni, whose mendaciousness and cowardice he described drastically; about the Lobkowitzes and Schwarzenbergs, and many others *de moindre importance* [of less importance].

He was visibly concerned about making a good impression upon me, which he managed to do.

I repeated to him my prognostication that he would head the government for a long time.

Among other things he confided in me that when the *Reichstag* reconvened he would submit the new language bill. I placed myself at his disposal in case he wanted to have the draft examined in advance by an unprejudiced eye. He immediately agreed; he also wanted to give me the argumentation to read.

Although he was called away by the court secretary (or was this only an attempted rescue such as is arranged systematically?) he continued talking to me for over an hour, and then dismissed me most amiably.

The lackeys in the ante-chamber were greatly astonished at the long favor.

April 9

Nordau sends an "open letter" to Rumanian Jewry for publication in the *Welt*. He counsels *purement et simplement* [purely and simply] to migrate in groups of 100 people, and by stages. Without authorization, without resources.

Le geste est beau [The gesture is fine]—but it would produce a *désastre* [disaster].

For the time being I am not having the letter printed.

*   *   *

Letter to Koerber.

April 9, 1900

Your Excellency:

In connection with our last conversation I beg to inform you that I shall not be here from the 16th of this month to May 2nd. Therefore, if Your Excellency would like to know my humble opinion of the draft for a language bill, I would ask you to summon me prior to Easter Sunday. I believe that a few carefully worked words to introduce the bill—a *sursum corda* [lift up your hearts]! to the people—could work wonders this time.

Should the draft not be made public until after May 2, I shall then naturally be at your disposal at any time.

With the deepest respect, I remain

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

April 14

Koerber had written me that he wished to speak to me even before my departure, and had given me an appointment for yesterday at noon.

At 12 o'clock I was in the Ministry of the Interior. Koerber came toward me in gala dress. "On account of you I have stayed all dressed up. After church I didn't have time to go home, otherwise I would've had to keep you waitin'. . . ." Then he came to the point, after he had once more installed me on the sofa and given me the regulation cigar.

"I've got the language bill done, but haven't finished the argument to support it. Can't show that to you till you get back. Where are ya goin' anyway? Paris? I'd like to get away, too, but, gee, I can't. I'm tied down from morning' to evenin'. Like yesterday, see, I get home for lunch, and they phone me to come and see Archduke Franz. Well, I didn't dash right out. First I had a spoonful o' soup an' a hunk o' meat. After that I went to see 'im—you

know, on 'count of' the weddin'. Well; and so I sat with him an hour and a half. After that a couple of hours with Goluchowski. In the evenin', soon 's I get home, I find papers layin' there again, waitin' for me. Well, so I kept on working until one in the ayemm. An' I get up at five in the mornin'! Today to church again at ha' past nine (Good Friday) and stayed till ha' past 'leven. After that you're dead."

I mutely commiserated with him.

"See," he continued, "it's all like that with us. Ain't got no seriousness. Everybody's senile. They don't think anythin' over first. That's the way it is with that business about Archduke Franz. If you're a Prince, an Archduke, why, then you can't do what you please. With them people you never know in advance whether it's serious. Maybe he's gonna send her packin' again after it's over. An Archduke's gotta be considerate. If he goes and marries a commoner, this can harm the monarchic principle. He's gettin' relatives from his wife's side and they're gonna have an influence. That's why they always cut off them princesses from the world like that, so no one could get at 'em, so there'd be no influences from that side.

"We just ain't got no seriousness in anything! 'Mong the people same as with the authorities. D'you think I can rely on a governor? Haven't got a one. Could you name me one gov'nor? I don't know none. Then why do I keep the gen'lmen? 'Cause I ain't got any other, that's why. Can't be every place at once—and they don't do a blessed thing."

I permitted myself to remark: "That's due to the way the gentlemen are recruited. Young fellows from good families, who then simply are promoted."

"There's no initiative," he complained.

"But this can perhaps be remedied," I said. "The governors could be given secret instructions on how they are to improve the attitude of the people. I believe the dissolution of the *Reichsrat* will come. At least, that's the way it seems to me."

He nodded: "To me, too. If I could give you some inside dope. . . ." He let it peep out that he had the Imperial instruc-

tions in his pocket. "It's only on account of Galicia. If it comes to an election, there's gonna be a bloodbath in Galicia."

"Things would simply have to be prepared in advance. In Galicia there are a large number of Jews on whom influence could be exerted."

"Yes, but ain't they Socialists?" he asked.

"One could drive a wedge into that," I said, without mentioning Zionism. "I might be able to help you with this, Your Excellency! . . . In general, it would be a matter of establishing contact with the people over the heads of the professional politicians. Even when the language bills are made public the coming dissolution of the *Reichsrat* ought to be kept in mind and the present Parliament put in the wrong. Economic necessity should be emphasized, as well as the fact that the language disputes are undermining the existence of the state as well as of the individual provinces. A modern program, a program for the public welfare, is needed. It would have to be popular, appeal to the imagination. New, meaningful slogans ought to be circulated, instead of the worn-out ones of the language politicians. The government has the means for it sooner than the parties. In the secret instructions to the governors, it should be explained to the gentlemen how they have to prepare their elections. The formation of an economic party should be brought about and encouraged. New men should be brought in from the circles of merchants, industrialists, scientists, jurists, physicians, including the heads of the cooperative societies, etc. The first step would be to make a list of those men, who should preferably be recruited from outside the existing organized groups of politicians. The governors would have to try to establish contact with them directly or indirectly. Some will do it for the sake of profit or distinction, others out of true seriousness; many will already feel honored by merely being brought in. A *soirée* [dinner party], a *rout* [social gathering] may suffice in some cases. In short, practical conciliation by association."

I could tell by the expression on his face, which had originally mirrored Austrian unconcern and now became pensive and deeply

interested, that he was gripped. He now urged me to look him up right after my return, as well as to write him on my trip.

I offered to compose the *Sursum Corda* to the peoples of Austria, which he acknowledged with a grateful smile and a handshake.

"Of course," I said, "this will remain between us."

Minister Baron Call was announced. I arose, and he took an even more cordial leave of me than usual. He told me to be sure to be here again on the 2nd of May.

I am handling Koerber a bit the way Scheherazade did the Shah. After each conversation he wants to see me again, because I bring him something.

What I want is truly nothing bad, neither in the means nor in the end.

By means of the pacification of Austria, in which I am secretly participating, without ambition or desire for gain, I wish to improve the lot of the Jews and solve the Jewish Question. Does Koerber understand me?

April 18, on the train from Karlsruhe to Paris

Have again been to Karlsruhe to see the good Grand Duke. Today's conversation with him was, politically speaking, by far the most interesting of all the talks I have had with him over the years, just as from the point of view of result it was the most meaningless—in fact, a downright refusal on the part of Germany.

By now I already know this ante-chamber, too, its lackeys, its general in charge, von Müller, and its historical family portraits, so that I waited in the red salon less agitated than ever. Nothing has changed there since I was here for the first and for the last time. Against the background of all the inanimate things, the good Grand Duke happily has not changed; on the stroke of eleven he came through the door of his study to meet me and welcomed me with a long handshake.

This time we stayed in the red salon whose damask furniture, as I could not help noticing, had become a bit threadbare.

I opened the encounter with a presentation of the state of affairs, something like what I had given in my letter of March 5th.

I had been quite surprised when upon my entrance the good Grand Duke had expressly thanked me for my letter "of March 5th." I had happened to read said letter of March 5th in the morning at the hotel, in order to prepare myself for the conversation, so that I knew what he was talking about. To the considerations which made the present moment seem suitable to me for a campaign in Constantinople I added the Paris Exposition and the resulting desire for peace on the part of France.

I sketched a picture of the situation in condensed brevity, whereupon the Grand Duke took the floor.

Things were different, he said. Precisely the South African War in its present state was a danger to Germany—in fact, to world peace. The moment could come when England would realize that it could not cope with the Boers. Then they might cast about for a pretext to leave the Transvaal, because "more important interests are at stake."

Even now England probably was avid for a diversion in the direction where her power was still unimpaired and superior. She would beware of tangling with Russia; France, too, was too strong for her on the seas. On the other hand, she might not be disinclined to hurl herself at Germany, which was still incapable of defending itself on the seas and offered an important area of attack through its magnificently increasing commerce.

During this exposition I had a strong impression. Someone was speaking out of the Grand Duke's mouth, and it was German policy itself. The kindness, particularly the kindness of telling me these things, was that of the Grand Duke, but the data, the reports of the attitudes from all cabinets, as well as the thinking that summed it all up in strong arguments, were obviously the work of German ambassadors and of Bülow.

Germany was now avoiding complications in general, said the Grand Duke, and especially anything that could give England an excuse for making the trouble she was looking for. That is why Ambassador Radolin at St. Petersburg, whose recall had been

rumored, was given a decoration just so he could stay. That is why the ailing London ambassador was not being replaced; that is why the aged Münster was staying on in Paris, just for the sake of *quieta non movere* [not stirring up things when they are quiet].

Strangely enough, Germany feels threatened by England's South African defeats. I would never have drawn this conclusion from the situation. From the Grand Duke's statements I saw it with clarity. I also sensed that my "letter of March 5th" had been the subject of investigation and action on the part of German diplomacy. I further conclude from it that Eulenburg didn't just happen to invite me to have lunch with Friedjung and Frei. Perhaps the other two Jews were invited only so that I might see nothing very special in it after the long silence.

I must admit now that there is something to the Grandducal and German reasoning.

Germany's sea *surface* [area] is enormous, and its capacity for defending it, as the Grand Duke says, infinitesimally small. "We would be in no position to defend ourselves against a blockade. It will be 15 years before our fleet is ready. However, our commerce and our industry are expanding daily, in a way which is as gratifying as it is alarming."

He now adduced a number of highly interesting data which attested to his statesmanlike seriousness and his fine, faithful sovereign's concern.

Industry, he said, was draining agriculture of its strength. At the construction of a harbor—I forget, where—only Italian workers were used. Recently 3000 Italians had come into the country via Lucerne. In the army, too, the manpower shortage was making itself felt. Serviceable non-commissioned officers did not want to stay. "Give me three marks a day," says one of them, "and I'll stay." Here in Karlsruhe there was a cartridge-case factory in which the female workers earned five to eight marks a day. Thus, everywhere the most auspicious prosperity, and with it a way of life that has remained constant—but the neighbors cast a covetous eye at this prosperity.

As it was, in England there was great dissatisfaction with the

progress Germany had made in industry and world trade. The English would be glad, he said, if they could pick some holes in us. France and Russia could only encourage that. And if our industry, our maritime commerce and merchant marine went to ruin, it would suit the Englishmen just fine.

This danger of a naval war, with its possibilities of economic ruin and the destruction of so many people's livelihood, was one of the German government's greatest worries. Despite the German land power they were exposed to such a great danger, and the only alliance which might promise a certain security was perhaps with America.

At any rate, the greatest caution was imperative, and they could not expose themselves to the possibility that England might use a German protectorate in Palestine as a pretext to turn from South Africa to "this more important problem."

One bright spot in this situation, however, was the imminent visit of Emperor Franz Joseph to Berlin.

"I have discussed Austrian politics with you on earlier occasions, and, as you may remember, my judgment was not always a favorable one. I am all the more pleased to be able to tell you that a turn for the better has now occurred. Emperor Franz Joseph, for whom I personally have the greatest sympathy, has not always had the happiest policy. We are now very happy that he is getting back on the right road.

"The Emperor's visit, of course, is not only private in nature, as has been remarked; it is, rather, a political visit. The Triple Alliance, which had already fallen to pieces, will come into being again with renewed strength. Italy, too, has already announced a visit when the Crown Prince comes of age.

"I think Emperor Franz Joseph will be satisfied with his trip. He will return invigorated, something he probably can use.

"Despite all personal predilection for Emperor Franz Joseph, I must say that we did not get much out of the alliance with him.

"However, we certainly want to maintain Austria in its present existence. But this does not also mean that we encourage certain

efforts aiming at incorporating Austria's German malcontents into Germany. We reject this idea.

"Now, to return to your matter: while we are in no position now to recommend you at Constantinople, Austria is well able to do so. After his return from Berlin the recommendation of the Austrian Emperor will carry greater weight than would have been the case previously, or even now. The two Emperors of Central Europe do mean a great deal more now."

I had mentioned to him my relationship with Koerber, saying that I believed I could obtain a recommendation to the Sultan through him. But I thought that Austria's foreign policy was under Catholic influence; and the Curia probably was not favorable to the Zionist plan. To be sure, I had also spun some threads in this direction. I mentioned the letters from Rome which Baron Gleichen-Russwurm (Schiller's grandson) had written me concerning his occasional talks with church dignitaries about the Zionist Question. I had also mentioned the fact that I had recruited adherents to our cause in the circle around the Sultan. To the Grand Duke's question about their identity I replied:

"I cannot keep anything secret from Your Royal Highness. It is Nuri Bey."

Whereupon the Grand Duke put his hand on his heart and said: "You may be certain of my discretion."

However, Germany did not wish to expose herself under any circumstances, and the German ambassador could not undertake anything.

I should get myself recommended to the Sultan by Austria. Since the Bagdad Railroad Russia's stock had been highest with Turkey. They had tried to make the Sultan understand that it was better not to rely on one friend (Germany) that was demanding such concessions for itself. Now Russian influence was overwhelming in Constantinople.

"When are you going to Constantinople?" he finally asked.

"I don't know yet, Your Royal Highness! I am going to London first. I shall try to speak with Lord Salisbury if the South African worries leave his head free for other things. Perhaps I can get him

interested in Zionism. The purely Zionist idea, without German protection, numbers many friends in England. Particularly in the Church; and it surely has social influence, perhaps political influence as well."

He nodded in agreement.

"If I succeeded in winning over Lord Salisbury, would there then be more of a chance that Germany would intervene in our behalf? Because this seems to be the only objection that gives rise to worry."

"In that case," said the Grand Duke, "it would also be a matter of convincing Count Bülow of it."

"Count Bülow unfortunately is an opponent of Zionism," I said.

"He is just cautious," said the Grand Duke, "and, after all, he has to be."

"But what if I could induce Lord Salisbury to send word to Berlin, perhaps even in writing, that he had nothing against our plan —would there then not be a modification of Germany's attitude in our favor?"

"Yes, that might be something different."

"I shall take the liberty of making a report if anything noteworthy can be achieved in London. In other instances, too, despite the present unfavorable situation, I should like to ask permission to inform Your Royal Highness when we take a step forward or backward."

"I hope it will never be backward! I am glad to see with what perseverance you are pursuing your great work."

"I have to, Your Royal Highness, if I want to accomplish anything. Let us hope we shall live to see it!"

"*You* will, *I* won't!" said the Grand Duke with a smile. "I admire you for the way you persevere despite your adversaries. Particularly among your co-religionists do you have opponents. Here I am your sole adherent. I have repeatedly assured your fellow Jews here that we don't want any of our local Jews to leave, that none of them shall and will go. I have many acquaintances among your co-religionists whom I esteem."

Then he dismissed me very cordially, after a conversation that had lasted for an hour and a quarter.

In the ante-chamber, General von Müller stiffly returned my formal bow, and only a group of younger officers in gala dress who had been obliged to wait such a long time looked with some astonishment and respect at the Jewish stranger who had been with the sovereign for so long. I passed through the group without a greeting, because I know their ways and did not want to give them an opportunity to take my greeting as Jewish servility. To be sure, I didn't have much time to reason thus: just the time it takes to cross the ante-chamber (I think it is the one where the flags once impressed me) at a brisk pace.

* * *

My hotel carriage drove up and I rolled out of the palace square in style. I think I was not yet at the guard-house when I had already made up my mind to turn this unsuccessful attempt to account after all, by informing Koerber in Vienna of this disposition of German policy, which is of great interest to Austria.

To what extent I can use the Grand Duke's disclosures vis-à-vis Lord Salisbury I don't know at the moment. Could little me contrive a rapprochement between England and Germany on the basis of Zionism, of all things? *C'est à creuser* [It is something to explore thoroughly].

* * *

On the train, beyond Strasbourg.

Letter to Koerber—to be dated Paris, April 19:

Your Excellency:

Your Excellency was kind enough to say at my departure that I should write occasionally. Now I actually have an occasion to do so which seems to me gratifying and not without importance.

Following an invitation by the Grand Duke of Baden, I have been to Karlsruhe. The Grand Duke, who always treats me with such kindness, this time, too, expressed himself on many subjects,

including our Emperor's forthcoming Berlin journey. I believe I am committing no indelicacy if I bring the temper of German policy, which I was able to gather quite distinctly from the words of His Royal Highness, to Your Excellency's attention.

Many favorable things are being expected from the visit of our Emperor. The Triple Alliance, which would soon have fallen to pieces, partly because of Austria's former domestic policy, will be newly strengthened or, actually, restored. Austrian foreign policy will meet with the desired support, particularly as far as Bulgaria is concerned. "Emperor Franz Joseph will be satisfied!" These were the Grand Duke's words.

I believe it can be of value if it is known in Vienna beforehand what expectations one should adopt—quite apart from the self-evident civilities of the reception—and that Count Goluchowski's calculations thus face favorable eventualities from the outset. There are certain motives at work about which I may have an opportunity to say a few things after my return.

It might also be of interest that the turn in Austrian domestic policies, Your Excellency's attempts to restore more orderly conditions, are meeting with the greatest recognition and sympathy in German circles. The aspirations of the German-Radicals are most vigorously rejected, because Germany *needs* a strengthened Austria. This aspect, too, can perhaps be exploited at the approaching Bohemian understanding. In any case, I had the impression that Your Excellency's regime inspires in Germany just as much gratification and the readiness for an alliance resulting from it as the earlier governments aroused suspicion and ill-will. Under such circumstances there will be a better possibility of getting the Germans—and the Czechs, for that matter—into that moderate, tolerable and tolerated degree of dissatisfaction which is already the ideal among us.

Your Excellency may consider it wise to inform His Majesty the Emperor and possibly Count Goluchowski of the foregoing. I would have only one urgent request to make, namely, that *no one* else should learn anything about it, for it would be infinitely pain-

ful if some distorted rendering gave the Grand Duke, whom I venerate most sincerely, the impression that I had become guilty of unseemly tale-bearing.

On Sunday I am leaving here for London, Hotel Cecil, will be there until Thursday, and in Vienna again on May 1st.

With deepest respect, I remain

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

Mailed in a second envelope addressed to my father on April 20.

April 21, on the train from Amiens to Calais

Yesterday, a conversation of several hours with Nordau about Zionism *et de omni re scibili et ceteris aliis* [and about every conceivable thing and others too].

This time N. was very nice, not only outwardly but inwardly as well, and submitted to my leadership, particularly with regard to the letter to Rumanian Jewry which, following my advice, is not being published. However, I shall make use of it in London; I shall say that I want to keep Nordau from publishing this letter, which could lead to catastrophes.

At parting I mentioned my intention of seeing Lord Salisbury (through the good offices of Lord Glanusk [?]). Nordau said that the *poeta laureatus* [poet laureate] Austin had been shocked by my failure to pay him the visit that had been announced to him last summer. I had forgotten about the whole thing, but declared my readiness to make up for the omission now. N. immediately composed a telegram in which I asked Austin to wire me whether he would be willing to receive me at Ashford today. In the evening came his reply:

*With pleasure, Austin.**

Accordingly, I am now on my way to Ashford.

* In English in the original.

April 22, on the train from Ashford to London

I spent a wonderful evening and morning in Swinford Old Manor with Alfred Austin, the *poeta laureatus,* the Lord of Poets in England.

I wasn't met at the station yesterday, which surprised and miffed me. So I drove to the Saracen's Head Hotel, which pleased me with its *English style.** I washed and changed, left my luggage in the hotel, and drove out of the little town, through a delicate early-summer landscape, to Swinford, the country residence of the Lord of Poets.

A quiet park, a delicious garden, silence all around the venerable manor. A short, elderly gentleman with a martial-looking white moustache and a grey knickerbocker suit came to meet me. He said he had sent a carriage to the station, but to meet the next train. When I said that I wanted to continue my trip the same evening, he was displeased, as was the amiable Mrs. Austin, beautiful even under her grey hair. But they soon caught on that I wanted to leave only because there had been no carriage to meet me. I willingly let myself be convinced by the timetable that this morning would be time enough.

My coachman was sent to the Saracen's Head Hotel for my luggage, and we ensconced ourselves in one of the drawing-rooms for tea. The ideal English country *home.** Outside the windows, the most gentle spring landscape; in the drawing-room, nevertheless, blazing logs in the fireplace.

The conversation was soon in full swing, because, speaking about Zionism, I said that anti-Semitism could also come to England in consequence of South African failures which were attributed to the money-men.

In England there was no anti-Semitism and there never could be, declared dear Mrs. Austin, and the "*laureate*"* confirmed this.

And from that point on we spoke only about the war. What charming jingoists these two are, proud of their beautiful England,

* In English in the original.

which they call the first, foremost, finest Power in the world. *Mon avis* [My opinion]!

Since I was aiming at getting an introduction to Lord Salisbury from Austin, I expressed the desire that an alliance be achieved between England and Germany. England ought to make the German Kaiser its agent with the German people. Since I know from the Grand Duke of Baden that Germany is afraid of England, I can operate *à coup sûr* [on a sure thing] when I promise that I could induce the Kaiser to do this. On the other hand, from Austin's words I recognize the feeling of England which, to be sure, is proud and self-assured, but purely defensive.

The Grand Duke's fears of a lightly provoked war are evidently groundless.

All the meanders of our afternoon conversation at five o'clock tea, later over dinner at the beautiful English table decorated with flowers—Mrs. Austin in evening dress, the "*laureate*"* and I in compromise clothes, he with black tie, I with white—cannot be reproduced. These are the people, this is the milieu that I need for my well-being. *Comme je les comprends, les Juifs assimilés de l'Angleterre* [How I sympathize with them, the assimilated English Jews]! If I lived in England, I might be a *jingo.**

I didn't even need to ask Austin for the introduction to Lord Salisbury. When I told him that I would like to speak with Salisbury, he immediately offered to give me a letter to him.

Je l'avais amorcé [I had hooked him] by parading before his eyes the chance of an understanding with Germany.

Among the theories of the "*laureate*"* is his declaring England to be an *organism** and Germany, France, etc. *mechanisms.** He calls German colonial policy mechanical, i.e., contrived, whereas English policy is organic.

At eleven o'clock we went to bed. The wonderfully quiet night in the guest room of Swinford Old Manor.

The rosy morning, The dear Mrs. Austin. I sensed her liking for me, just as I took to this delightful matron. I shall send her something from Vienna.

* In English in the original.

Mr. Austin took me to the station in his victoria. The coachman was *stylish.**

The ridiculous revolutionaries mock at old forms and externals. But the shiny table, the order in the house, the correct coachman mean something, too.

The form which derives from the substance and has rigidified through the infinite toil of many generations in turn reacts upon the substance.

With all my liking for the *laureate,** a few comic touches did not escape my notice. He is a *guerrier en chambre* [an armchair warrior], a conqueror of colonies in his quiet flower garden. Mrs. Austin is taller by three heads than he is; he likes to put his hand on her shoulder, just as he patted mine reaching up from below.

He gave me a pretty quotation from the *Prime Minister of Canada:** *"It will be the eternal glory of England that she* (I think he said "*she*") *was not prepared for this war."**

We attack no one, he said, but we are ready for war with the whole world.

I must break off. Here is London. I still have to write my speech for tonight and have it translated into English.

* * *

While riding to the station Austin read me the letter of recommendation to Salisbury. He seems to have a good impression of me.

April 25, London

Days of annoyances and honors.

At the Great Central Hotel, day before yesterday, a *reception** at which I had to talk. Gaster came and welcomed me with a bittersweet expression, with forced enthusiasm. Then all kinds of

* In English in the original.

*thanks.** The most interesting thing about the whole business was the presence of De Sola from Montreal and Dr. Hertz of Capetown. They made the same speeches that are made in Vienna. Evidence in favor of Zionism.

* * *

Worries at the Bank.

The directors Kann and Lurie frustrated the session by their absence. Wolffsohn wasn't there either. For the first time he fails us. Now I reluctantly have to stay here two days longer to provide a quorum.

In the *City** I am a sort of *banker.** Curious adventure. At the Burlington Hotel, October '98, I was a *promoter.** Now the bank is established, but don't ask me how. Secretary Loewe displays the worst will imaginable. Deputy *governor** Rabbinowicz figures every quarter-hour that he sits there a benefaction, because he gets no salary. The *Solicitor** runs up expenses.

Go "parade in state" with such people. The dreary Viennese wit Bauer was right.** He knew himself and his kind.

* * *

I am determined not to leave before I have put things in order. With it all I am plagued by the worry whether my office will forgive me for this absence.

* * *

A dear letter from Austin. Lord Salisbury has regretfully refused on account of the war worries. He cannot receive me now.

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: An allusion to Julius Bauer's eight-line satirical poem about Herzl (1897) which ends with the words: "*Er denkt daran in dieser Zeit mit Juden Siaat zu machen!*" Also see note on p. 797.

May 1, on the train between Linz and Vienna

My trip wouldn't have been complete if, as usual, the worry about the return hadn't interfered. Since I can always undertake these extracurricular vacation trips only on my own responsibility and with a certain boldness, I have to think about the reunion with my two slave-drivers with concern. After all, I am in a special *goles* [exile], and the loss of my job with the *Neue Freie Presse* would be a great catastrophe for me.

The poor Jews really have egregious touch luck. If someone finally turns up who wants to help them and could do it—for I am firmly convinced that through my personal intervention I would get things ahead quickly—he is a wage slave and has to tremble for his children's bread.

I intended to go to Constantinople soon after this—but I don't dare to be absent again soon. My masters could resent it too much. Haven't I just now received proof of their cowardly ill-humor?

In order to be forgiven for this trip, I wrote a *feuilleton* about the exposition the very next day after my arrival in Paris and sent it to Vienna by a passenger on the Orient Express. They didn't print this *feuilleton,* but the day before yesterday they published one by Wittmann with the same contents.

I felt a certain relief when in today's paper, which I bought at Attnang, I at least found my second (London) travel *feuilleton.*

In such an unstable situation I musn't make any experiments. How am I to support my family and myself if I lose my post? I would really be out in the street and would have to try to place *feuilletons* in German papers.

Added to this is the fact that I have already made enormous financial sacrifices and by now am almost without any funds.

That Zionism should offer me anything near what I now make on the *Neue Freie Presse* is simply out of the question. Besides, I would have lost all my reputation overnight, and they would reproach me for every mouthful of bread.

Actually, under such circumstances it would be my duty to re-

sign, since I would be unable to serve the cause fully and completely.

But do I have the right to do that?

It would be an idea to turn over the leadership (at least nominally) to Francis Montefiore, who is a man of independent means.

* * *

Yesterday, half an hour before my departure from Paris, I ran into Bernard Lazare on the boulevard. He greeted me most amicably and assured me he had never ceased being of one mind with me.

Since he told me that he intended to go to Constantinople soon as representative of the telegraphic news-agency *Agence Nationale*, I asked him if he wouldn't try to win Ambassador Constans for our cause. Constans is said to be accessible for money. One could intimate to him the economic consequences of a large-scale organization of Palestine carried out by us: railroads, harbors, etc., and also that there could be some money in it for him.

Lazare plans to visit me in Vienna next week in order to talk some more about this.

* * *

I have thought of a good epitaph for myself:
"He had too good an opinion of the Jews."

May 2

Letter to Koerber:

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to advise you that I am back again.

I believe it would be useful if I were permitted to pay my respects to you this very day, perhaps in the evening, for I have something to say that could be of importance to Count Goluchowski even prior to his departure. I shall wait for a possible summons in my apartment this afternoon between 5 and 8 o'clock.

Otherwise I shall permit myself to call at the Ministry at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

With deepest respect, I remain

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Th. H.

May 4, 1900, Vienna

Yesterday morning at 9 o'clock with Koerber, who gave me a very friendly reception. He said he had informed the Emperor (at this he gave a strangely meaningful smile) and Count Goluchowski of my Paris letter. He was going to see Goluchowski in the afternoon and would then give him the information I would give him now. I said that people were accounting for Germany's present pro-England about-face by saying that Germany had got something—an island or the like.

As I saw it, they really did get something: namely, scared. They are scared of a naval war with England which would ruin Germany's commerce and industry. That is why they were anxious to have a Triple Alliance emphasized, and Goluchowski would be able to negotiate from a good position.

Koerber said he would inform Goluchowski of this.

Then he told me in detail what he intended to do in the *Reichsrat* and outlined the speech he planned to make before Parliament when the language bill was introduced. I approved of some things, criticized others, e.g., his intention rhetorically to call for the aid of the parties not involved in the language dispute. Neither the Germans nor the Czechs would willingly put up with the intervention of Poles, Slovenes, and Clericals. Instead, the government ought to shoulder the responsibility for mediation. I conceived of this appeal to peace not as full of pathos, but of plain bonhomie.

"Wanna write it down for me?" he asked.

"Gladly," I said. He thereupon handed me in complete confidence the drafts of the language bill, which aren't to be made public until May 8th.

I promised to study them within two days and to send him the draft for his speech.

He once made a slip of the tongue, as though he had a slight attack of paraphasia. In general, he gave me the impression of weakness and debility.

May 5

Kann resigned the day before yesterday, which caused some excitement in the Bank. I have taken over the command and shall restore order.

May 5

Draft of the language-bill speech which I am writing for Koerber. *Je prends date ici* [I fix the date for this here].

The day after tomorrow I shall confirm this text as mine by recording after these lines a death that will occur tomorrow.

(Honored House:)

The moment when I have the honor of placing upon the table of this house the drafts for the legal regulation of linguistic conditions in Bohemia and Moravia can become a moment of good fortune for our fatherland if you will it so.

More than by logical reasoning this bill is motivated by a profound general longing for domestic peace. By far the largest part of the population harbors such a longing, and the government, which wants to be a government of peace and of work, believes it is on the right track if it makes itself the interpreter of these clearly recognized desires of the people. Precisely because we are not under the influence of any national faction or political party, precisely because we stand on the raised platform of the general interest, we feel ourselves called upon to settle the dispute which has already lasted too long.

How do we want to end it? By a law! That is to say, through the purest expression of the collective will.

The persistent confusion of recent times is to blame if we have to say the most self-evident things all over again and even explain them. The linguistic conditions in the aforementioned crown-lands have unfortunately become the subject of contention. Well then, they can, they shall, they must be regulated. And no one would understand if in the house of representatives of the people, of all places, voices were raised objecting to this regulation being carried out in a constitutional form. The constitutional form is the law. The representatives of the people would have to demand it from us if we did not bring it to them.

And now read our bill.

Read it, examine it—improve it! In every line, in every word of our bill you will at least recognize a sincere effort to effect a just compromise. We want to take into account the accurately determined local conditions of the majority and its consequent needs and rights just as conscientiously as we want to allow for the rights of the minority. The propertyless, the lesser-educated, even the defendant in a law-suit shall enjoy the fullest linguistic freedom and security with the authorities. If our bill has any bias, it is only this: to meet the needs of practical life with consideration and respect for national individualities. And this single tendency you will be able to trace down to the regulations governing the internal affairs of the bureaus. Everywhere we wish to make it possible to live together, work together, and communicate with one another on the natural basis of the real needs.

The communal life of human beings requires, to be sure, a certain mutual consideration. Sacrifices have to be made by anyone who wants to share in the enjoyment of the benefits of the community. These sacrifices, however, are the smaller the more willingly they are made.

We have bad years behind us. The language dispute has had a virtually paralyzing effect on the most divers conditions which are apparently remote from it. Let us admit it to ourselves, no matter how painful the truth may be: our beautiful country has suffered severely from this protracted crisis. Commerce and communication have been disturbed, the spirit of enterprise has been intimidated,

and the public projects which augment the national wealth have been at a standstill. At a time which has brought the most miraculous technical progress of the civilized world we have had to look on inactively as the countries and peoples all around us became ever more prosperous and stronger. At a time when each year is as valuable for economic and cultural development as decades used to be we have spent years on self-righteous litigation, and the costs threaten to swallow up the object of the quarrel. At a time, finally, when the legislators of other lands were able to direct their attention also to improving the conditions of the poor and the underprivileged, we have been hypnotized by the question whether this or that language would be used.

The government has striven to discover that line at which no one's legitimate national sensibilities will be offended. Let the wisdom of this exalted house supplement our proposal.

But is there an Austrian left who does not desire peace?

It is not a shameful or a sham peace, but an honest and honorable one, which is all the more useful for both sides if only because it benefits the State which embraces them both.

Honorable House! Our bill is a document which we are setting up as a memorial for all time. It is clear evidence that the government has not been lacking in good will.

It would not be the fault of the government if this attempt should, contrary to my hopes, fail.

Gentlemen, make peace, and let us get to the tasks that await us!

* * *

May 5, 1900

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to enclose the draft of the speech to accompany the introduction of the bill. The passages marked in blue may be superfluous or dubious.

I considered it the main task to emphasize the necessity for a law in contrast to an ordinance and also to intimate that the responsibility for continuing the querulousness has now been shifted onto

the dogmatic disputants, because this would prepare the ground for a possible subsequent dissolution of the *Reichsrat* and the influencing of the electorate.

I am always willingly at your disposal for making changes as well as, afterwards, for the refutation of counter-arguments that may come up during the discussion.

With deep respect, I remain

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Th. Herzl.

May 7, Vienna

Koerber invited me to call on him this morning. When I got there at 9 o'clock he was already waiting for me impatiently.

I soon gathered from his words that he wished to use only a few words of my draft, actually nothing but the concluding sentence, because he does not wish to adopt a fighting stance vis-à-vis the Czechs. Rather, he intends to draw them into the "Staatspartei" which he needs once Parliament is functioning again.

He quoted me entire passages from his speech for tomorrow which he has already learned by heart. I gave him my judgment: "The speech is too bureaucratic, Your Excellency! It lacks the proclamatory tone which you need if you want to hold new elections."

He asked me to add a few sentences to the speech which he was going to send me in the afternoon.

Sure enough: when I returned home at 4:30 I found the *type** script of the speech waiting for me. I am making some corrections in it and writing him:

Your Excellency:

The speech reads very well. The reference to the Bohemian investments is especially effective; the tenor of the whole cannot but be taken as conciliatory. To be sure, only now do I see what Your

* In English in the original.

Excellency's views are, and, of course, I would have had to word my draft quite differently on that basis.

However, if I may permit myself an objection—otherwise there would be no point in my modest appraisal—it seems to me that the speech lacks authority. It has no compelling force which could have an effect in the hall and on the outside. This may again be motivated by aspects of the situation which I don't know about. If there is hope that there will be no Czech obstruction, or that it can be broken in a short time, this mild speech will be sufficient.

If this is not the case, and inasmuch as the government will henceforth be the government of these language laws and will be known as such, more emphasis on shifting the responsibility for halting any development in the Empire might have been useful.

I have permitted myself to jot down small corrections on the margin, since the copy is a rough one.

These pages, as well as the strengthened concluding sentences which might be included, are on top.

With deep respect, I remain

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Th. H.

May 10

Koerber has made an entirely different speech, and the Czechs have refused to cooperate.

What does he think about my secretarial services? That I want a decoration or something like that?

I am only doing it so that he will recommend me to Goluchowski, and the latter, to the Sultan.

May 11

For the past few days, the Kann crisis. Kann has resigned and wants to run the Bank down publicly. They are all making in their

pants, especially Wolffsohn. *Je leur remets du coeur au ventre* [I put heart into them].

* * *

Got York-Steiner as an inspector for the Bank yesterday. He acted as though he had been offered three other positions. I stopped him short: "You will get an offer from me only if you are free. Otherwise you will later reproach me with having done you out of a job."

"So I have to be starving," he flared up.

Je finis pourtant par avoir raison de lui [Still, I finally got the better of him].

May 15

It proved impossible to hire Steiner after all.

He acted too much the part of the "savior of the Bank" even before he had done a thing, and the A.C. considered it dangerous to be indebted to him with "eternal gratitude."

* * *

Kann's resignation has turned into a disagreeable tempest. He wanted to get us over a barrel by threatening that he would publish "the reasons for my resignation." Since we replied by simply accepting his resignation, he took revenge and caused an indescribable hullabaloo. They are all worried. But I am continuing to steer our ship quite unperturbed.

An absolutely perfidious, "strictly confidential" circular is being sent out by Lourie. The answer I am making to it will be preserved for posterity in the files of the Congress Office.

* * *

Moi [the Great I Am] has asked for a new memorandum. I wrote him on the 10th of the month that I have already written enough memoranda. Why didn't he tell me right out if he was unable to procure the audience for me.

* * *

Koerber didn't take my advice and consequently is in a precarious position now. Since he failed to push the obstructionists to the wall, *they* are pushing *him* to the wall.

* * *

The day before yesterday I made a Zionist speech at the Israelitische Allianz which seems to have made more of an impression this time. Dr. Alfred Stern told me yesterday that they would shortly invite me to a confidential discussion of the campaign to aid the Rumanian Jews which I had suggested.

Despite this I am publishing in the *Welt* a satirical article about the Allianz, because I don't believe in the seriousness of these people.

If they do call me, I shall propose that they bring about a united front of all European big Jews. They need not part with a penny, but only empower me to intervene with the Turkish government in the name of all of them.

May 18, Vienna.

Alex Marmorek, our best man, has been here for a few weeks and left yesterday, ill, for Paris. While here he fell sick with rheumatoid arthritis which took a rapid course, to be sure, but may not be his only ailment. Yesterday I suddenly had the impression that he has tuberculosis. I am afraid that in the course of his research on the T.B. bacillus he has contracted the disease himself. I fear that the bacilli will kill him before he kills them.

He thinks, of course, that he has found the cure. He believes that he will be able to make his remedy public in two or three months. I consider it a fantasy. A child that he treated for meningitis died.

If he *has* found the remedy and it proves a success, he will, at my request, turn over its commercial exploitation to the Jewish Colonial Trust. That would endow it at one stroke. The shares would be subscribed in one day. Zionism would suddenly have all the resources it needs.

Mais ce serait trop beau [But that would be too good]. I acted as though I believed it, although I consider it an illusion.

But what a fine human being this Alex is inside. We had some good talks. I love him very much. He told me: "When I am through with tuberculosis, I shall tackle malaria. I want to study it in Palestine, among our colonists. Of course, that might be the end of me. *C'est une maladie qui ne pardonne pas* [That is a sickness which shows no mercy]. But if I discover the remedy, Africa will be opened up. Malaria is the bar which closes Africa to European culture."

What a grandiose conception this is! He who wills something great is in my eyes a great man—not he who achieves it. For in achievement luck plays a part.

I accompanied him to the station; and my heart was heavy when I saw him tottering into his compartment.

May 19

Letter to Koerber, who hasn't been in touch with me for some time and whom I won't let fall asleep.

Your Excellency:

So it does appear as though the *Reichsrat* will be dissolved, unless today's communiqué was only a false alarm. At present the Ministry is undoubtedly stronger than Parliament. If it is not possible in the elections to create the *Staatspartei* which is necessary for governing—a kind of Center Party—Parliament will be stronger than the government. I believe, therefore, that it is necessary to run these elections with especial precautions, with new methods and fresh ideas. The routine in the governors' offices which your Excellency complained of in one of our talks would be simply disastrous in this respect. Nor should the district chiefs be allowed to "horse around" with their red tape, otherwise the battle will be lost.* I consider the situation of the government in

* Translator's Note: Herzl's phrase is *den "Schimmel" reiten*. A *Schimmel* is a white horse, *Amtsschimmel* means "red tape." Although the latter expression's connection with horsemanship is doubtful, Herzl jocularly remarks that the district chiefs would do well not to ride a *Schimmel*.

the elections to be very favorable, because it can, without belonging to a party, establish direct contact with the interests of the citizenry. This time the Staatspartei can be made *popular*. To do this, of course, administrative and journalistic preparations are necessary now.

I shall gladly expound my humble views on this if I am called for an hour's chat some time, preferably in the evening.

With deepest respect, I remain

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Th. H.

May 20

The poor Rumanians are on the march. Dr. Lippe of Jassy telegraphed me yesterday:

The hikers you know about are being detained at Bukowina border. Intervene for passage; they may take train to Czernowitz.

A second telegram of similar content from Botosani.

I spent the night reflecting what I should do about it. I believe, above all, that the closing of the border may be laid to secret intervention on the part of the Allianz people von Gutmann and Dr. Alfred Stern. *Ils étaient alléchés* [They were tempted to it] by my incautious remark that Hungary was not admitting the Rumanian Jews. They must have thought to themselves: We can do the same thing. It simplifies the aid campaign for them.

They are smart, all right.

I am now writing to Koerber:

Your Excellency:

Unfortunate Rumanian Jews, the poorest of the poor, are now standing at the border near Itzkany. The most abject poverty has forced them to emigrate to America. The Austrian border authorities are denying them admission.

There are 95 emigrants with passports for America, as I am informed by telegram.

If it is not impossible, unless serious political reasons that are unknown to me militate against it, I request in the name of humanity that telegraphic orders be given to let these unfortunates pass.

With deepest respect, I am

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Th. H.

May 23

Today I have again been with Koerber at his invitation.

I expounded the program, then, of how the elections would have to be run. Start work now, send for the provincial chiefs, gather information about every single election district and treat them individually. Issue a questionnaire, etc. The main thing, a proclamation to the national groups when the *Reichsrat* is dissolved. I said that the situation of the government, apparently disagreeable, was in truth tremendously favorable. Perhaps even a Koerber Party could get seats in the Parliament. However, that would be hazardous, because it would make him a party chief and, as such, vulnerable. The Emperor, in any case, ought to intervene, too. It is actually a question of the existence of the monarchy.

He shrugged his shoulders. "The Emperor is old. How often haven't I tole 'im: Your Majesty, you want a policy that looks tough; but if there's any more aggressive action against some party or line, you are against it. If you've got to present the most delicate questions in Parliament, you can't manage to back down the moment there's an outcry. Now, on top of that, there's the Imperial family matters. Often I don't know whether I'm coming or going."

I explained all the things one could accomplish with the administrative machinery, more than any of the parties could. The government can give what the parties only promise as they go along: Railroads, etc. For an Order of Franz Josef or an "Imperial

Councillor" one can buy a lot in the elections. (He nodded his agreement). Further, the veterans' patriotism should be enlisted.

"But for elections one needs money, too," he said.

"That can be obtained," I said.

"Our administrative machinery has suffered a great deal of harm in the last 20 years," he said.

"The slackers will stiffen up when they notice that one is proceeding energetically here."

In short, the upshot was that he asked me to work out a questionnaire for him for the authorities to use. He would then send for the governors and give them their instructions.

I am now sending him this draft:

Your Excellency:

Please find enclosed the draft of a questionnaire for the lower political echelons. I imagine the procedure something like this:

To begin with, summoning the provincial chiefs to Vienna for a confidential discussion. General instructions about the Center Party which is to be promoted and is to champion, in the German-Bohemian language question (outside Bohemia, too), the Koerber draft, the resumption of normal parliamentary activities, a re-awakening of economic life, moderate social reforms, etc.

The provincial chiefs should copy the questionnaire for themselves and continue to give it confidential treatment. Each of them should, particularly, call in those district chiefs who are absolutely reliable and do not lean towards any party (certainly the great majority). They should be shown the questionnaire, in rather free form, so that they may take down its main points.

(Questionnaire).

1. How has the representation of the election district been up to now? Have the constituents been satisfied with the activity of the representative? What do they criticize him for? What undercurrents are there?

2. What party or parties have been defeated in the last election? Who were the unsuccessful candidates? Their campaigners? What about their election fund? Causes of defeat?

3. What currents prevail in the election district now? Give a rough estimate of their approximate strength.

4. Are there candidates in sight already (besides the outgoing deputy)? Who are they?

Is there in the district itself a respected man of moderate views and sufficient influence who could be confidentially sounded out as to whether he would run on the platform of the *Staatspartei* [State Party] or Center Party?

The type would be, perhaps, a well-to-do manufacturer, attorney, or average landed proprietor.

5. What election committees were active in the last political elections in your district? Send in any election appeals that may still be available, but in any case an accurate list of the living members of the election committee who were active in the last elections to the *Reichsrat* and the Provincial Diet, as well as in the municipal elections. Which ones have since withdrawn, for personal or material reasons? For the sake of clarity, this should be arranged by parties, one file for each party.

6. Among the officers of the cooperative societies and associations for the common good which are located in the constituency are there men who are not yet on the election committees and who might be used for the formation of an election committee for the *anti-obstructionist Staatspartei?*

Who are they?

These people must not be sounded out by an official, unless success and discretion are completely assured from the outset. Especially on this point you, Mr. District Chief, will be able to demonstrate your dependability and efficiency.

As a rule, a private person known to you as reliable should be used for this delicate investigation. Whom do you have in mind for this? Don't discuss it with him before you have something to go on. Then you will instruct him cautiously, so that even the semblance of influencing an election may be avoided. The whole campaign must have the character of an active desire, growing out of the people, for the return to orderly parliamentary conditions and for the sound satisfaction of economic needs.

7. What political attitude does the clergy of the various denominations in the district take? Is electioneering activity to be expected from that quarter?

8. What is the nature and influence of the teachers?

9. What local commercial and economic needs that are dependent on support from the state make themselves felt in the election district?

10. What are the approximate funds that an election committee of the Staatspartei would need in the district? Can these funds be raised in the district itself? Possibly through what persons?

11. What newspapers have an influence in the constituency? Are they owned by parties or by individuals? Give detailed information about the conditions of ownership of the individual papers. For what ends does the owner want to use the paper? For business or political gain?

Special attention, of course, should be paid to the elections of landed property and chambers of commerce. With the chambers of commerce the matter is much easier, with the landed estates it is harder. For the latter, special arrangements should later be made, also according to the principle of individual treatment.

The propagandistic preparations for the election should not be started until later. The press can best be influenced by the election committees once these have been organized. A dignified reserve should be recommended for the semi-official people. At a given moment, which is still to be determined, a rumor should be launched that should the newly-elected House of Deputies prove incapable of action again, a regime without a constitution might come, possibly with a general as its executive head. Such a rumor which one might let crop up in some place that is above suspicion would be of the greatest service. It would paralyze many an attempt on the part of the radicals, because they would be "doing the work of reaction."

For the primitive imaginations of the voters as well as for the declamations of the campaigners, a sham foe is almost as usable in an election as a real one. The professional politicians who subsist on ruining Austria owe their best successes to this method.

Those stumping for the Center Party could operate with the threatening "general" among those of limited intelligence, and with the real danger, the obstructionists, among the more sensible ones. In elections it is more important to be *against* something or someone than *for* something or someone.

Therefore: fight obstructionism!

For purposes of publicity, the so-called professional journals should also be brought into the picture. They are in closer touch with the economic needs of their readers and often can make a more effective appeal for a candidate than the big political papers, many of which have lost influence by their financial sins.

Let this hastily sketched first suggestion suffice for the moment. Many points are still to be developed and elaborated on.

If the administrative machinery works quickly and turns in the first basic information within two or three weeks, the further necessary measures can be derived from that.

With deepest respect, I remain

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Th. Herzl.

Vienna, May 24, 1900

June 2, Vienna

Great Conference hubbub since May 25. A lot of talk and little action.

Results: Congress called for London. I was in favor of Basel again, Bodenheimer proposed Brussels, Schnirer, London. The last proposal passed after I had agreed to it. I suddenly realized that we have outgrown Basel.

Since then the idea of London has grown on me. This can give the movement a fresh *essor* [impetus].

In the Bank, *tohu-bohu* [chaos].

Wolffsohn didn't come, but Lurie did. He asked forgiveness for everything. A new Special Committee, consisting of Lurie, Krem-

enezky, and, for the time being, Katzenelsohn. Lurie and Katzenelsohn left for London. We'll see what comes of it.

A rather important Constantinople *alerte* [alarm] in the last few days. The papers report that Prof. Vámbéry has been called to Yildiz to see the Sultan.

I immediately sent Hechler to Pest, to see Vámbéry last Friday.

Hechler returned on Saturday and said that Vámbéry wasn't there yet. On Monday I sent Hechler down again. He telephoned and told me that Vámbéry had already left.

Thereupon I had Hechler telegraph Vámbéry at Constantinople, asking how long he was staying there. Answer: until June 8th. Hechler can't go until tomorrow and won't be there before the 5th. So as not to lose these precious days, I sent Heinrich Rosenbaum to Constantinople the day before yesterday. Hechler will follow him there tomorrow.

Every effort shall be exerted to have me received by the Sultan in audience. I gave Rosenbaum precise instructions for Vámbéry, which he took down in shorthand.

Perhaps it will work out this time.

June 3, Vienna

Yesterday evening the following wire came from Rosenbaum in Constantinople:

Schlesinger (Vámbéry) leaving Monday June 2nd (?), will be gone some time, may initiate business (audience) matter Charter today. Wired reports tomorrow or next day.

* * *

Some of it incomprehensible. I immediately wired back:

Is Schlesinger leaving for good or will he return here (Constantinople)? When is he going home? Request wired reply.

At any rate, I immediately stopped Hechler who was supposed to go to Constantinople today. He was a bit disappointed.

Now I am waiting on tenterhooks.

Could it be that we are close to the *dénouement* [solution]? Or shall we hear a categorical No from Yildiz?

If this came, I would resume work on my novel *Altneuland*. For then our plan will be only for the future and a novel.

Whit-Monday 1900

(Exactly five years, I believe, since my visit to Baron Hirsch.) This is the way a lost battle looks. Dr. Leopold Kahn, a member of the A.C., comes in a black frock coat with yellow gloves and a low white hat and brings me a wire from Rosenbaum. This wire contains a very odd item. Rosenbaum telegraphs mysteriously "City of Waltzes" instead of "Vienna." It wasn't a *mot convenu* [code word].

Telegram: Galata to Vienna, June 4, 2s.

Schlesinger tried Cohn (Sultan) day before yesterday, flatly refused. Had no chance yesterday. Leaving for West today, passing through City of Waltzes where plans one-day stay. Loebel (myself) should wait for him, since place to stay indefinite. He opines try mediation of *Moi's* superior. Please wire by return if my presence still required, because wish to leave Tuesday steamer.

The only comforting feature of this telegram is that he "had no chance yesterday." Thus the flat refusal of the day before had not been such that he could not have started all over again yesterday if there had been a suitable opportunity.

I telegraphed to Rosenbaum:

Ask *Moi* in Loebel's behalf how business prospects are at present. But mention nothing of Schlesinger. Expect wired reply from there and detailed report from Jassy.

Kahn

However, now I am meditating on what our next step could be. *Partir en guerre contre la Turquie* [Go off to war against

Turkey]? We are not strong enough in public opinion, either, and have too many weak spots. Every one of those unfortunate scattered colonists is a hostage in the hands of the Turks.

At present I can see only one more plan: See to it that Turkey's difficulties increase; wage a personal campaign against the Sultan; possibly seek contact with the exiled princes and the Young Turks; and, at the same time, by intensifying Jewish Socialist activities stir up the desire among the European governments to exert pressure on Turkey to take in the Jews.

June 11

Terrible difficulties in the Bank. Incompetent or self-seeking people. Everything is bogged down. Lurie and Kann are making difficulties, because I did not let the Bank be turned into a Banking House Lurie and Kann.

* * *

The Congress in London?

I am taking my Basel troupe to London because I have reason to fear that I shall no longer have an audience in Basel.

* * *

The difference between myself and Sabbatai Zevi (the way I imagine him), apart from the difference in the technical means inherent in the times, is that Sabbatai made himself great so as to be the equal of the great of the earth. I, however, find the great small, as small as myself.

June 17

Hechler, who is back from Mühlbach after seeing Vámbéry, gives me the surprising news that Vámbéry has so far not even mentioned Zionism to the Sultan. Consequently he didn't get a "flat refusal" either. *Une fausse alerte* [a false alarm], then. What

On the train, on the return trip from Mühlbach to Vienna.

I left Vienna last night for Mühlbach to see Vámbéry—14 hours by fast train—and now, after a stay of only five hours, I am on my way back, because my Pauline has taken to bed with an inflamed throat.

I have met one of the most interesting men in this limping, 70-year-old Hungarian Jew who doesn't know whether he is more Turk than Englishman, writes books in German, speaks twelve languages with equal mastery, and has professed five religions, in two of which he has served as a priest. With an intimate knowledge of so many religions he naturally had to become an atheist. He told me 1001 tales of the Orient, of his intimacy with the Sultan, etc. He immediately trusted me completely and told me, under oath of secrecy, that he was a secret agent of Turkey and of England. The professorship in Hungary was merely window-dressing, after the long torment he had suffered in a society hostile to Jews. He showed me a lot of secret documents—though in the Turkish language, which I cannot read but only admire. Among them, handwritten notes by the Sultan. Hechler he immediately dismissed brusquely: he wanted to be alone with me. He began: "I don't want any money; I am a rich man. I can't eat gold *beefsteaks.** I've got a quarter of a million, and I can't spend half the interest I get. If I help you, it's for the sake of the cause."

He had me tell him all the details of our plan, funds, etc. The Sultan, he confided, had sent for him in order to have him create

* In English in the original.

an atmosphere more favorable to him in the European papers. Could I help him with this?

I gave an evasive answer.

Throughout our conversation he kept getting back to the memorable events in his life which were indeed great. Through Disraeli he became an agent of England. In Turkey he began as a singer in coffee-houses; a year and a half later he was the Grand Vizier's confidant. He could sleep at Yildiz, but thinks he might be murdered there. He eats at the Sultan's table—on intimate terms, with his fingers from the bowl—but he cannot get the idea of poison out of his mind. And a hundred other things, equally picturesque.

I said to him: "Vámbéry *bácsi* [Uncle Vámbéry]—may I call you what Nordau calls you?—write to the Sultan that he should receive me, because 1) I can render him a service in the newspaper world, 2) the mere fact of my appearance will raise his credit.

"I should like it best if you were my interpreter."

But he is afraid of the hardships of summer travel.

My time was up. It had not been settled whether he would do anything. First of all, whether he would immediately write to the Sultan about my audience.

But he embraced and kissed me when I bade him goodbye.

Hechler's face was all curiosity when he conducted me to the station. I told him nothing, and he was kind enough not to ask any questions.

June 17, on the train

Tomorrow I shall write Vámbéry as follows:

Kedves Vámbéry bácsi [Dear Uncle Vámbéry]:

The Hungarian word is good: *zsidóember* [a Jewish man]. You are one, so am I. That is why we understood each other so quickly and fully—perhaps even more on a human than on a Jewish plane, although the Jewish element is strong enough in both of us. Help me—no, us! Write the S. (Cohn) that he should send for me,

1) because I can help him with public opinion, 2) because my coming will improve his financial credit, even if he does not immediately accept my propositions. We can go into the details after the Congress, provided *you* come along and act as interpreter. An audience before the Congress will suffice me. *Tachles* [brass-tacks] afterwards. I don't want to *hokhmetzen* [banter] with you; you will do our cause a tremendous service if you obtain an audience for me now.

I understand what you intend to erect with your autobiography: a royal sepulchre. Crown your pyramid with the chapter: How I Helped Prepare the Homecoming of My People the Jews.

The whole of your memorable life will appear as if it had been planned that way.

Book Eight

Begun on

June 18, 1900

June 19, Vienna

The Rumanian emigrants are beginning to pass through here. An embarrassment for the *Alliance Israélite.*

Today, a band of 75 young fellows, who had been in the army, in shabby athletic clothes, looking miserable and bold. This is the way my first contingent in Palestine will look.

These want to go to Canada.

June 21

Vámbéry writes from Mühlbach that the business with the *mamzer ben-nide* [foully conceived bastard] (the Sultan) cannot be done in writing.

I am answering him:

Kedves bátyám uram [My Dear Uncle]:

That doesn't sound comforting. You too are saying *yavash* [take it easy] like a born Turk. But I have no time to lose. There certainly is no need for your *mamser* [bastard] to know that the matter is comparatively new to you. I think that "after long thought and mature consideration" you could recommend this expedient and remedy to him as the best. You surely don't need to account to him for the number of *chibouks* [Turkish cigarettes] you have smoked and how many thousands of cups of coffee you have drunk in pondering this matter.

Your first word to me was that you were no *wonz-melammed* [imbecile of a teacher]. I really do look upon you as a man of action, as a man of my race which I believe capable of any amount of energy.

Disraeli once said to a young Jew: "*You and I belong to a race who can do everything but fail.*"*

My dear Vámbéry bácsi* [Uncle Vámbéry]! *we can do really everything, but we must be willing.**

* In English in the original.

Be willing, *Vámbéry bácsi!*

From the way you have described your relationship with him, I don't see why you shouldn't write Cohn and say: "See here, send for that man. He'll put an end to your *shlemazeln* [misfortunes]. Listen to him, take a look at him, and you can always throw him out afterwards."

That's all you need to say. But that much you must tell him—if you are willing.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,
Th.

June 21

Yesterday, while talking with people in the office of the *Welt*, I had an attack of brain anemia. My consciousness suddenly blacked out and my perception grew blurred, although I was able to observe myself closely during the spell and even cracked jokes with Schalit and Reich, the secretaries.

After that I didn't go to the *Neue Freie Presse*, but drove home and went to bed. The doctor ordered a two or three days' rest.

Hardly feasible. Always new excitements. Yesterday with Wolffsohn who gives me the impression of having gone over to Kann's side.

The Rumanian emigrants are on the march.

I keep getting telegrams from fresh contingents who have started out.

I am supposed to intervene in behalf of those who are being detained at the border.

I must not and cannot do this any more, because I can't support them here.

Acts of cowardice:

Benedikt asked me yesterday whether I knew anything about the Rumanian Jewish crisis. He said he needed a report. For he has received a threatening letter from a subscriber about the silence of the *Neue Freie Presse*. "Yes," I said, "I've had reports, too, that

they are planning a boycott of the *Neue Freie Presse* in Rumania."

"I'm not afraid of *that*," he said, "but we *will* publish an article. But by whom? Recommend someone!"

I recommended Goldbaum to him. But Goldbaum declared he knew nothing about the subject. He, who has written articles about it for the *Welt!*

* * *

I am writing to Alex today to tell the I.C.A. people that the desperadoes from Rumania are so desperate that they will some day hold the *détenteurs des fonds publics juifs* [withholders of the Jewish public funds] responsible for their delay in joining in with us.

June 24

Vámbéry replied from Mühlbach that I was a *Giour* [Infidel] who rushes up hill and down dale without heed for the Turkish ditches. Still, he had written the Sultan about us, but it was not certain whether the letter would get into his hands.

* * *

I shall write to Nuri to see to it that at least we get a telegraphic message from the Sultan at the Congress.

The concerted action of the Powers against China, I shall say, is a serious lesson for Turkey.

* * *

At my Constantinople audience, October 1898, I told the German Kaiser:

"China is Pandora's Box!"

Not an incorrect prophecy.

June 25

The Rumanian migrant groups wire me of their imminent arrival from the border or from Budapest. They want me to meet

them. This is evidence of our people's naiveté, their trust in me, but also of the extent of their presumption. The "philanthropists" of Vienna don't lift a finger, and I have no funds available for the poor.

A chilling situation.

June 26, 1900

Hechler writes me today that Lord Rosebery is in town and advises me to call on him at his hotel. I'm not going to, because his superiority would be too great. In addition to his position he has the distinction of being a foreign visitor here.

It's different in England. There I am at least a foreigner.

* * *

Hungarian papers report that I organized the Rumanian emigration. My denial in the *Welt* of the 29th of the month is very necessary. It must go on the front page.

The *Jewish Chronicle* had written that I was steering the emigration to England in order to make a demonstration for Zionism.

By denying this I am giving the desperadoes to understand that what I never advised them to do is the most effective demonstration.

June 29, Vienna

Today, Koerber's card saying that he would like to see me once again: Sunday, 9 o'clock in the morning. What does he want? My guess is: Rumanian Jews!

In that case I would ask him to recommend me to Cohn.

July 2, Vienna

Was with Koerber yesterday.

He had just wanted to see me before I went on vacation, because we hadn't had a chat in such a long time. He had already discussed my proposals for preparing the election with several provincial

chiefs. However, at present there could be no thought of dissolving the *Reichsrat*—simply because it isn't necessary.

He governs in a very astute, inconspicuous fashion on the basis of Section 14.

The Emperor, he said, was very satisfied with him. The Emperor had been particularly delighted about the rift in the clouds of obstruction. "You shertainly did thish shplendidly"— he quoted the Emperor's words in the voice of a toothless old man. He had also earned the Emperor's approbation in the matter of Archduke Franz Ferdinand's marriage to Countess Chotek. Hungarian Prime Minister Széll had wanted to draft an omnibus bill "which would have included arranging for the millennium and fine weather." Through his (K.'s) intervention, a simple declaration of renunciation had been made, although it binds the future Emperor hand and foot.

"Archduke Otto must be pleased," I said.

He made *une moue dédaigneuse* [a scornful grimace]: "That man didn't care much about it," he said.

"And the Hungarians?" I asked. "If Countess Chotek has boys, in twenty years there might be an Imperial conflict."

This possibility, too, Koerber shrugged off with a disdainful smile. He did not believe it, he said.

Then we again spoke about Austrian internal politics. He said he was now working on inducing the Czechs to make a declaration that they would not obstruct things in the future.

"What are you going to give them in return?" I asked.

"Nothing!"

"The Germans won't believe this."

"Well, they're going to see that the Czechs aren't getting anything," he said.

"Then people will assume that there are secret promises for the future," I remarked. "The Czechs' giving in can be made plausible only if the deputies appear to be yielding to pressure from their constituents. They will have to arrange for that pressure. Only then are the Germans going to believe it. Then you can make the Czechs all the secret promises you wish."

After we had chatted like that for three quarters of an hour, the doorman brought in a visiting card.

I got up.

"I have one more thing on my mind, Your Excellency," I said. "The question of the Rumanian Jews. This is a calamity that grows worse every day. I won't even mention the humanitarian considerations. For Austria their transit is a calamity. What shall be done with these people? If you let them in, it's an embarrassment, because they are in terrible shape. If, on the other hand, you close the border, people say that your government is anti-Semitic, which public opinion tends to say anyway, since you have yielded to Lueger in the question of the Vienna election reform."

He nodded with a serious face.

"I've turned for advice to the Grand Duke of Baden. He thinks I ought to request the Sultan for an audience through the Austrian government and induce him to let the Rumanian Jews in. We can offer the Sultan some money for this." I said *"a Göld"** in the easy-going Viennese dialect and quite off-hand, as though it weren't the most difficult thing, for which I have been trying in vain for years.

"Too bad you didn't tell me that a couple o' days ago. Goluchowski was still here then and I had a long talk with 'im."

"Couldn't Ambassador Calice be given instructions directly?"

"No, that can't be done. That's another department. And I don't know how we stand with the Sultan. But I'm gonna speak with Count Széchen** and then give you an answer."

I thanked him.

"See you some more, then!" he said, dismissing me amiably.

July 2

Letter to Vámbéry.

Kedves Vámbéry bácsi [Dear Uncle Vámbéry]:

Tegnap hosszan beszéltem az itteni elsövel, Kosárossival [Yester-

* Translator's Note: "Dough."

** Translator's Note: The correct form of this name is Széchenyi.

day I conversed at length with the premier of this place, Basket-man]*—*you understand?*** I touched on the calamity of the Rumanian Jews passing through, and asked him whether it wasn't possible to ask Cohn through the local representative to send for me to talk about the conditions of their settling there. "Too bad that you didn't tell me that two days ago," he replied. At that time, you see, the head of this department was still here. Now he is on vacation. However, he intends to send for his deputy as soon as possible and discuss it with him. Note well: this is not just talk with him.

Now, *Kedves bácsi* [dear uncle], I shall notify you by telegram whether this *démarche* [move] will take place. If so I would urgently request you to intervene with Cohn in whatever way you consider suitable, as quickly as you can, by telegram, if at all possible, and to tell him that what comes to him in this form is something highly useful to him (Cohn).

Make him understand particularly that he will play a beautiful role if he takes in the homeless Jews. He will stand there as the benefactor of mankind, a generous man—and his benefaction will immediately bear interest and capital for him. Jewry all over the world will celebrate him. A *revirement* [sudden change] in the public opinion of the entire world! And at the same time he will have the gratitude of the other nations, those whom he has spared an influx of Jews. Surely all this is clear and true.

Your sincere Nephew and *Giour* [infidel]

Th.

* * *

Letter to Nuri via Crespi:***

Your Excellency:

I judged it futile to send another memorandum. The matter is more than sufficiently familiar.

* I.e., Koerber.
** In English in the original.
*** In French in the original.

I think the difficulty lies elsewhere.

Our best-intentioned friends perhaps do not dare to come forward, though it is a matter of H.M.'s supreme benefit.

To fill in this gap I have tried to find something else and to make the request for an audience come from another quarter. At this moment I do not know whether that will be successful. But I must reassure you, you and your associates, that success on the other tack will not lessen my gratitude to you in the slightest.

You are dealing with a man of honor—forgive me for using this flattering term—who never finds a pretext for going back on his pledged word. Therefore you have precisely the same interest no matter what the circumstances may be.

We must be, and continue to be, friends for the benefit and prosperity of Turkey, which we will perhaps rescue from all its difficulties.

I beg you to bring to your master's attention one completely new fact: the cooperation of the Powers in China!

It is an interesting precedent and possibly a dangerous one for Turkey. You understand what I mean. Against all eventualities one must be able to protect oneself, to have a fleet to be reckoned with, etc. It is certain that you will never and nowhere realize this possibility except through us.

The one among you who presents such a solution deserves to be Grand Vizier.

One more thing.

The Fourth Annual Zionist Congress will be held in London in August. The presiding officers of the Congress will, as every year, send a wire placing their homage at the foot of H.I.M. the Sultan's throne.

Please be kind enough to send me the proper wording for this telegram, and especially do all you can to see that we get a friendly and encouraging reply *immediately*.

With deep respect and sincere friendship, I am

Faithfully yours,
Th. Herzl.

August 10, Hotel Langham, London

In bed.

I have been in bed for three days. The day after my arrival I was seized by a severe chill. I had already felt sick and wanted to go to bed. I immediately ran a temperature of 39.9.* It looked like malaria or the beginning of pneumonia. Two sleepless, feverish nights. I doubted that I would be able to open the Congress.

Last night there was an improvement. But I am still very weak and haven't even started working on my speech.

Naturally, during these nights the high temperature caused the most colorful delirious visions to appear before my hot eyes. Two fine English *nurses*** attended me. The older, Sister Christine, on night duty, the younger, a very pretty one, whose name I don't know, by day. They were like Good Fortune and Care in Heine's poem.*** Good Dame Care pulled me out of the incipient serious illness before I fell prey to it. The Congress promises to be very well attended.

London, August 14

The Congress is the best attended so far. Its *proceedings*** are already in the newspapers. A hundred other people are now taking the notes, *in memoriam* [for the record].

I myself have not been inwardly touched so far.

The *Mass Meeting*** in the East End on Saturday night was no longer a novelty to me. The cheering of the crowd means nothing to me.

The only new note was the *garden-party*** in the Botanical Gardens on Sunday. The whole crowd kept trundling after me in a compact mass. I would have liked to enjoy the fine English garden, but I was smothered under royal honors. People watched me admiringly while I drank a cup of tea. They passed their children

* Translator's Note: 39.9 centigrade corresponds to over 104F.

** In English in the original.

*** Translator's Note: A reference to *Das Glück ist eine leichte Dirne* by Heinrich Heine.

and introduced their ladies to me; old men wanted to kiss my hand. I am always tempted to ask on such occasions: "Pardon me, but why are you doing all this?"

During yesterday's afternoon session I turned the chairmanship over to Gaster and Nordau and fled to Kensington Gardens where, in charming surroundings and with a view over the water, I had a cup of tea in peace.

August 20

On the boat from Dover to Calais.

"The Fourth Zionist Congress is over."

It was a lot of noise, sweat, and drum-beating. Naturally there was no "work," and yet the results were excellent. We have made a demonstration before the English world, and the demonstration has been noticed. On the whole, the English papers carried the kind of reports we could use and can still use.

Our English colleagues think it probable that next year, when we come again in July at the height of the *season*,* the *Upper Jews** will swing our way. Seligmann the banker declared at a banquet that he already felt very close to us. Apparently he is only waiting for our success before joining in with us. Francis Montefiore told me yesterday, on our way home from a party on the Thames, that I should be on my guard against the Rothschilds. They would also come in, in order to take control of the Jewish State. Of course, we aren't that far along yet, and good Sir Francis seems to be a bit premature with his worries. Incidentally, he gave me the welcome opportunity to have lunch with Mr. Barrington, Lord Salisbury's private secretary. I talked a blue streak at him, and it seems that I succeeded in getting him a little interested in us.

Aussee, August 29

Only now am I beginning to recuperate from the wear and tear of London and of my illness.

* In English in the original.

I received a reassuring letter from Vámbéry. He wrote the Sultan about our cause and didn't get a negative reply. Of course, he doesn't seem to have received a positive one, either.

In London I let the A.C. dissuade me from promoting the idea of reciprocity as coming from the Congress. That is to say, the idea of a subscription which entitles anyone who is beggared in an anti-Jewish riot to receive the minimum sum required for moving elsewhere. I think it would have been a tremendous propaganda item, but I was not in an energetic enough mood to carry it through. A slogan like "capture the communities" would have been effective.

This way nothing will be done until I convene the Congress again.

We shall have financial difficulties in the A.C. Have them already. But I have seen to it that our repayment instalments on last year's floating debt are paid promptly. It reminds me of the way I introduced the representative system at the First Congress, *sans en avoir l'air* [without seeming to do it].

With this borrowing and paying I am laying the foundation for our State credit, no matter how small the amounts may be.

September 2, Aussee

The day before yesterday and yesterday I couldn't quite make up my mind to congratulate the Sultan on his jubilee. However, today it nags me like a neglected duty, and so I am wiring:*

To His Imperial Majesty,
Caliph Abdul Hamid Khan,
Yildiz, Constantinople.

In the name of the Zionists of all countries I have the honor of offering at the foot of your throne the warmest and sincerest wishes

* In French in the original.

for the prosperity and long duration of the glorious reign of Your Imperial Majesty.

Dr. Theodor Herzl,
President of the Central Zionist Committee,
Türkenstrasse 9, Vienna.

September 3, Aussee

The newspapers report a "domestic crisis." Koerber is to be dismissed or the *Reichsrat* dissolved. My advice to dissolve it that time after the obstruction was not bad. Is Koerber thinking of my wise counsel now? I am writing him today:

Your Excellency:

The newspapers, for which I have a professional distrust, of course, tell about the imminent dissolution of the *Reichsrat*. This seemed to me like the remedy some time ago. Now my—forgotten?—outline for the preparation of an election becomes somewhat timely again.

I shall return to Vienna at the end of this week. Perhaps I can be of use in some way.

With deep respect,

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Th. Herzl.

September 18

The day before yesterday, Sunday, I was in Pest to see Vámbéry.

Atmosphere of the city of my youth.

However, the "practical" results of the trip were close to zero.

Vámbéry again told me a lot about himself—the things he had already related at Mühlbach.

He gave me his word of honor that the Sultan would receive me by May.

To be sure, I don't quite understand how he can give me his word about something that doesn't depend upon himself. But I must be satisfied with anything.

For the rest, I am quite weary.

September 20, Vienna

These days I am often so listless and so lacking in energy that I don't enter even major and interesting happenings. Naturally they are then forgotten.

And my situation is strange enough. Around the time of the Congress I was a master. Now I am a servant again, like Ruy Blas, and whose servant! Every day I report to the boss, Dr. Bacher, who is sometimes gracious and sometimes ungracious.

On top of that, the great financial sacrifices I have made for the movement are weighing heavily upon me. I have done too much, and simultaneously with my lack of psychic energy I become conscious of my economic debility, which in turn worsens my mood.

* * *

On the evening of my arrival at Pest, while listening to gypsy music, I ran into Ahmed Tewfik, the Turkish ambassador in Berlin. We chatted until half past midnight about Wilhelm and Abdul Hamid, etc.

September 20, Vienna

Une idée qui me hante [An idea that haunts me] is the emergency insurance which I wanted to launch in London and from which I was deterred by the opposition of the leaders.

Yesterday I again brought it up in the A.C. It is the only thing we can do. A mutual Jewish emergency insurance. The insured victims of Jewish persecution will receive a minimum amount for moving. In the Rumanian exodus it turned out that 200 guilders

per person (or family?) were needed. That amount could not be raised from private charity. Some guarantee must be procured for the people who are driven out. Everyone must acquire this guarantee for himself by purchasing a policy. Of every hundred people paying two guilders, one can become a needy case. The main thing, of course, is to define a needy case and to prevent insurance fraud.

This would have to be construed on the analogy of the accident-insurance business. I imagine the seat of the company in Basel.

Higher insurances with rapidly progressing premiums could also be accepted.

If the annual premium for 200 guilders is two guilders, the premium for 400 would be five or six; for 1000 guilders, not five times that amount, but ten times or more, because then an individual case of damage immediately constitutes a series.

To my astonishment, Kokesch, who usually thinks very cautiously and *terre à terre* [with both feet on the ground], was on my side. This encouraged me greatly.

October 1, Vienna

Nothing from Vámbéry.

The matter seems to be falling asleep again with him.

Today I am writing the following to Nuri:*

Your Excellency:

More than a year has passed since I had the honor and the pleasure of seeing you at the Hotel Impérial.

And nothing, nothing has happened.

I hear from Constantinople that the matter of the Hejaz route is the current issue.

If we are given the Colonization Charter we are asking for, we shall undertake to build the Hejaz railroad or else to supply the necessary funds. If you have any useful connections who will profit from it, you can pass on this proposal to the proper person. I shall provide all explanations and guarantees if H.M. summons me.

* In French in the original.

I await your favorable reply as early as possible and assure you of my great esteem.

Th. Herzl.

P.S. One of my friends, Mr. Kremenezky, whom you know—he came to see you at the hotel—is interested in setting up a factory on the shore of the Dead Sea in Palestine. He has talked to me about it several times and I have always forgotten to ask you the name of the concessionaire of the Dead Sea shores. He tells me that it is a Moslem. It will be easy for you to give me this information.

October 5

The memory of some mistakes that I have made keeps tormenting me.

My greatest mistake so far was not waiting for the Kaiser at the entrance gate of the Jews. At that time I thought it would be better not to, because then he might have regarded that reception as the one to which he had ordered the Zionist deputation, and I wished to have a special solemn audience of our own.

However, for the Kaiser, who has a penchant for symbolic acts, it would have been the right thing if I, whom he regarded as the head of all Jews, had waited for him at the threshold of our city of Jerusalem and had greeted him there.

That is when he may have turned away from me. I realize this only now.

Another mistake was my not writing the Grand Duke of Hesse a sufficiently courteous and court-like letter when I asked him to intercede with the Czar.

October 5

The English Zionist Federation's poll of the candidates for Parliament is very clever.

60 have declared themselves in favor of Zionism.

The smartest step that has been taken in our movement for a long time.

October 7

After keeping silent for a long time and failing to react to two of my letters, Koerber suddenly calls me again. I am to come to see him at the Ministry of the Interior tomorrow morning.

Que peut-il bien vouloir [what on earth does he want]?

October 8

Koerber just wanted to have a general talk.

However, the immediate occasion seems to have been what he considers the disagreeable attitude of the *Neue Freie Presse* in the Italian-Tyrolian question.

I was none too well informed about the whole thing, and just presumed that it was a matter of a demand for autonomy which had been made by the Italian inhabitants of the Tyrol and had been rejected. But I pretended to be completely *au courant* [informed], and since I shared his views, I was spared a more detailed explanation.

As regards the general situation in Austria, we exchanged approximately the same ideas that we had in the Spring and in the Summer.

I said: "I notice, Your Excellency, that you are not running the elections, but are letting them run themselves."

He: "There is no other way. The provincial chiefs reported that not much can be done."

I: "Isn't the inefficiency of the provincial chiefs to blame for this?"

He: "What can be done *is* being done."

Then he spoke about the absurdities of the parties, with special reference to the Progressives, who only recently made such monumental fools of themselves in the person of the mayor of Trautenau

(who had addressed a request to the office of the Emperor's advisers to have the competing convention of the German-Radicals prohibited).

He told me about the Emperor and how high he was in the latter's favor. This was evidenced recently at Görz where the Emperor talked with him all the time at dinner, so that Calice, the ambassador at Constantinople, told him afterwards: "It's been a long time since anyone has enjoyed so much confidence from the Emperor!"

I had my own ideas at the mention of Calice whose intercession with the Sultan for an audience would be bread and butter to me, but I didn't say anything, because the moment was not opportune.

Görz, he went on to say, had been a great worry. All the authorities, especially the lesser ones, had trembled for fear of an Anarchist plot. Every minute the departure of a notable Anarchist was reported. One moment one was supposed to have left London, the next moment another from Paris or Vienna. But the journey to Görz could not be cancelled; it had been decided on months ago, and at that time no one knew that the King of Italy was going to be assassinated. In short, the trip to Görz was made in real fear, and Koerber had to go along, otherwise people would have said that he was afraid or was deserting the Emperor.

A strong police detail was called out, and fortunately everything went all right. Everyone was glad to have returned from this patriotic celebration safe and sound.

He related a number of other things about the Emperor, who, he said, let him do everything but did not give him the proper support. E.g., a lot could be done with the feudal landed proprietors with appropriate pressure. But the Emperor did not help out in this regard.

"I brought him Lobkowitz. That man shook before the audience; but when he came out, he was even a lot prouder. The Emperor didn't tell him a thing."

So the pesky German-Bohemian dispute goes on.

He also repeatedly spoke about the newspapers that are attack-

ing him. I took the opportunity to say: "What is needed is a big, decent paper that you could lean on."

"Well, who's going to start one?"

"That could be arranged, Your Excellency. Only the funds would have to be made available."

"By whom?" he said. "Krupp has already given a lot and by now has become skittish."

He liked the idea of a newspaper, however, and asked me not to drop the matter and to discuss it with him if I found something. I could come any time I wanted to.

He repeatedly averred that he would be glad if he could leave office. He didn't get enough sleep. "I'm sleepy. I'd like to sleep my fill some time. First thing I'll do when I'm overthrown is to hit the hay for three days."

But despite this Austrian beefing he did not give me the impression of being tired of governing. I said: "The policy you represent is the only one with a future in Austria—if Austria *has* a future."

He made a wry face and shrugged his shoulders meaningfully, as though there were nothing he was less convinced of than Austria's future.

Our conversation had lasted for exactly one hour when he dismissed me and asked me to come again soon.

He has never had, and never will have, a more selfless helper than me—me who doesn't want a blessed thing but a recommendation from the government to the Sultan. Naturally I didn't come out with it today, because I still have no claim to repayment. I told him, among other things, that I would never run a semi-official paper. "Because it doesn't do you any good if it says in the paper: 'The Prime Minister is the greatest statesman.' "

He completely shared this view of mine, and we parted *en gens qui sont de mêche* [like two conspirators].

October 14

A curious incident. *Tout se tient* [Everything is just as it was].

Dr. Ehrlich, whom I had had introduce me to Koerber, wanted

to speak with me yesterday. He told me that Koerber had inquired about me in connection with a newspaper that was to be started. Ehrlich had answered: "I know Dr. H. as a stylist. Whether he can start a newspaper I don't know. In any case, you mustn't forget that he represents Zionism."

So this was advice against it. Ehrlich didn't want me to learn it from Koerber somehow or other and told it to me of his own accord. Evidently he gave me a more harmless version of what he had said to Koerber.

It seems to me that Koerber will now drop the idea. It was my scheme to propose Zionism to him as a secondary matter, *panache* [trimming], and camouflage. An idea out of a comedy, really: true love as *paravent* [a screen].

This plan, too, like others, has gone up in smoke, thanks to a good friend who has himself notified me "loyally" of what he has done.

October 15

I have just had a letter from Crespi (Nuri) saying that their government had "*un besoin pressant de 7–800 mille Ltqu* [a pressing need for 7–8 hundred thousand Turkish pounds]." and wanted to give customs revenues as guarantee, with 6%, even 6½%, interest.

I am to appear as *deus ex machina* [a god from the machine] and help, *et une fois l'affaire terminée* [and once the business is completed], H.M. will receive me.

I am sending the following telegram in reply:*

You may say that we will make offers for the advance of the seven hundred against the guarantee mentioned in your letter on condition that I can negotiate directly with n.c. 363. The matter can be settled in a very short time.

* In French in the original.

But kindly note that I will do nothing unless I am called by 363 to present my offers to him in person.

* * *

I am asking 6½% in order to make the thing plausible. If I were *gentil* [nice] about the conditions, it would bear the stamp of improbability.

October 17

I was summoned to Koerber again today, and he spoke for an hour *de omni re scibili* [about everything under the sun]. I expounded to him the idea of founding a newspaper, and it seemed to make a lot of sense to him. However, whether anything will come of it is uncertain. The only clue that it matters to him is the fact that he gave me a whole hour of his time and kept some titled gentleman waiting outside.

October 18

Bülow Imperial Chancellor!

Not good for us. Nevertheless, I am congratulating him "on the new chapter in the history of the German Empire."

October 22.

A telegram of thanks from Bülow.

It is ever so nice of a great lord . . .*

October 26

Yesterday the "Turkish Consul-General, von Dirsztay," né Fischl from Pest, came to see me at the office and brought me a

* Translator's Note: Mephistopheles' words at the end of the Prologue in Heaven to Goethe's *Faust*, Part I.

letter, half in code, from Crespi, Nuri's straw man. Crespi offers his services, because he is the real power. He wants to come to Vienna. So evidently it is a matter of the travelling expenses. Since Dirsztay told me that he was sure Crespi was in a position to accomplish something—he had repeatedly convinced himself of that—I told him he could write Crespi that he would get 1000 francs from me if he really had some serious proposition to make.

October 30

Is it possible that we are closer to a decision than I myself believed?

When I came home last night I found the following telegram from Crespi waiting for me, apparently a reply to Dirsztay's letter to him.*

Theodor Herzl, Karl-Ludwigstrasse 50, Vienna, from Pera.

If on day after receiving this you can deposit on account two hundred thousand Turkish pounds on loan of seven hundred thousand with six percent interest, I shall place proposal at foot of Imperial throne before Ramadan; hope you will then be officially called to palace. Wire, Crespi.

* * *

Since it can't be assumed now that Crespi in Pera would dare to send off *en clair* [in the open] a telegram containing mention of throne and palace if it were not on the level, the thing is to be taken seriously.

I am answering:*

E. Crespi, Constantinople, Pera. French Mail.

You now speak of six percent after having started with six and a half. But this difficulty will probably be surmountable if I can personally be convinced of the fact that the general disposition of

* In French in the original.

363 is in our favor. The deposit of the two hundred as an installment on our loan of seven hundred will be made during the week following my reception—

My plan of campaign in the event that I am summoned by the Sultan has been ready for a long time.

I shall immediately have Wolffsohn and Katzenelsohn come here. Wolffsohn must go to The Hague to see Kann and ask him if he can possibly place the £700,000 at 6% with Dutch bankers. As a reward I shall let him back into the Colonial Trust.

Katzenelsohn must make the same attempt with Polyakov, Brodsky, etc.

While I go to Constantinople, they go to The Hague and St. Petersburg, so that I shall have their wires when I arrive.

I shall send Kokesch to London to push the issuing of 50,000 bearer shares which will then immediately be sent to Russia to be sold.

All agents will be asked to call meetings.

On the day on which my audience with the Sultan is announced, 1000 popular rallies with share subscription must take place.

Oskar Marmorek will be sent to Pest in order to invite Vámbéry to go to Constantinople with me.

Kremenezky will come to Constantinople with me.

Alex Marmorek is to advise I.C.A. and Edmond R. that I shall come to Paris.

A meeting of the English Federation will be called for the day of my arrival in London from Constantinople.

*I am ready.**

And now probably nothing will come of it.

November 6

On Saturday Dirsztay again called me by telephone. This time I went to his place. With an important air he handed me letters from Crespi which contained nothing but drivel.

* In English in the original.

Still, I authorized him to let Crespi come. Question of 1000 francs travelling expenses.

I went along with it only because Dirsztay really is the Turkish Consul-General and, even more really, a millionaire. Consequently it can't be a matter of doing me out of 1000 francs.

Today I wrote to Wolffsohn asking him to go to The Hague to see Kann and ask him whether he can raise the £700,000 from Dutch bankers. As a reward I would let him into the Trust again.

November 9

The Vienna *Allianz* and Community people are frightened out of their wits because we are getting into the Community elections and demanding an Extraordinary General Assembly of the *Allianz* to discuss its cruelty toward the Rumanian Jews.

Dr. Alfred Stern has already been to see me at the *N. Fr. Pr.* three times to beg me to halt our steps "in these times." On his first visit he offered me a seat on the governing body of the Community. Naturally I refused and laughed at him. On his second visit, the day before yesterday, I kept him waiting for such a long time that he left in a huff. Then I wrote him a letter apologizing for having been tied up and stating at the same time that no compromise could be effected in this matter. Thereupon he came yesterday with the "material" of the correspondence with the Pest Community, which, however, proves only the accuracy of last week's article in the *Welt*.

He proposed a *confidential* discussion between our gentlemen and the officers of the *Allianz*.

And what is to be the upshot? I asked. Do you intend to remove the guilty officers?

If need be, yes! was his reply.

Then he left with Bacher whom he wanted to brief on it. Which is to say that he wishes to have some pressure exerted on me through Bacher and Benedikt.

Again a few days of war in sight.

November 12

We have reached a low-water mark. Our cash-box has hit rock bottom. A few hundred guilders, which is not even sufficient to meet the demands of the first of December.

But I am tired of giving money or of asking others for it.

The other members of the A.C. are bewildered.

November 13

Yesterday at Oskar Marmorek's house I met the Paris engineer and millionaire Reitlinger who [ ]* my old plan to buy up the Turkish national debt, which one could get for 4–500 million francs, and to offer the Turkish government liberation from the *dette publique* [public debt] in return for the cession of Palestine.

We intend to get back to this later.

* * *

Wolffsohn wires from The Hague that Kann is ready to undertake the arrangements for the Turkish loan only on direct order. This does not suit me, for I must get the credit; only the cash may fall to the share of Kann and his associates.** Therefore I am writing Wolffsohn that Kann should first secure the money; then he will receive the orders through my good offices.

November 14

The idea of redeeming the Turkish debt occupies me greatly. I must bend every effort to speak with Lord Rothschild. Today I am writing to Cowen, our most capable man in England, to induce Lord R. to send for me before we have Zionism brought up in the House of Commons by the "Zionist" deputies.

* Translator's Note: Verb missing in the original.

** Translator's Note: Herzl puns on the difference in meaning between *das Verdienst* and *der Verdienst*.

November 15

After consultation with my father and Kremenezky I am telegraphing the following to Crespi.

L'argent est prêt. Pourquoi ne me donnez-vous pas de nouvelles [The money is ready. Why don't you send me any news]?

November 16, Vienna

Today Dirsztay telephoned me and told me that Crespi will arrive here on Wednesday.

Our greatest problem now is the thousand francs for Crespi's travelling expenses. One of the curiosities of this episode is that we have trouble raising such 1000 francs, while we can regard the large amounts as assured.

* * *

A wire from Wolffsohn saying that Kann will write me the letter I need: his firm is making the £700,000 available on sufficient security.

* * *

A letter from Vámbéry in reply to my last letter. He says that he immediately wrote to the Sultan, requesting a wired answer whether that story about a loan was true. If it is, he intends to go there immediately and have me follow him; then the chances for our project would be favorable.

November 17

Hechler thinks that I ought to express to the Kaiser, through the Grand Duke, my joy at the fact that yesterday's attempted assassination at Breslau was happily averted. *I do so:**

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,
Most Gracious Lord and Master:

* These words are in English in the original.

The news of the attempt to assassinate His Majesty the Kaiser, which has with the help of God been successfully frustrated, has suddenly made me, like so many other people, feel again what this magnanimous ruler of such uncommonly great intellectual gifts means to all those who are privileged to know him. Since the memorable days at Jerusalem in the year 1898 Kaiser Wilhelm II has been a dear and sincerely venerated figure to all Zionists on the face of the earth. On such a serious occasion I should more than ever like to avoid giving the impression of pushing myself forward, and therefore refrain from sending to Berlin the expression of my great joy at the Kaiser's rescue from mortal danger. I may be permitted, however, to express my loyal sentiments to Your Royal Highness, the Kaiser's paternal friend, with the most respectful request to bring them to His Majesty's notice as occasion offers.

With the deepest respect and most heart-felt gratitude, I remain

Y.R.H.'s ever obedient
Dr. Th. H.

November 18

Received today from Lissa & Kann, The Hague, a written offer in which the firm undertakes to make a loan of 800,000 Turkish pounds at 6% if sufficient security is offered. Specifically, £200,000 upon the signing of the contract, £520,000 within six months.

I am acknowledging this letter with the following note:

Messieurs Lissa and Kann, The Hague.

Gentlemen:

I received today your kind communication of Nov. 16, 1900. I shall send you more detailed information in the course of this week.

Very truly yours,
Dr. Th. H.

November 20

Talked again yesterday with Reitlinger of Paris who gave me a few additional clever details implementing the redemption of the Turkish debt. We agreed that I shall summon him to join me in London if Cowen manages to arrange a conference with Lord Rothschild.

Cowen writes me that he intends to use the short Parliament week to arrange a meeting with the 31 M.P.'s who have expressed themselves in favor of Zionism. That would be a plausible *opportunity** for Lord R.

* * *

The manufacturer von Engel came to Reitlinger's suite in the Hotel Impérial in order to take me and Oskar Marmorek to see Klinger, the president of the Community. The latter, a sentimental Tartuffe, buttered me up, tried to entice me to join the governing body of the Community, declared that at heart he was more of a Zionist than O. Marmorek, and, when he got warmed up, more of a Zionist than I.

They would like to make a compromise with us, but not with the *Jüdischer Volksverein*. Presumably he tells the same thing in reverse to the *Volksverein* people.

I finally stated that I would content myself with two seats (Dr. Kahn and Mohr). Even that was too much for him.

Yet conciliation appears hopeful.

November 24

David Gutmann invites me to a "peaceable" discussion of the Rumanian scandals at the *Allianz*.

November 24

Crespi hasn't come. As Dirsztay told me over the phone, he telegraphed that he isn't coming until two weeks from now.

I am wiring Crespi:**

* In English in the original.

** In French in the original.

If you don't inform me of the result of your activity immediately I shall withdraw my offer of seven hundred. I don't want to remain at your disposal indefinitely.

November 26

Yesterday's Community election a gratifying defeat. Our candidates almost elected with big minorities.

* * *

Cowen and Greenberg are doing splendid work in England to make possible a meeting between myself and Lord Rothschild. Greenberg made a speech to this end at Glasgow. Cowen writes me they would call on R. if I had really serious things to tell him. I am wiring him: *Most serious things, but he must desire the meeting, and not as a favour to us.**

November 27

Had a long conversation with coal-Baron Gutmann yesterday. He will agree to everything so as to avoid a scandal in the *Allianz.* I am demanding the resignation of the officers who have incurred some responsibility in the Rumanian emigration, to be replaced by our representatives. The question of blame is to be decided by a tribunal—I am also demanding that Oskar Marmorek be given a seat on the board of the Hirsch Foundation. He was very subdued. I felt pity for the rich man when I saw the empty desk of his recently-deceased son, who made fun of me a long time ago because I wanted to found a Jewish State.

November 24

Telegram from Crespi:

Patientez encore quelques jours. Affaire très bonne voie. Ecris [Be patient a few days more. Matter well under way. Am writing]. Crespi."

* In English in the original.

November 30, Vienna

The *Allianz* has set a trap for me. After I had accepted in writing Gutmann's oral proposal that we settle the matter through an amicable exchange of opinion, with the concession that our representatives be co-opted as council members, he writes that because of my conditions they reject this form. They are as sly as they are stupid. Public discussion will end with the destruction of the *Allianz.*

November 30

Brilliant letter from Crespi. He has discussed the matter with the Grand Vizier, the First Secretary, and the Minister of Finance. The loan will be made under last year's conditions of the Deutsche Bank. The 1st Secretary told Crespi that Vámbéry had recommended my proposals to the Sultan. However, the Secretary fears trouble if I were summoned officially and the loan did not materialize. Crespi said one could make inquiries about me of the German Kaiser.

Perhaps there is some connection between this and the fact that yesterday the German Embassy telephoned the *Welt* about me. However, until now, 11 o'clock in the morning, I have heard no details.

* * *

Telegram to Wolffsohn:

Kohn's *baldov* [spokesman] visiting me day after tomorrow. Regarding the conditions I learn that they are the same as those obtained by Deebee last year. You introduced yourself and Hagen to Deebee with recommendation from my Uncle. Try immediately to learn inconspicuously Deebee's last year's conditions. Notify Hagen of this and make sure he stays home Sunday, Monday. My father thinks that Jayceetee should take over Halewi in company with Hagen and carry it out jointly. Jayceetee could take over one-seventh and thus facilitate transaction. Benjamin.

November 30, evening

A telegram just came from Crespi saying that he will arrive here on Sunday morning.

* * *

The cash-box of the A.C. is so empty that after payment of the December salaries etc. we shall not have the 1000 francs for Crespi.

I also feel *à bout de forces* [at the end of my strength] and for the past few days have had more serious attacks of weakness than ever. Actually, the thought of retiring only now hits me with force.

Perhaps I am writing this in the hope of remembering it in better days. So as to be able to say then: when the need was greatest, etc. . . . .

I am, of course, too complicated a person to keep a naive diary, even though I make an effort not to pose. I always feel the future peering over my shoulder.

December 3

Yesterday morning, then, the Turkish agent Crespi arrived at my place in company with von Dirsztay, the Consul-General. Crespi doesn't make a bad impression. A skinny, wax-yellow, black-bearded Levantine. Appearance of a second- or third-rate diplomat, the necktie over the white vest too loud, the rosette in the morning coat too pretentious. But he calls a spade a spade and speaks frankly about the people in power in Constantinople. He asked me whether I had received the telegram yet. For he thinks that it should have come either yesterday or today: the summons to the Sultan.

But, he said, I must not speak about Zionism at the reception. I may only offer my services to procure an advance. Because it was a matter of an advance and not a loan. An advance to be paid back in a few months, since the customs receipts were the bread and butter of the Turkish finances. When they need money at Yildiz,

they send out to the customs pay-office. The advance is to be given on a note from the Turkish government. I observed that in the opinion of my friends a loan and not an advance had been involved, and I explained Kann's offer to him, without mentioning Kann by name.

The margin of £80,000 immediately made sense to him, and he plans to report about it to Nuri and the Minister of Finance.

As regards Zionism, he thinks the only reason the Turks are not willing is that they are afraid of intervention on the part of the Powers. If the Jews were allowed to immigrate, the Powers would immediately send battle-ships to Jaffa and seize Palestine. I said it would be our concern to bring the Powers round. To which he replied that if I could make the Sultan understand this the cause would be won. This was the only misgiving the Sultan had. I asked whether I could take Vámbéry along to Constantinople. Crespi said that this would even be an enormous advantage, because V. has access to the Sultan at any time. Vámbéry's recommendation, he said, had done me a tremendous amount of good anyway. At first they were going to make inquiries about me in Vienna and Berlin. But when V's letter recommending my proposals came, nothing else was required.

He chatted some more about this and that. We could easily get the Dead Sea concession, he said, if we guaranteed the Sultan a share of the net profits of the industries. Furthermore: the Sultan had not been able to deliver the "Dormition" plot to the German Kaiser to this day, because the Sheik-ul-Islam was opposed to it.

Once I was in contact with the Sultan, I could ask him to appoint a committee consisting of all ministers for the examination of the Zionist proposals.

Then came Kremenezky whom I had sent for to pay Crespi the 1000 francs travelling expenses *contre reçu* [against receipt]. I laid particular stress on this little thoughtfulness. He was to see and talk about how quickly and easily we pay off our friends.

What difficulties for the A.C. this little payment involves no one suspects.

December 3

Two evenings ago there came a brilliant report from Cowen about the project of a conference with Lord Rothschild. Cowen and Greenberg are doing the splendid work I expected of them. Cowen's dialogue report about Greenberg's conversation with Ascher, Rothschild's private secretary, is a masterpiece. Ascher asked why I didn't write Rothschild and request a conference. Greenberg brushed this off ironically: I would never do such a thing. Whereupon Ascher suggested a meeting at some third place, possibly at Seligmann's.—*Va bene* [That's all right].

* * *

Yesterday's telegram to Kann (Dec. 2):

Kann, Villa Anna, Scheveningen.
Baldov brought me favorable news from Cohnheim. Halewi (loan) will be made on basis of control of all Zolent (customs revenues). Expecting Cohn's invitation to go there any day. But Halewi must be taken care of in all secrecy. First payment middle December. Are you ready? Wire reply. Benjamin.

* * *

To which this reply came today:

Confirming letter of my firm. Leaving here tomorrow morning, arriving Berlin Wednesday evening. Kann.

December 3

This morning I wired Kann, The Hague:

In place of Halewi (loan) could you make short-term advance same amount against note from Leier (Turk. govt.) guaranteed by Zolent? Or could you at least advance two hundred middle December for six months? Wire reply, Benjamin.

I am writing Vámbéry that I shall call him to the telephone at the National Casino tomorrow afternoon to give him the news about Cohn. "*Are you ready to go with me?*"*

December 4

Nothing has come from Constantinople up to now; the telegram announced by Crespi seems to have been flimflam, and his whole coming here a little adventure. Perhaps he wanted to feel my pulse first and only now will get to work.

At any rate, making his acquaintance wasn't worth a thousand francs.

Yesterday I saw him again at Dirsztay's. He ran Nuri Bey down, told all sorts of Levantine gossip about Constantinople, and promised me that he would be my slave. I have seldom seen such readiness to sell everything.

Incidentally, he also made suggestions that aren't bad. E.g., that I should have the English government give me an invitation to lead the Jewish emigrants to the Transvaal. That would make a good impression on the Sultan.

This very day I am writing in this vein to Cowen, saying that Francis Montefiore should ask Mr. Barrington for such an invitation.

Yesterday too Crespi telegraphed to Constantinople, *mais rien n'est venu* [but nothing came of it]. He explains this to me by saying that the cabinet council might have been in favor of it at their Sunday meeting, but might have been unable to persuade the Sultan to send for me. For the Sultan was proud, did not want to ask for any money, and told the ministers who complained about empty coffers: "Look for it! What did I make you a minister for? Just dig up the money any place you can."

The Minister of Finance had complained to him, Crespi, that there was only £10,000 in the treasury, and of this 150,000 was supposed to be spent for the Ramadan, and a few weeks later another 130,000 for the Beiram (?) Plus debts, salaries of officials, etc.

* In English in the original.

This reminds me of the treasury of the Actions Committee.

Spicy detail: the local ambassador, Mahmud Nedim, is said to have given Crespi the job of getting him his back pay for the past twelve months. If they did not send him any money, he would resign his office, "*et il fera du chantage* [and he would blackmail them]."

December 4

In reply to my question about an advance Kann laconically wires "No."

December 6

Crespi appears to be a Levantine braggart, perhaps even a confidence man. Yesterday he called on me twice, together with Dirsztay. He would like to have a lump sum for expenses and the like; I flatly refused. First he should give some proof of what he could do, I said, then he would get some money from me. For nothing—nothing.

In the afternoon he and Dirsztay came to see me at the *N. Fr. Pr.* and brought me a letter from Nuri. He writes that the Deutsche Bank made an offer that was accepted, although it wants to undertake the loan at an allotment rate of 75 to 78%, as compared to the 90% offered by us.

In my presence Crespi drafted a telegram to the Grand Vizier imploring him "*dans l'intérêt du gouvernement et de Sa Majesté* [in the interest of the government and of His Majesty]" not to sign, because he had a better proposition to make.

Dirsztay told me quietly he would see to it that Crespi did not swindle me with this telegram; it would have to be sent in his presence.

In that case matters don't stand badly, because the Sultan will certainly read the telegram. He will see that a better offer has been made.

However, if nothing should come of it after all, I can have Vámbéry draw the Sultan's attention to the way he is being robbed,

and if anyone should approach me again, I can demand a reception by the Sultan before definitely hiring someone. This way I shall not need Kann or any other financier beforehand.

December 9

Yesterday I was at Pest to see Vámbéry and to tell him the whole story about Crespi.

On this occasion I learned that a group of German financiers or entrepreneurs, headed by one Herr Schöller of Berlin, had addressed a request to Vámbéry to procure for them the concession for a German-Turkish bank from the Sultan. The proponents are said to include the Duke of Ujest and other aristocratic gentlemen—also, from Vienna, Baron Oppenheimer and, strangely enough, Consul-General Dirsztay too. This permits the surmise that Crespi was called here more for this matter than for mine. *Je veillerai* [I shall keep my eyes open].

Vámbéry thinks we must not immediately make enemies of those around the Sultan who are interested in the Deutsche Bank loan and that we should not denounce the machinations. He wants me to write him a presentable letter in French for the Sultan's eye.

In agreeing on this we forgot that it was bound to strike the Sultan as strange if I wrote to my compatriot Vámbéry in French.

Therefore I am sending Vámbéry two letters that can be shown around: one intimate, genuine one which he can get into the hands of the Sultan "by indiscretion." This is the better way. The second in French and written to be shown around.

II.*

Dear Master:

Knowing how deep an interest you have in things Turkish, I think I should bring to your attention an incident that took place recently. A businessman from Constantinople, Mr. Crespi, who appears to have connections with the government of His Majesty the Sultan and who had been introduced to me by the Consul-

* In French in the original.

General, M. de Dirsztay at Vienna, advised me that the Ottoman government intended to borrow 700,000 Turkish pounds. I believed that the time had come to prove to H.M.'s government that in me they have a true friend who on every occasion is disposed to render service to the monarch who has always treated his Jewish subjects so well and who in his magnanimity and exalted foresight could one day take the Jewish refugees into his Empire. It is certain that they would bring to him, with limitless gratitude and devotion, their industrial and financial power for the great benefit of that splendid Turkey, so tolerant and hospitable.

As it is always necessary to take the opportunity of demonstrating good will whenever it exists, I persuaded some financiers, friends of mine, to offer me, on behalf of the Imperial government, a loan on especially favorable terms. Indeed, while the Hungarian government was able to obtain a loan several weeks ago only at 87½%, I got an offer for the Ottoman government of what it needed at 90%. That was no longer business; it was a favor to let H.M. see who his real friends are, on whom he could always call in case of need.

But how great was my astonishment when I learned that this offer, transmitted by me to the Consul-General at Vienna and to the intermediary whom I could only consider a semi-official agent, had not been taken under consideration.

It seems improbable to me that the money could be found on less onerous conditions. Through your connections at Constantinople you will be able to find out easily what the meaning of this is.

Believe me, dear master,

Faithfully yours,
Th. H.

I. The intimate, presentable letter:
Dear Friend and Master:

I must inform you of a rather strange matter today. I do know what a friend of the Turks you are and how you are particularly

devoted to the Sultan. Therefore it will interest you to know that a very favorable offer which I had made in order to give the Turkish government a first proof of my friendship has gone unnoticed. I had been informed that the government would have use for about £700,000. I had to take the agent, Mr. Crespi of Constantinople, seriously and regard him as at least a semi-official agent, because he had been introduced to me by the local Turkish Consul-General, von Dirsztay. Now I had my financier friends make me a written proposal offering the Turkish government a loan of £800,000 against sufficient security at an assignment rate of 90%—thus £720,000 in cash. This is not good business for our financiers, because a few weeks ago the Hungarian government got an allotment rate of only 87½% in a loan. My friends and I were simply interested in giving the Sultan a proof of our great readiness to oblige. To my astonishment this offer was not taken up further. I do not believe that anyone could make an offer nearly as good, let alone a better one. You, dear friend, may be able to find out what is the meaning of the whole thing.

With cordial regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Th. H.

December 11

Today I am writing to Cowen that I am ready to meet with Lord Rothschild at Seligmann's on the 28th of December.

December 11

In the evening the following wire came from Crespi*

Number 73 (Grand Vizier) will wire 919 (Berlin ambassador) asking him for information about your financial capacity and whether you are in a position to contract for the transaction. Do whatever is necessary to make sure that the information will be

* In French in the original.

favorable to you. Wire will leave immediately after your telegraphic reply.

Crespi

Since at the same time I had a telegram from Wolffsohn saying that he would be in Berlin tomorrow, I wired him to expect my telephone call tomorrow morning. Kann too will be in Berlin tomorrow,

December 12

I am telegraphing Crespi:*

While knowing that it is important, 919 (Berlin ambassador) cannot know where the necessary is coming from. I hold to my offer completely. But as it is a special favor, the doctor insists particularly on being called by 363. He will need 3 or 4 days grace to make arrangements with his patients.

* * *

Then I telephoned Wolffsohn at the Savoy Hotel, Berlin. I told him to take my *Philosophische Erzählungen* [Philosophical Tales] to Ambassador Ahmed Tewfik in a nice case and ask him whether he knows why my proposition has not been accepted. He should know that I am ready, even though he may not be able to say where I have the money from. The Jewish Colonial Trust will also participate in my group.

I also made Wolffsohn give me his word of honor that he would not tell Kann anything about this visit.

* * *

December 13

Yesterday afternoon Wolffsohn telephoned me and said that he

* In French in the original.

had been to see Ambassador Ahmed Tewfik; he had received him very amiably, but had not heard about anything at all yet.

* * *

Today I received the following wire from Crespi, dated yesterday:*

Doctor, they are pressing me for a quick favorable answer to my telegram of the day before yesterday. Telegraph me immediately.

Crespi

* * *

I am answering it:*

Yesterday someone went to see 919, who had received nothing from 73 and knew nothing. But what other answer do you want than that all is ready on the stated conditions, which I repeat to you.

December 14

Yesterday there came a notification from the Pera telegraph office (to Kokesch as the sender), saying that the code telegram to Crespi had been officially intercepted. Therefore I immediately wired Crespi:*

A code telegram in which I notified you that the money is still at your disposal under the familiar conditions did not reach you.

* * *

An interesting letter came from Crespi yesterday—*se non è vero è ben trovato* [if it is not true, it is well invented]—telling about his discussions with the Grand Vizier and Tahsin Bey as well as about the intrigues of the Ottoman Bank. The latter, however, can lend only £100–150,000, while the government—according to the Grand Vizier's express declaration—is *aux abois* [in desper-

* In French in the original.

ate straits] and needs 2–3 million pounds. Accordingly, he says, our prospects are favorable.

I don't believe Levantines.

* * *

From Wolffsohn a report about his conversation with the ambassador at Berlin. Ahmed Tewfik told him amicably what he had told me two years ago: that he would like to see us immigrate anywhere in Turkey, but not to Palestine. My *Jewish State,* he said, had struck fear into the Turkish government—*quel honneur* [what an honor]!—and they thought that once we were settled in Palestine we would wrest the country away, as the Balkan states did.

To which Wolffsohn made an excellent reply: If the Jews were in the Balkan states, they would be Turkish to this day, for the Balkan states were able to break away from Turkey only with the aid of the Great Powers. We, however, have no other friends in the world but the Turks.

December 14

Today Vámbéry's notification that my letter has gone off.

December 14

Telegram from Crespi:*

Urgent necessity to have telegram sent to Grand Vizier from big French or German bank certifying that the seven hundred thousand Turkish pounds have already been lent under conditions I shall set.

* * *

This is evidently a trap, at the least a test. If I name Kann, or rather, have him telegraph his willingness to the Grand Vizier, the following eventualities are possible:

* In French in the original.

a) The banking house of Lissa & Kann will be regarded as sufficiently "*haut*" ["big"], whereupon the Grand Vizier will show the offer to the Deutsche Bank or the Ottoman Bank in order to obtain a competitive offer.

b) Lissa & Kann will not be regarded as sufficiently important, and the matter will be dropped, possibly at the same time using it as under a).

c) In either case, Crespi, who has already betrayed Nuri to me, can directly put himself at the disposal of Lissa & Kann and try to carry the matter out as a commission deal, which would be much easier to do without a Zionist flavor.

d) I am not sure enough of Kann, who has stabbed me in the back on a previous occasion, to put him in touch with the Turkish government. It is of no use to Zionism for his firm to get access to Turkish business.

For these reasons I shall refrain from giving the desired name, but after listening to my best advisers I shall do things as follows:

To begin with, I am telegraphing to Crespi:*

I have informed my friends of your request. Their reply will come tomorrow or the next day.

* * *

Tomorrow I shall telegraph the following:*

My friends do not deem it appropriate to reveal themselves in the way you ask. First, because their conditions are not those of business and represent a favor. Then, because they are afraid this offer could only serve to elicit others. In which case we would be doing a favor without any thanks for it.

But, since in your request there is also a question of previous security, we are willing to yield, though it is a bit humiliating for me.

The way this can be done is as follows. I am authorized to show the gentleman with whom I talked on the telephone at Ladislas's

* In French in the original.

the offer dated November sixteenth and addressed to me by the financial representatives of the group.

December 15

Today a letter from Crespi, who claims that the Grand Vizier is on our side. In the Cabinet Council the advance of the Ottoman Bank was supposed to be discussed, but the Grand Vizier removed this from the agenda. He wants to make an official inquiry about me first—see telegrams. The Grand Vizier would like to conclude a loan of two to three million pounds. Crespi advises us first to frustrate all other financial arrangements for Turkey, then appear as saviors. A major opponent of ours was "Commandant" Berger, the director of the *Dette Publique*.

December 19

To Vámbéry:

Kedves Vámbéry bácsi [Dear Uncle Vámbéry]:

First of all, I am pleased that you approve of my actions. Of course, I am not authorized to make incautious use of the offer made to me on November 16. The banking firm that figures as the underwriter is a distinguished old house, and I shall produce the document only when things become serious, and not for any murky maneuvers of —— —— ——.

I received the enclosed letter today. Please send it back to me immediately after you have used it. You yourself will know best how you have to write to the Sadrazam. It would, of course, be well to expedite the matter greatly, if only so that I may get a first opportunity of doing something substantial for our friends.

I hope the journey in wintertime will not deter you. Just leave it up to me to provide the greatest comfort. Perhaps your son will give us the pleasure of coming along, too.

Scilicet [that is]—if we are called.
With cordial regards,

Your truly devoted
Dori.

The enclosure was Crespi's letter which arrived today, dated 12/17, in which a letter from Vámbéry to the Grand Vizier is requested.

Vámbéry wrote me yesterday that he approved of my policy of showing the offer only to him; my purpose in this is to keep him, whom I trust, in the combination.

Wolffsohn wires me that the firm Lissa & Kann has been in existence for 80–100 years and has been highly esteemed for three generations. I needed all this to cover myself.

December 22

Vámbéry wrote yesterday (encl. r) that if it turned out to be a deal, he wanted a commission of £5000 out of the 700,000. To this I answered V. only briefly that he was very sensible and that I had never had anything else in mind but to let him have an adequate share.

But since he now seems to want a letter of commission, which I don't have yet before he writes to the Grand Vizier, I will make shift without him for the time being and am now wiring Crespi:

Prof. a adressé la lettre au secrétaire [The professor has sent the letter to the secretary].

* * *

December 23

I am replying today to Vámbéry's letter of December 20:

My good *Vámbéry bácsi:*

I am swamped with work on the last few days before Christmas, and that is why I was only able to make a cursory acknowledgment

of your good letter of the 20th of the month. Now I have finished. (By the way: read my story about old Rome in the Christmas supplement of the *N. Fr. Pr.,* seeing that you have so much avuncular indulgence for me—otherwise this would be immodesty on my part).

I am now rereading your good, intelligent letter of the 20th. You are right, every last word. I did not and do not have the slightest desire to arrange this loan; I hardly need tell you this. Why should I trouble myself over it, anyway?

There is nothing in it for me personally, and the cause whose *shammes* [factotum] I am can only suffer a delay because of it. But C. and his agents—he was recommended to me by responsible people from Cohn's staff—gave me to understand that it was an *entrée en matière* [beginning of things]. They said that I must furnish a first proof that I was able to put hard cash on the table and had not only phrases in my mouth, but—like the morning hour of the Turkish Empire—gold.* Also, with a relatively small amount only a slight delay could be involved. This I had to accept as true, and I induced one of my most trusted assistants to procure the desired amount at once. But at the same time, considering that it would be a business transaction, even though not a good one, I stipulated honoraria for those of our helpers who are outside our movement and thus have a legitimate claim to material gratitude as well. With this, of course, I primarily had *Vámbéry bácsi* in mind, and that is why in my answers to C. and his associates I kept bringing you into the picture, because this also authorizes me vis-à-vis my financiers to demand for you a share in the commission that will be paid when the transaction is concluded. For this purpose an amount of eight thousand pounds was readily placed at my disposal. Of this I promised C. £4000, and the remaining 4000 I intended for you—which does not mean that I wanted, God forbid, to put you on the same level with C. I believe that the gentlemen,

* Translator's Note: An allusion to the proverb *Morgenstunde hat Gold im Munde* (lit., "The morning hour has gold in its mouth"), the German version of "The early bird catches the worm."

who are not cads and whom I have until now known only as persons of breeding, will add another £1000 at my request.

But do I really have to tell you that I know what is the proper thing to do? From the very first you have behaved so cordially and correctly toward me that I am actually looking for an opportunity to give pleasure to you.

To be sure, our great purpose must not be lost sight of in such side issues. I frankly confess to you that I would prefer it if our friends did *not* earn these small commissions, because then they would all the more assuredly and *sooner* earn the big ones which will be realized from the Charter loan.

To this end we must work. I told you from the very beginning that I regard you and your connections as a historic opportunity of the Jewish people. Your whole fine, active, and courageous life reaches full stature at this peak. *Vámbéry bácsi,* you are not here to serve as an interpreter for some Shah of Persia. Your true mission is to help your old people with its self-redemption. Let us not miss one day or one hour. Let us not say *yavash* [take it easy]!, like the Turks who are wrecked on it. And since according to C's letter the Sadrazam requests a letter from you, because without your letter he evidently does not dare to talk to Cohn about the matter, for goodness' sake write him this letter today rather than tomorrow.

With cordial regards

Your truly devoted
Th. Herzl.

Letter to Wolffsohn:

December 25

My dear Daade:

I am more naive, after all, than I believed. The Halewi (loan) matter suddenly bogged down and I didn't know why. Some helpers want to be on the safe side and to get *matone* (commission) letters from us. In particular there is someone who has the greatest

influence upon Cohn and whom we decidedly need. He must get a larger amount than I thought. And since he must under no circumstances be named and has to share in any future transactions of Hagen and of the Trust, Hagen must write a *matone* letter for the A.C., which assumes responsibility toward the man who wishes to remain anonymous. And this *matone* is to be paid in addition to the £4000, which you have already promised, for the one *baldov* (agent) who contented himself with my verbal promise. The letter is to read as follows:

To the Actions Committee of the Zionist Congress,
Attention: Dr. Th. H., Chairman.

I hereby pledge myself to pay to the honorable A.C. of the Z.C. the amount of £10,000 on the day on which the loan transaction with the Turkish government, initiated by Dr. H., is completed. I further pledge myself to pay to the A.C. of the Z.C. ½% of the nominal sum of any additional transaction which I or my firm may conclude with the Turkish government directly or indirectly, alone or in conjunction with others, on the day of the signing of the contract. The A.C. of the Z.C. is under no obligation to give me an accounting of how these payments are used.

Respectfully,
Jacobus Kann,
for the firm of L. & K.

This request certainly does not mean any damage to Kann's interests, for he will be able to write off this additional *matone* against the transaction. It will then be an easy thing to obtain correspondingly better conditions, because we shall have every necessary assistance. Naturally, any obligation for him will arise only if the thing materializes.

Arrange this with him quickly, so that I too can continue to operate unhindered.

I surely don't need to tell you that, in the first place, the A.C. uses everything that comes to it for the cause, and that, in the second place, I personally have nothing to do with the incoming and

outgoing monies, but that everything is taken care of by my colleagues, under the control of all.

I congratulate you on your election to the Community, but I am not pleased with it. This is a fresh distraction for you, and now you may give even less attention to the Bank. I am convinced that you have still made no arrangements whatever for the approaching deadline for payments. In my opinion, everything ought to be mobilized right now for the impending collection of final installments by registered postcard. In particular the thing ought to be organized *inexpensively*, and the cards should be sent from London at foreign-postage rates, but sent out in each country by the national headquarters at domestic or local rates.

When will that be done?

Who is thinking of it?

No one, I fear.

For this reason a terrible displeasure at the management of the Bank is growing among the masses of our adherents.

With cordial regards,

Your
Benjamin.

December 28

Yesterday, first victory over the *Allianz.*

In the informal conference the day before yesterday, the gentlemen, who had invited me through Assize-Court Councillor Kohn, had declined a tribunal on their misdeeds in connection with the Rumanian emigration, but had offered to give me and my friends an accounting of everything and to show us all their books. I immediately accepted this, because I was anxious to see the books.

Yesterday evening we went there. They had hoped to put us off with phrases and letters selected by them. But I had the matter in hand and steered things to the books. *Quel malheur* [how unfortunate]! They couldn't show us the books, because the bookkeeper, an old man, had already gone home.

All right, show me the cash book. They showed it to me reluct-

antly. Dr. Kuranda, who was standing behind me, wanted to leaf through it quickly. However, I turned the pages slowly; I looked for and found the questionable items: a subvention of 600 guilders for Bloch and other uses of the donations which were contrary to regulations.

Thereupon I formulated my questions as follows:

1. By what right did the *Allianz* restrict the personal freedom of the emigrants and send them back to Rumania although they did not want to go?

2. By what right were the contributions used for other things than what the donors were told about in the appeal?

3. Where is the proof that the repatriates were granted adequate support?

For in the meantime I had managed to get the old bookkeeper brought back, as well as to have the books produced.

Messieurs Kuranda and Katzau had said that the old man probably was still working on November in entering the Rumanian account. No, he was *à jour* [up to date]. The payment to Bloch was already entered in the Rumanian account. At this I remarked: "The minutes of the *Allianz* ought to record thanks to the old bookkeeper for having entered everything so promptly."

Ces messieurs ont passé un mauvais quart d'heure [those gentlemen spent a bad quarter of an hour].

And now they are mine. The investigation was suspended for the time being, and I shall probably not continue it. I have already got all the material I need.

* * *

Vámbéry has written to the Grand Vizier and, "confiding in my honesty," given the financiers his unconditional endorsement.

Thereupon I am writing him:

My good *Vámbéry bácsi:*

It was no *leap in the dark.** With me everything, not just this or that, is a matter of honor, and if I tell you something, you can swear to it in *kittel* and *talles* [by all that is holy]. I am now enclosing for

* In English in the original.

you the original letter from the bankers, because you believed me, and ask you to return this important document to me immediately after you have examined it.

It is one of the oldest and finest Dutch banking houses, in business for about eighty years. The present head is the third generation, very rich and highly esteemed in government circles, something that I personally assured myself of at The Hague.

The matter was negotiated by the president of the Jewish Colonial Trust (Colonial Bank), one of my most trusted and most devoted assistants. We chose this Dutch house for this campaign because it is the most suitable for the purpose at hand. For the Charter loan, to be sure, it would be out of the question. For this I have another group which has several millions pound sterling in readiness. I wish we had got far enough with Cohn for me to furnish you with proof of this as well.

Today the *Politische Korrespondenz* issued the enclosed announcement. Kindly return the clipping to me. I not only consider this as not a bad sign, but as a good one. The whore wants to raise her price, so she says that she can't be had. *Am I right?**

I don't need to tell you that you are to keep the name of the banker a strict secret. This banker, of course, is a "gentleman," but the circle around Cohn could approach him directly. Then you would have pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for other people. For this my *bácsi* is too smart. The greatest *hokhme* is that you understand me, trust me, and go along with me.

With cordial regards,

Your devoted
Dori.

December 28

To Crespi I telegraphed the following *mots convenus* [code words] regarding the dispatch of Vámbéry's letter to the Grand Vizier:

Objet parti avanthier [object sent off day before yesterday].

* In English in the original.

December 31

Two days ago Councillor of State von Bloch called on me. We spoke about war and peace. While we talked it occurred to me to mention Austin, Salisbury's friend, as the possible peace negotiator. Austin had recently written me to be sure to remember his words: if England shows strength in the Transvaal, no one will attack her. Bloch now wanted to tell the English through the *Neue Freie Presse* that they ought to submit their dispute with the Boers to arbitration. I pointed out to him that this was a wild-goose chase. However, England might let the peace proposals of a private individual be discussed more readily than those of a Power. I now offered to write to Alfred Austin that Bloch was prepared to launch in the *Neue Freie Presse,* and seemingly under his own name, those proposals that were agreeable to the English government.

Bloch agreed with pleasure to this idea which promises him *le beau rôle* [the starring role].

* * *

Under the date of December 29th Vámbéry writes a letter important to me because he says in it that in the farewell audience he granted him the Sultan had expressed himself to him *quite differently* from what the notice of the *Politische Korrespondenz* says: "He doesn't give a hoot; all he wants is money and power."

* * *

Letter to Vámbéry.

December 31, 1900

My good *Vámbéry bácsi:*

Thank you for your good letter, and cordial wishes for the New Year! May this year see something great for mankind, particularly for our people, issue from our friendship.

I can't get that item in the *Politische Korrespondenz* out of my mind, if only because it is getting into every newspaper in the world. It has been telegraphed everywhere. Although this hasn't

seriously worried me, I still can't conceal from myself the effect on public opinion. Therefore, since my last letter to you the decision has matured in me to strike a major blow, based on this semi-official notice. *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo.* [If I cannot bend the powers above, I will move the lower world]. In the middle of January I shall start on a tour of my financier friends and induce them to cut the Turkish government off from all financial sources. That will perhaps show them that your Dori is no *quantité négligeable* [negligible quantity]. However, as a real Jew I wish to offer one last opportunity for an amicable settlement. What I have in mind is that you immediately direct to Cohn a friendly warning in something like the following vein, though in your own words which will be more clever and more Turkish than mine:

Dear Cohn, because of my intimate relationship with Dori I can today give you some information from which you can derive benefit, that is, avoid harm. For years Dori and his friends have done you favors, or offered them to you. When the Greek war broke out, Dori sent five physicians to your theatre of war at his own expense. On various occasions he had your praises sung in his newspapers, defended you and propagandized for you. The first thing he did at every Congress was to send you a telegram of homage. When he heard that your government urgently needed money, he immediately offered about £700,000 on terms far more favorable than the market ones. He never received a word of thanks. In fact, as a response to his latest kindness, the offer of £700,000, he gets a slap in the face from a semi-official news-agency. One of its releases says that the Turkish government is prohibiting the Israelites from entering Palestine, because the Zionist movement wants to set up the Kingdom of Judea. This is an absurdity. All the Zionists want to do is to settle the country of Palestine, under your sovereignty, with peaceful workmen who are too unhappy elsewhere. You and your whole Empire would derive enormous benefits from this. But you don't want to? That's all right, too! Nobody can or will force you to be a friend to the Jews. But since the Jews have nothing to hope for from you, you no longer have anything to expect from them either.

Dori has just informed me that in the middle of January he will set out on a tour of his most powerful financier friends. He intends to induce them to grant you no more loans when you most urgently need them. Dori also writes me, among other things, that negotiations are now going on with the Canadian government (according to a report from Pineles, Galatz) regarding immigration. This government shows itself favorably disposed to the idea.

If you want to heed my advice, send for my friend Dori *immediately,* before he leaves and starts something that can make incalculable trouble for you. Be pleasant to him, at least listen to him—then you are still at liberty to say no to him if what he presents does not suit you. But this way you will at least keep a friend in him who can do you more good in the world of the press and of finance than you seem to be aware of.

This is the loyal advice of your Reshid.

But don't you believe, my good *bácsi,* that this is only a trick. If I have no invitation from Cohn by Jaunary 15, I shall carry out what I have said above. This is my decision.

With cordial regards,

Your devoted
Dori.

1901

January 1, Vienna

My good *Vámbéry bácsi:*

Just one more word to supplement my yesterday's letter. It should be made clear that if you intervene now, aiming at preventing my campaign planned for the middle of January, you will be doing a service to the other side, i.e., Cohn. You must make him understand this. Tell him you have learned of something that

makes one fear difficulties for him. And truly, you have never done Cohn such a service as this one. For I have now made up my mind and am *ready**.

With cordial regards,

Your devoted
Dori.

January 1

Last night Hechler came to see me. I told him that I wished to propose to Lord Salisbury through Austin that Bloch formulate England's peace conditions in the *Neue Freie Presse*. I want to perform this service for England. Hechler asked me for permission to notify Sir Francis Plunkett, the ambassador, of this, because in this way the thing could be done more quickly.

I agreed all the more readily because I had intended to have him propose this to me.

January 1

Yesterday I went to see David Gutmann and concluded the *Allianz* peace with him, under the condition that three Zionists be coöpted into the *Allianz* and one (Prof. Kellner) into the board of trustees of the Hirsch Foundation.

Gutmann also promised that they would muzzle Bloch's *Wochenschrift,* and told me that the firm of Gutmann Brothers had given Bloch fifty thousand guilders for the defense of Rohling.

Jan. 3, Vienna

Today sent off the letter to Austin which Hechler wrote in Eng-

* In English in the original.

lish and in which I offer Bloch's intervention in keeping with whatever peace conditions England may desire.

* * *

My good Grand Duke replied by telegram to my wired New Year's wishes with his old cordiality.

Jan. 3

Yesterday I received a clipping from the anti-Semitic Berlin *Staatsbürgerzeitung,* dated December 27, 1900, which reproduced a yellow item from the dastardly news service *Information* of the dastard Graf. The poisonous item accuses me of having boasted of my relationship to Kaiser Wilhelm, etc., and is obviously intended to have me semi-officially disavowed by Berlin.

I immediately telephoned Prince Eulenburg and said I would like to speak with him; in the evening he received me, amiably as always.

First we spoke about his and my literary attempts, then I read him the clipping and left it with him. I informed him about the scoundrel Graf and told him the blackmail story. What did I want him to do, asked the ambassador.

"Simply to ignore this needling. The fellow wants to provoke a disavowal of me on the part of the German government—to take revenge or to get money. Now, I certainly have made no use of the letters and statements of two years ago. Therefore it would be very disagreeable to me to be disavowed—in the first place, because the things are true, and in the second, because I haven't said anything. Rather, our good Mr. Hechler seems to have been too talkative. It is the only fault of this thoroughly honest man. He probably talked about letters from the Grand Duke to me announcing the assumption of the protectorate by the Kaiser. I myself haven't told anyone about this protectorate which was once planned. If they now saw fit to disavow me, I wouldn't know what I have done to deserve this cold douche. Nor would people understand it if I kept silent about

it, because, after all, I am not dependent." (The expression in his eyes told me that he had understood this gentle hint).

I continued: "After what had gone before, the Kaiser's reception and declarations in Palestine did not meet my expectations. But I understood at once that it couldn't be helped, that insurmountable obstacles had been encountered, and I said to myself: 'Now you've got to keep your mouth shut!' "

Eulenburg rejoined:

"I can assure you that your behavior at that time and since then has given us the highest opinion of your character. And I would discuss everything with you with the greatest confidence and without any reserve. What the difficulty was at that time we have been unable to find out to this day. The Sultan rejected the Kaiser's suggestion regarding the Zionists so brusquely that it was not possible to pursue the matter further. We were anxious to remain on good terms with him. As a guest the Kaiser could not of course press the subject."

I: "I presume that it was Russian influence—then as now. Perhaps we didn't contrive things shrewdly enough at that time. Germany's open support was bound to arouse jealousy on the part of the others as well as the suspicion that it was a matter of occupying Palestine under the guise of Zionism. If we repeat the attempt, it ought to be managed in such a way that Germany gives its consent to the arrangement only reluctantly. I have now shifted the center of gravity to England. In the last parliamentary elections there we picked up some forty supporters in the House of Commons."

He said pensively: "You are quite right in not dropping your project. This support in the English Parliament is very important. Don't get discouraged."

"Yes, 'we come from other times and hope to go on to different ones,' " I quoted Grillparzer's words.

"For us it is a delicate task," remarked Eulenburg. "It is inherent in our situation that we must strike a balance between England and Russia. Today we incline the balance staff toward England, but it will not always remain this way; the staff will have to be inclined toward Russia again if we want to keep our equilibrium. And par-

ticularly in Asia Minor, where Russia wants to expand too, we must have no differences."

I sensed that Russia's expansion was something feared and immediately made use of this. I explained that Russia was behind Turkey's resistance, and that Russia was evidently making *tache d'huile* [spreading out] in Asia Minor—until it would suddenly be at the shores of the Mediterranean. Only then would Zionism be lost. Only when Palestine belonged to the Russians would we have no more chance of obtaining it. At this point he said: "What you are telling me now interests me very much."

I also mentioned that I had recently offered the Sultan £700,000 on favorable terms. He had not accepted the offer, evidently prevented by Russia. But I was determined to spoil his loans for him if he absolutely refused to give me a hearing. However, if he sent for me, I could make a great deal of money available to him.

We had talked for an hour and a quarter. I got up. He said he hoped to see me at his dinner table soon. *Et nous nous quittâmes dans les meilleurs termes* [and we parted on the best of terms].

January 4, Vienna

This has been a curious day today. But this evening I still don't know, and probably won't know for a long time, whether it has been a day *sans conséquences* [of no consequence] or one to be marked in red later.

The day before yesterday I had received a card from Secretary von Bleyleben, saying that the Prime Minister requested me to call on him today. I took this as just an answer to my New Year's visiting card which I had left on the first, and gave the invitation no further thought, because my previous visits to Koerber had never amounted to more than *dicerie* [chats]. I was more concerned, as an echo of the conversation with Eulenburg, with the following notice in yesterday's evening edition of the *N. Fr. Pr.*:

In an article in the *United Services Magazine* there is a peculiar proposal, one hardly to be taken seriously, regarding an Anglo-

German exchange of territory. England is to exchange the island of Cyprus, which has been under English administration since the June agreement of 1878, for German East Africa, in order to safeguard for England the strategic and commercial value of the Cape-Cairo railroad which would otherwise in part run through foreign territory and be dependent on a foreign power. According to the article, Cyprus has always been of doubtful value to England, and on the other hand, thinly populated, tropical East Africa is not particularly valuable to Germany, while Cyprus would be an excellent acquisition for her, as a base for her aspirations in the Near East as well as a station on the long road to her possessions in the Far East. If Germany ever got into the position of having to defend her rights in Asia Minor by force of arms, Cyprus would constitute a very valuable base of operations, and England would in no way have anything to fear from Germany's taking over this island. In Germany, to be sure, there is a different opinion regarding the value of German East Africa, despite the abandonment of Zanzibar and Witu; therefore Berlin will probably attach only academic importance to the proposals of the above-mentioned English periodical.

The comment that the proposal was not to be taken seriously made me not entirely incredulous, for the judgments of the *N. Fr. Pr.*—after all, I know its judges—are not always the wisest.

In the first excitement I wanted to write to Eulenburg and make proposals in case it was true. Germany would then have to welcome a Jewish settlement on Cyprus with delight.

We would rally on Cyprus and one day go over to Eretz Israel and take it by force, as it was taken from us long ago.

But I slept on this all-too-lurid idea, and the night brought me the decision that at this moment the wisest thing was to say nothing. Should Germany get Cyprus, I shall afterwards still have the opportunity to attempt the matter via Eulenburg and the Grand Duke. But if it stays with England, which is apparently tired of ownership, the chances are even better, because I shall be able to discuss it with Salisbury if my *bons offices* [good offices] in the

Transvaal question give me access to him. This means that if the Sultan's refusal assumes even more distinct form than in the notice of the *Politische Korrespondenz* I would present a Cyprus project to the next Congress for which I could obtain the support of the big millionaires beforehand.

On my trip to Koerber in the morning I thought over this Cyprus speech of mine for the 5th Congress. I would declare that it was a combination of the currently bogged-down hopes for Palestine with the indispensable campaign to aid our poorest.

Poor Trietsch's idea, then, whom I also sent for mentally to put him to work on the preparations. I would further declare to the Fifth Congress that Cyprus was only a step on the way to Palestine. That Turkey would then take us more seriously, etc. I could even hear the opposition and agreement of the Congress.

Thus I arrived at the Wipplingerstrasse [and] simultaneously [came up] against Austrian domestic politics.* Koerber tore me out of my Oriental heaven with an amiable jolt.

The eventuality which I have long foreseen has come about: he wants to or has to govern in opposition to the *N. Fr. Pr.* This is why he had called me, as I immediately found out.

"It was no soap with Auer," he told me after the first words of greeting. "Did you find something, maybe?"

"I didn't look, Your Excellency."

"Anything to be done with the *Neue Press?* Is it to be had?"

"I think so, if matters are handled correctly. It is a question of money."

"The money is there," he said plainly. "Money for a new, quality paper, or for the *Neue Freie Presse*. There is a group."

"Who?" I asked. And when he hesitated with his answer, I said: "My word of honor that it will remain between us."

Then he answered: "Schöller!"

That sufficed me. He now asked me whether I wished to speak with Count Auersperg who was negotiating the matter. I said I was willing. But when he mentioned that the "group" wanted to have

* Translator's Note: Apparently a fragmentary sentence; completed according to Herzl's probable intention.

the Secretary of the Reichenberg Chamber of Commerce—Karus or Karplus, I didn't catch the name clearly—as the publisher, I expressed a reservation, saying that a major journalist would hardly consent to serve under such a chief. For the rest, I first wanted to hear the details from Auersperg and then express myself at greater length.

Then we spoke about the internal situation in Austria. He claimed to be tired of being in office, although he certainly didn't give me that impression. He said in a somewhat nervous tone of voice: "I'm just curious about my successor. I can't wait to see if he'll do a better job, or *what* he'll do. Who are they talking about?"

"Lichtenstein or Schönborn," I said.

"Or Gautsch!"

"But he would only have a ministry of officials all over again. Then you might as well stay, Your Excellency."

He spoke about the elections. "Nobody knows nothing certain." He had the least good to say about the German-Progressives. They are the most troublesome. I believe he thinks so because they are the weakest. He praised the Christian-Socialists, "because at least they are willing to work." With the Czechs, too, one could manage somehow. These hints showed me in what direction he wants to steer. Incidentally, he denied that he had made concessions to the Czechs prior to the Prague Diet, as the German-Nationalists indignantly assert.

The reason that the work of the Prague Diet had run smoothly, he said, was that he had previously sent for Governor Coudenhove and given him instructions to dissolve it in case there were disturbances.

He also had the *Oberstlandmarschall* [provincial chief marshal] notified of this, and thereupon the Czechs were well-behaved and subdued. The "concession" was the threat of dissolution in the event that the marriage of Archduke Franz Ferdinand or the Bohemian states' rights were brought up in any way.

"What do you think of that, Dr. Herzl?"

"I think that you have done some governing."

I also admitted to him that contrary to my previous opinion he had been right in not "running" the elections.

"That can't be done the way it is elsewhere," he said. "In Hungary the government can make a unified party for itself. Here we have to go along with a different party in each crownland. So it's better not to interfere in the first place, otherwise you have them all against you. Yet I've done a thing or two on the quiet, for instance in Krain."

He still has the Emperor's confidence, as he told me in reply to my question; but his answer no longer sounded as positive as it had last summer.

Then he dismissed me. When I was at the door, he saw me out and said to the doorman: "Call Count Auersperg."

So, *vederemo* [we shall see]!

January 7, Vienna

This morning I am to go to see *Ministerialrat* Count Auersperg. What will come of it? This question has been agitating me mightily for the past two days. It can just as easily lead to nothing, to a *diceria* [chat], as to a great deal, to everything.

I am now reciting to myself my old saying: *Rien n'arrive, ni comme on le craint, ni comme on l'espère* [Nothing happens either as one fears or as one hopes].

* * *

The same must apply to Constantinople as well. Vámbéry writes me under the date of January 4 that he had repeated my last letter to the Sultan in detail. However, Vámbéry does not expect much from it.

* * *

Cowen reports from London that the meeting with the Rothschilds is to be "managed" by Seligmann as soon as I get there. In about two weeks I shall probably go to London where Wolffsohn is

calling me on account of the Bank. Regarding the Bank, regarding the Rothschilds, too: *rien n'arrive.* . . .

January 8

Yesterday morning I went to see *Ministerialrat* Count Auersperg. A tall, slim gentleman of some forty years with an intelligent, sometimes too intelligent, look in his eyes. A future minister, *cela se devine* [this much may be guessed]. At first he tried to act reserved. I disarmed him by making the *battement* [gambit] of frankness. I spoke without any reservation, whereupon he too spoke freely. A "group of industrialists" wanted to give the money for a new paper, or for the acquisition of "an old one." This group had turned to Koerber through him, Auersperg. Koerber had said that he knew someone—myself—and so the ball had started rolling. "The fundamental reason for this plan of the industrialists is the impending commercial treaties. People don't read about them in the papers. That is why they want to create or acquire an organ for informing the public."

I believe, however, that the deepest reason is the creation or acquisition of a baronetcy for Herr von Schöller. But that is none of my business. Schöller's money is as clean as money can be, and it is all right for me to take it in order to start a decent newspaper, especially since Auersperg kept emphasizing that only an independent journal was to be created.

We agreed that I was to get details about a rendezvous with Schöller in the course of the same day. I promised to be at home from five o'clock on.

Then an incident intervened which made me rather nervous yesterday afternoon. At noon there was a call from Prince Eulenburg to the office of the *Welt* saying that he wanted to speak with me at six o'clock. I couldn't say no because, after all, the meeting between Auersperg and Schöller had not been definitely set for the evening.

Accordingly I made rather complicated arrangements in case something came from Auersperg during my absence from the house, and at six o'clock I drove to Eulenburg.

He gave me some surprising information. He had made inquiries about the provenance of that scoundrel Graf and had learned that this item was traceable "to a difference of opinion between Dr. Herzl and the secretary Dr. Landau."

I set him straight on the character of the fine S. R. Landau and reassured him that nothing need be feared from "exposures" on the part of this fellow, simply because I had never confided anything to him.

Anything he might know he could only have gleaned from our good Hechler's incautious chatter. Eulenburg said he planned to send for Hechler and appeal to his conscience to keep silent.

He further said: "As I learned, the matter is not to stop with this first article, but there are other articles by Landau to come."

I shrugged my shoulders, because, after all, I am not afraid of this pair of rascals, Graf-Landau.

Incidentally, Eulenburg told me he had reported to the Imperial Chancellor on our first conversation about this matter in the spirit desired by me.

Then we discussed literature again. He gave me a new book by Frau von Gerstenbergk about Ottilie von Goethe.

When I got home, there still was nothing from Auersperg; not until late in the evening did a pneumatic-tube letter come from him, requesting me to visit him at ten o'clock today.

* * *

This night, too, brought me counsel.

It occurred to me 1) that the Landau-Graf coup was probably not mounted against me at all, but against the German government. For the matter is disagreeable to it, not to me. Those characters want to extort something from the German government. Therefore I must call on Eulenburg this very day and warn him, since he apparently has his information directly from Graf.

2) that Auersperg's card might mean snow. For yesterday he said he would see me at Schöller's. Today he calls me to his office.

Does this mean letting me down easy?

In an hour I'll know.

January 8, in the evening.

I have been to see Auersperg. He was in a Privy Councillor's gala uniform with very many decorations, and considerably more formal than yesterday. On account of the uniform, the decorations? Or because in the meantime something unknown to me has happened? Did hoar-frost fall during the night?*

He said the "group" wanted to get more detailed business information. The 700,000 guilders for the new paper didn't frighten them, they had been prepared for that. But the indefinite amount for the *N. Fr. Pr.* Why didn't I say how much it cost. I said: I don't know. At the moment the *N. Fr. Pr.* is not for sale. A disposition to sell would first have to be fostered by establishing a rival paper. The gentlemen further wished to have the assurance of a ten-year average profit as the basis for a 7–8% capitalization. I said I could not hold out even the remotest prospect of this either, because I was not acquainted with the intentions of the owners. However, I thought that with a down-payment of seven hundred I could carry out the transfer of the shares with full payment within two years. I also said that I believed only in the possibility of a five-year average as a basis for sale.

Auersperg took these statements down and promised to speak with the group this very day. Then I might possibly be asked to attend a conference.

At parting the Count was frostier than he had been yesterday. He has a curious way of smiling. His smile is very friendly, and the friendliness suddenly vanishes. Then he smiles again, and his face stiffens without recognizable cause.

* Translator's Note: Probably an allusion to Heine's line: "*Es fiel ein Reif in der Frühlingsnacht.*"

The impression today was *rather disagreeable.** Are they letting me down easy?

* * *

Afterwards I drove to Eulenburg's, who received me immediately although I had come *mea sponte* [of my own accord], which filled the *valetaille* [underlings] in the magnificent vestibule with reverent awe.

I gave him my impression of the Landau-Graf affair.

"*La nuit m'a porté conseil* [the night has brought me counsel]. Those boys aren't gunning for me, but for you, the German government. After all, these disclosures about past relationships between His Majesty and myself could not be disagreeable to *me*. On the other hand, it could turn out to be bothersome to the German government if the world found out that originally it had the intention of proceeding in Palestine and then had to give it up on account of unforeseen obstacles. Therefore I believe that it is the tender beginnings of a *chantage* [blackmail] aimed at you. What was written there is evidently based on schemes derived from Hechler's chatter. Those fellows want to exploit a presumed embarrassment of the German government, because they don't know that the Kaiser can implicitly rely on my silence."

At my words there was a flash of summer lightning in Eulenburg's diplomat's face.

When I remarked that as far as I was concerned the extortionary intention would be clear if he had the news that further "exposures" were to come from Graf or his circle—he nodded and thereby admitted that he had actually spoken with this shady character.

Then he said: "Yes, I too had the feeling that something could be fixed there with money. When the person involved made me the disclosure, I naturally didn't let him see any reaction. For it would be sad if I didn't have myself under control to that extent. I am used to being faced suddenly with the strangest things. As far as the matter itself is concerned, I have informed the Imperial Chancel-

* In English in the original.

lor of the exact contents of my conversation with you, and nothing will be done that could lead to a discussion or dissemination of the announcement issued by these two people. For the time being, I think, we shall leave it at that. But should they nevertheless continue things as they have announced, then I shall notify you and do nothing without having discussed it with you first."

I replied: "In that case it might be advisable for you to tell the blackmailer that I am afraid of him. He should send me the galley proofs of the next publication before it appears. Then I would call those two characters to my place, let them commit the crime of extortion, as the Chief of Police advised some time ago, and then have them arrested."

Then I mentioned in passing that Landau had also polemicized against me in Harden's *Zukunft*, and when I added that I had always wondered how such a good judge of human nature as Bismarck could have become so deeply involved with Harden, Eulenburg said:

"Hatred drove him to it. That was his most striking characteristic. His greatest passion was hate. A lot could be said about this, and I in particular, who spent my entire youth in the circle around Bismarck, could make the most remarkable disclosures about it. But I shall be careful not to. The German people won't have this idealized figure touched. And anyone who would interfere there would have everyone against him.

"It is true that he did a lot for us, but how many lives he destroyed as well! If he hated someone, he shrank from nothing. Then he struck at his private life and ruined everything about the man. The Princess also contributed a great deal to this. She was of an inexhaustible eloquence, and if anyone had incurred her hatred, she kept urging the Prince on until he too was quite possessed by it. He always gave free rein to his hatred, and only when the State, and thus Bismarck's own existence, was involved, did he bridle this passion of his.

"It also affected his decisions whether on a given day he had eaten two *pâtés de foie gras* or only one, whether he had drunk a whole bottle of cognac or only half a bottle. Both of them were kind

to me, and only when, after Bismarck's dismissal, I went over to the Kaiser were they against me too. It was this way: anyone who did not follow them into moral exile, and physical exile as well, was regarded as an enemy by them. As for me, I stood by the Kaiser."

(*Parbleu* [Aha]! I secretly thought to myself.)

"And after he had been dismissed, he made use of anyone at all as long as he could indulge his hatred for the Kaiser. It hasn't even become public knowledge who-all was allowed to come to see him. As regards his behavior toward the Kaiser, history will presumably pronounce the right judgment."

While saying this Eulenburg gave me a deep look with his cold and yet visionary eyes, as though he were giving me a commission for history, since I was a man of letters. The Kaiser, he said, had always acted chivalrously toward the dismissed Bismarck.

Bismarck, however, had missed no opportunity to embarrass the Kaiser who, to be sure, was a very impulsive person and offered such opportunities.

* * *

It is now seven o'clock and I still have no news from Auersperg. I already saw myself at the head of a big paper on which I could work for the greatest aims. Was I like the market woman with the eggs who makes bigger and bigger plans for the future and, while dreaming, slips and breaks all her eggs?

* * *

Did I make mistakes in my negotiations with Auersperg? Did I dampen him, annoy him, make him suspicious? Presumably I shall not recognize my faulty move in this chess game until later.

Or do they want to conduct the matter slowly, in order not to let on that they are in a hurry? Will they have the data supplied by me translated into action by someone else, a man more acceptable to the group?

Waiting is a bad thing for the nerves.

* * *

A quarter past eight, the same day.

These three hours since my return home during which I have been waiting for a message from Auersperg have once again dug at my nerves. I am racking my brains where the mistake was. Was it the *battement* [gambit] of frankness? Did I say too much, speak too incautiously? *On a toujours les qualités de ses défauts* [one always has the virtues of one's defects]; this time it seems to have been the reverse. To an Austrian Privy Councillor and aristocrat one mustn't open any wider perspectives; that disconcerts him and makes him suspicious.

I now have the feeling that I didn't make the right impression on Auersperg. My feeling is similar to the one I had with Bülow long ago, and I wasn't mistaken that time either.

Perhaps my mistake was in telling him about the compensations I rejected when Badeni made me an offer. Maybe he thinks that this time I would accept the compensations. Perhaps he is frightened at the great advantage the proposition offers me. Maybe they have another chief *in petto* [in prospect] and want to use the Jew all right, but don't want to give him a job.

On the other hand, the fact that the "group" wishes to stipulate a two-year period for payment did appear to be on the level.

But *not* on the level that they should let me have 700,000 guilders when I said that I could manage with half a million.

* * *

I am making all sorts of conjectures.

Perhaps there is a wire-tap on the German Embassy, and it was learned that I was called to it yesterday and from there made two telephone calls to the Cottage section. Maybe they are taking me for a German agent and harboring suspicion because of that.

* * *

At any rate, it is striking that now, at half-past eight, no word has come from Auersperg as yet.

* * *

Among the eggs which may be broken by now there also was one for my poor relatives. Yesterday I had told my parents my intention

of giving a monthly pension to each of my penniless relatives if my situation improved.

Among them there also was an egg for Oskar Marmorek, whose life is being embittered by his wealthy father-in-law because he made a bad speculation with the unrentable house on the Praterstrasse.

This is the house I wanted to rent from him for the newspaper offices, although two days ago he acted badly and resigned his seat on the A.C., because I didn't push him onto the board of trustees of the Hirsch Foundation, into the company of the rich Jews who are supposed to impress his father-in-law and presumably get him construction jobs.

All the things that play a part and reverberate!

I wanted to forgive Oskar for this flaw in his character and thought of Bacon's saying that riches is to virtue what the baggage is to an army.

Hélas, tout est rompu, gendre [Alas, everything is ruined, son-in-law].*

* * *

Half-past ten.

Nothing has come.

Since Auersperg promised to send a messenger, but didn't even send a card by pneumatic tube making an appointment for tomorrow, my blackest fears are justified. Goodbye, freedom! Goodbye, independence!

I must continue to remain a slave of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

However, in the course of the evening I have calmed down. Crespi's letter which arrived yesterday and which I had only glanced at in the tension of the last 24 hours contributed to this. He sends me the draft of a proposal for a loan which I am to forward to the Grand Vizier, which is to be followed immediately by my summons to Constantinople, plus *distinction honorifique* [public honor] and reception by the Sultan. So I have something else to think over and sleep on.

* Translator's Note: A quotation from E. Labiche's play *Un chapeau de paille d'Italie*.

This is the good thing about having several irons in the fire of one's imagination. If one of them doesn't work out, one can at least hope that another will.

However, as I write this I still have the hope deep down that my pessimism is premature and that something will come of the paper after all.

This, of course, would mean infinitely much: freedom! I now feel like a Count of Monte Cristo who breaks out of prison, already feels the air of freedom blow against him from the hole in the wall—and then hits a rock that he cannot remove.

January 9

Until now, 10 o'clock in the morning, no news of any sort from Auersperg. I consider the incident as closed, no matter what may still happen. Shall therefore participate in the future discussions, which will probably only smooth over the defection, with that reserve which, imprudently enough, I failed to display from the very beginning.

Wenn man alt wird wie eine Kuh,
Lernt man immer etwas zu.
[If you live to be as old as a cow,
You keep learning something new.]

January 9

Answer to Crespi's letter of December 28, his wire of January 2, and his letter of January 4:*

January 10, 1901

Dear Sir:

Please excuse my delay in answering your estimable letter of January 4. I had to consult with my friends first.

* In French in the original.

We would like to believe that this time the matter is becoming more serious, but we cannot completely forget how we have been treated up to now. As you very well know, about the middle of the month of November we placed ourselves—at your request—at the disposal of the Imperial Government. I got my financier friends to formulate the offer of a loan, and that offer, dated November 16, had the costly effect of immobilizing the capital for more than a month.

You cannot believe that serious people let such sums lie inactive indefinitely. Thus the impression made upon them has been a rather disagreeable one, and I have been reproached for my gullibility. What is more, the proposition is not so tempting in itself; and if it were not linked with interest in other matters, the affair would have been abandoned without the least regret with the small loss of a month of waiting.

Even so, when you did me the honor of coming to Vienna to see me, I persuaded my friends to prolong their offer on my account. When you telegraphed me that it was necessary to prove the existence of that offer, I was authorized to show it to a man honored by the confidence of H.M. the Sultan. I showed it to the Prof., who was able to certify the document. But neither my friends nor I want to enter into competition with other groups.

Neither do we wish to let our proposal serve to provoke a competition.

It would be said: "Here is what the Zionists are offering. Do better than they!" No, we will not lend ourselves to any such arrangement.

On the contrary, we would have two quite weighty reasons for abandoning the matter completely.

1) The conditions which you set now are different from those which served to open the subject. Your first proposal was six and a half percent. Later you reduced it and offered only six. Always keeping the greater end in view, I managed to get my friends to accept this rate. Today it is a matter of only 5½%. As for the intermediaries, at M. Dirsztay's house I had promised you the sum of one hundred thousand francs if the matter should be concluded

through your efforts. Today there appears a new demand, for 5% of the loan. I can understand this only by supposing that the conditions will be bettered in a way still to be worked out in secret, for you cannot believe that in a matter of this kind one will give 95% of the capital. This, then, would be something to discuss, and it does not seem to me impossible to satisfy everyone if my friends and I are satisfied.

2) But here comes the real difficulty. What was my astonishment, not to say my disappointment, when I read in the *Politische Korrespondenz* of December 27, 1900 a semi-official notice of the utmost violence against the movement I represent. It was like a brick falling on my head. What? Is this the reply to all the friendliness which I have evidenced, to all the services rendered, or at least offered, to these gentlemen of Constantinople over the last four years?

What is the source of this dispatch date-lined Constantinople? What is certain is that the news has been reprinted by a great number of papers. The correspondent of the *Daily Mail* had confirmation of it at the Turkish Embassy in Vienna. Was it H. E. Mahmud Nedim Bey? It doesn't matter to me what the source is, since it hasn't been denied. And I am tired of being taken in. So much the worse for Turkey if it doesn't want us. But then why would we be stupid enough to do favors?

But to come to offer services after this incident, before reparation of some sort or other had been made, would be not only stupidity, but also a stooping to which I would never consent even if our financiers were willing.

I will sum up, and I return to our starting point. More than ever it is indispensable that I be invited by H.M. to come to see him.

Only that gracious act can atone for the errors committed by your officials. Then I will come and place my complete loyalty at the foot of the throne.

I will bring with me or be followed by one or two of our financiers who will handle the matter of the loan during my stay at Constantinople.

This proposal ought to be enough. My word is as good as a financier's.

I am charged with interests and responsibilities that are important in a different way. Nevertheless I believed that my position was sufficiently well known. But while repeating that I am still available one last time, I assure you that if I am not summoned by January 20, I will consider the whole matter irrevocably closed.

You may show this letter to H.H. the Grand Vizier, to whom I beg you kindly to convey my respects.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
Th. H.

January 10, 10:30 in the morning

To this hour no news of any sort from Auersperg.

After twice twenty-four hours of silence such a matter must be regarded as dead.

Now the unwelcome part of my saying applies: *rien n'arrive—comme on l'espère* [nothing happens—as one hopes].

How far advanced in my dreams I already was, how high the battlements of my castle in the air rose. It has collapsed.

* * *

I still don't know where the mistake was. Did I display too much intelligence and thus arouse mistrust? In conversation with Koerber or with Auersperg? Did I betray too much self-will which looked bothersome? *Quien sabe* [Who knows].

* * *

But I must pull myself together for new decisions. If I don't hear anything by Saturday, I shall request Koerber for an audience and make another attempt to win him over again.

I shall tell him that I will always remain a Koerber man, even

after he is overthrown. It was my intention anyway to write him a letter on the day of his overthrow—if only for the *beau geste* [fine gesture]—pledging him my continuing devotion.

January 10

A case of the plague in Constantinople—which would not deter me from going there tomorrow if the Sultan summoned me.

I am sending word to O. Marmorek to wire his brother Alex:

You ought to telegraph the Sultan, offering your services in fighting the plague threat with serums.

Twelve o'clock.

Since I made the decision to see Koerber I have been calmer.

January 10

Letter to Wolffsohn:

My dear Daade:

This is an important letter. I beg you to get on the next train with it and go to Hagen.

If he accepts the conditions he will find in the enclosed copies, I hope that Halewi (the loan) will materialize.

But this still leaves the question of the assurance to the A.C. which I requested in my letter to you dated 12/25. The answer you gave me was unsatisfactory. At first I didn't care about it, because there was a pause in the negotiations, such as unfortunately is part of these people's system. It is their misfortune—and good fortune. They are ruined by it—but ruined slowly.

However, I can be in an awful scrape if the thing materializes and I don't have a letter from Hagen in my hands. You see, I have already made promises of commissions, and I would be held to them. It would be sheer madness on my part if I did not cover myself.

The letter to the A.C. must be sent to us verbatim and without delay, otherwise I shall immediately cut the threads and tell all those concerned that they won't get anything.

After all, the letter contains no sort of obligation for K. if nothing comes of the matter. His refusal would therefore really give me pause. I imagine, however, that in his ignorance of the character of the place he erroneously assumed that the entire negotiations weren't to be taken seriously and that therefore he didn't even want to write a letter. But come to think of it, the tone in which he speaks of the "great unknown" is actually insulting. Does he perhaps believe that this unknown is on the A.C.? He doesn't seem to know whom he is dealing with. After all, the receipts and expenditures of the A.C. as well as all the papers are subject to control. Well, I won't get excited. Your friend has simply been guilty of folly once again.

Telegraph me at once when you are at Hagen's whether he accepts the formulated conditions and will write Kokesch the A.-C. letter.

Cordially yours,
Benjamin.

January 10, at night

At 6:45, when I was writing the letter to Wolffsohn, a letter from Auersperg came at last. He asks me to come to his office at 10:30 tomorrow morning, so that we may go to the conference together. My hopes were raised the way parched flowers are raised by a sudden rain.

Again the fantasies moved past while I walked up and down in my children's room. The children were being bathed and put to bed, as they are every evening.

They made their daily jokes, draped bedclothes around themselves after they had been undressed, lustily sang their way into the bathroom, danced into their beds, and said their evening prayers; today I made them say a Hebrew prayer in addition to the German

one. And they had no idea that today their fate may be moving past over their young heads. If tomorrow's conference leads to something serious, there will again be a great change in my life and therefore also in the lives of my children.

Incidentally, the ups and downs of the last few days have made me serious, humble, and taciturn. I plan to control myself greatly tomorrow and, if possible, to make no mistake.

But there is something intoxicating about the idea of becoming free, free from Benedikt's orders and wishes.

Mais rien n'arrive ni comme on le craint, ni comme on l'espère [But nothing happens either as one fears or as one hopes].

January 12

Yesterday was the day of the duel.

I showed up at Auersperg's office a few minutes before the appointed time. He told me that the "industrialist gentlemen" first of all wanted more detailed information. Schöller didn't want to do it alone; Krupp had to be brought in, too. Later I was able to see that the latter was the master mind of the combination.

"You will have to pass a commercial examination in front of the gentlemen," joked Auersperg, who had unbuttoned somewhat.

"Oooo, then I'll make out badly," I said; "because I'm not a commercial man. Of course, I can give information on the technical details."

The day before I had paid a visit to the composing room of the *N. Fr. Pr.* and therefore was *au courant* [up to date].

Then Auersperg was called to a Section Head, and for a quarter of an hour I enjoyed the still life of an Austrian ministry office. The gold-bricking that goes on in such an office is probably downright grandiose. Through the thin wall I heard the conversation of the scribbling clerks. Suddenly a grumbler was heard outside, invisible to me. In the tone of a foppish man-about-town he beefed about the impending transfer of his office to a new building, one presumably still wet: "Why do we have to dooo it, huh? Catch

rheumatism there? Get sick for life? Why do we have to dooo it, huh?"

Later he opened the door to the room where I was sitting and we recognized each other. It was young von Fries whom I had once met at Suttner's house.

Then Auersperg came back and we left. It is part of the situation that I was embarrassed about being seen in the street with this great lord.

We went to the new, magnificent Schöller house on the Wildbretmarkt and went up in the elevator. Schöller and Krupp were already waiting in the conference room. The former, tall, blond, young—29 years old, as it turned out afterwards. The latter in his forties, fresh, jolly, bold, good type of a business man. Kr. started the discussion, described what the "group" wanted—a most decent program which I can accept with a good conscience.

With the aid of figures I then sketched a picture of the new paper, which seemed to please them.

"What is its name to be?" asked Kr.

I said slowly:

"I would call the new journal—*Die Neue Zeitung* [The New Journal]."

At this they all grinned, and after all the facts and figures and the good preparation with which I had preceded them they were evidently won over. *Reste la question délicate* [There remains the delicate question].

Raising the needed little million—7–800,000 guilders to start with—seemed to worry Kr. less than it did Sch., who raised all sorts of objections, maybe in order to appear quite conservative, but perhaps also because he did not really appreciate the scope of the whole thing. For the other possibility—acquisition of the *N. Fr. Pr.*—another allotment, 4 to 5 millions, was made. But will it be available? I would first have to resign, so as to be able to negotiate. Thus I would have to be covered in advance against all eventualities. Accordingly I requested a contract before I did anything. The gentlemen asked me to draft it for them.

The conference had lasted for 2½ hours. I am convinced that I

made no mistake this time. If the project does not materialize, it will have been through no fault of mine.

In the afternoon I drafted the letter of contract at the office of the *N. Fr. Pr.* where I have suffered so much for five years and which I may soon leave forever—alas! perhaps not.

(Enclosed in an envelope of the *N. Fr. Pr.*)

* * *

In his introductory remarks Krupp had said:

"We want neither an anti-Semitic paper nor (with emphasis) a *Jewish paper.* That we are not Clericals is shown by the fact (with a laughing glance at the Count) that we are Protestants."

And this is the wondrous, amusing situation that in this declining Austria the Protestant industrial forces, through the intervention of a Catholic Count in the government, negotiate with a Jew for the purpose of creating an organ of public opinion. And what is even more wondrous is that only this Jewish Jew is in a position to create a clean, decent organ, and that he wants to do it, too.

* * *

Krupp further said quite openly, as truly intelligent people do when talking with their intellectual equals:

"We industrialists need a paper to inform the public. We are now without any journalistic representation. For instance, a Danube-Oder canal is a necessity. But the *Neue Freie Presse* doesn't want this to be talked about. It has probably received money for it from Rothschild and the *Nordbahn* [Northern Railroad]."

And at this point the contrast was drawn with wonderful clarity between the big bankers, who have been hostile toward me for years because of my Zionism, and this group of industrialists, who have sought me out.

But I certainly committed no act of cowardice, didn't flatter them with regard to Social Democracy, but said that I would never use a rude capitalistic tone toward the workers. Rather, I would try to conduct the discussion of social questions in a conciliatory

tone, with superior amiability, in order to enlighten the workers about their true interests, which, after all, are closely related to the prosperity of industry.

January 13

Yesterday morning I sent the letters to Auersperg and then again waited a bit nervously to be summoned.

It got to be afternoon, nothing came. Finally, toward evening, a letter from Auersperg. I was requested to appear tomorrow, Monday, at half-past eleven at the same place (Schöller's). Tomorrow, then, is the day of destiny.

* * *

In the evening a letter came from Alfred Austin with the answer to my proposal to have Councillor-of-State Bloch mediate between England and the Transvaal.

England will hear nothing of mediation. She wants surrender, *pur et simple* [pure and simple].

* * *

Afterwards I gave a rather absent-minded lecture in the Congress Office about women and Zionism.

January 14

I forgot to enter an important incident in Friday's conference with Krupp and Schöller.

When we were discussing the income of the newspaper, particularly the notorious "lump sums," Krupp said with a meaningful and watchful look: "With us, of course, there can be no question of such income."

Whereupon I countered, blow for blow:

"Otherwise I wouldn't have any part in it."

This gave all three of them a visible jolt, and I believe they knew only from that point on whom they were dealing with.

January 14, 10 o'clock in the morning

And today is probably the day of destiny.

In another two hours I shall know where I am at. Whether my life will really take a new turn, or whether I have to continue to be stuck in my slavery under Benedikt.

Will they accept my conditions—or reject them? There is another possibility, which Schöller hinted at: postponement. This I would have to take as a courteous backing out. Then they will perhaps have my program carried out by someone else.

However it may be, I am resolved to preserve an iron calm—amiable in case of rejection and composed in case of an agreement. After all, I am not *le premier venu* [just anybody] and must not show myself disappointed or exultant, like some clerk to whom the great prize of a managership beckons, or who unexpectedy becomes boss.

What I would deserve is a bigger position than I now have. If I don't achieve it, I shall simply remain *au dessus de mon sort* [above my lot], which is something to be proud of, too.

January 14, 2:30 in the afternoon

After my return.

Letter to Koerber:

Your Excellency:

May I request Your Excellency, at the suggestion of Count Auersperg, to be kind enough to receive me today on a very pressing matter. I can come to Herrengasse. However, the way matters stand at the moment and in the interest of the success of the next steps, it would be better if I were not seen there today. Therefore, if at all possible, I should like to request that I be told to come to Rathausstrasse. I am ready to come at any time.

The bearer of this note is waiting for a reply.

With deep respect,

Your Excellency's very obedient servant
Th. H.

January 14, 5 o'clock in the afternoon

At half-past eleven I was on the Wildbretmarkt. Auersperg was already at Schöller's.

On the conference table were several folded papers with print showing through.

I said to myself: the contract!

It wasn't that, however, but only a counter-draft.

Young Schöller, whom I liked much better today and who virtually gave me the impression of being an intellect, started right in to go through the individual items of my tabulation, though without the slightest expert knowledge.

Then came Krupp who had something like a winter wind about him today. He was in an angry mood, as became apparent later during the brawl over my percentage.

On the whole they had accepted my draft. They had no objection to the salary of 24,000 guilders. But the percentage was to run only for the length of the contract, which was to be limited to five years.

Now there was a lengthy discussion of these controversial points, frequently in a rather blunt commercial tone. After much back-and-forth, they finally conceded me, in lieu of a percentage, shares worth 100,000 guilders on the new paper, and 200,000 guilders in case the *N. Fr. Pr.* was acquired. The latter only after a sharp incident. When I asked for an amount in shares that would correspond to a yearly net profit of 20,000 guilders, Krupp jumped up indignantly:

"Why, then you would make a tremendous profit. About half a million out of the purchase price of four millions. We can't go to our friends with this."

And Schöller added:

"Well, what are they going to say then? They are going to ask: 'Who is that man, anyway? Is he made of gold?' "

I explained that in the interest of my children for whom I was working I must provide for the future. A man does a thing like this only once in a lifetime; if he does it, it must be successful; if it is, he must get something out of it.

We finally agreed on the amounts of the compensation (50,000 guilders) in case of an earlier dissolution of the contract through their giving notice, etc.

I flatly rejected the stipulation that the Executive Committee should have the direction of the paper, for then I would have no more authority in the office. On the other hand, I accepted Auersperg's compromise proposal that the Executive Committee should have the "supervision."

However, even after this "agreement" the matter was not, and is not, concluded. To be sure, at my insistence Krupp finally declared somewhat testily that he had no further objections. But Schöller again was the more cautious one, pulled back at the last moment, and said: "We'll sleep on that once more."

Now there is one final interval 'twixt the cup and the lip. What can come between them now?

Despite everything, the irritability of the gentlemen is not a bad sign. For if they weren't serious about things, they wouldn't need to be so angry.

Incidentally, I gathered from mysterious remarks about a joint visit they planned to make tomorrow morning that they would go to see Koerber.

This was confirmed by Auersperg who accompanied me out to the ante-room after I had taken my leave. They would be received by Koerber tomorrow and therefore I should go to Koerber before that, this very day. Auersperg seems to have faith that the thing will materialize.

Then I drove to the office which my master Benedikt had already left. I afterwards hurried to my parents with whom I had a late

luncheon, because this bellicose conference had lasted till two o'clock.

Once home, I wrote the above letter to Koerber, and now I am waiting for an answer.

January 15

Koerber sent me word by my gardener that he expected me at seven o'clock at his private residence.

At seven on the dot I was there. In front of the house I saw a young guard who took a remarkably close look at the number of my cab.

On the staircase I passed an elderly gentleman who was walking with deliberate slowness and evidently wanted to see at any cost where I was going.

I would have preferred not to be seen, and I felt a little like Marianne in the first act of *Gretel.*

Maison bourgeoise [middle-class house], the residence of the Prime Minister which he probably does not leave out of superstition, because a civil-service minister never knows how long it will last. "*Pourvu que ça doure* [Provided it lasts]!" said Napoleon's mother.

K., an old bachelor, also lives alone with his old mother.

The maid was already expecting me and immediately took me to his rather elegant study by the back way, through his bedroom, where a used shirt and laid-out clothes as well as a large oil painting of a nude attracted my attention.

Right after that Koerber came out in loose-fitting house clothes, in a woolen undershirt and slippers. Through the crack in the door I had seen his old mother sitting at the supper table.

In a few words I reported to him about my negotiations.

He asked whether I had been good and careful and implicated him in no way.

On this point I could completely reassure him. He particularly didn't want people to find out that Krupp was in on it.

"You know—on account of his episode with the *Reichswehr.*"

This, too, fully agreed with my own wishes.

I observed: "But it appears to me that the gentlemen are very little informed. They negotiate with me as if I were the manager of a factory. They don't seem to have any understanding of the political significance of the whole thing."

"Never you mind. That's awright. . . . but d'you think you're gonna get the *Neue Press'?* I don't think he's gonna let you have it."

I told him that I considered it possible. The danger of losing money, I said, was so important that Benedikt might give way.

"It sure would be a relief!" he muttered. "Why, he spoils everything with his stirring up things and his spitefulness. Even Lueger would keep quiet if the *Neue Press'* didn't keep startin' things. He'd even take on Jewish teachers if it depended on that. But no! they keep stirrin' him up. Look, it's all right to write about anything. There was a satirical poem about me in the *Wage*. That didn't bother me a bit. But that certain odious tone of Benedikt's, that does an awful lot o' harm. People abroad pay attention only to the *Neue Press'* . . . It would be a terrific relief if only that stopped."

In the same murmuring tone I held out hope to him that I might be able to carry the thing through if only arrangements were completed quickly. If they gave me the contract today, I would immediately speak with Bacher, who plans to leave for the Riviera tomorrow, and conduct the negotiations with the greatest vigor.

He said: "Schöller's comin' to see me tomorrer at ten. I'm gonna talk to him."

I left. He again led me out through the bedroom, always moving in a way that was intended to keep me from seeing the toilet articles and the picture of the nude woman.

He accompanied me as far as the hall door.

When I was closing the hall door behind me, a gentleman was just coming up the stairs again. It was an elderly man with a grey moustache and blue eyes which he opened wide. He seemed to know me, and his eyes seemed to say: "Oh? So that's where you've been. What was your business there?"

So, on leaving, Marianne's situation again.

January 15

Is this the day of my liberation?

Will a slave who slept badly last night go to bed emancipated tonight?

January 15, 7:15 in the evening

Letter to Koerber:

Your Excellency:

I beg to inform Your Excellency that unless I am mistaken the whole thing has come to a negative conclusion. I have just had a conversation with the gentleman who was received this morning, and have the impression that he has abandoned the plan and is only looking for a polite way out. What has happened between yesterday and today I do not know. Naturally I shall facilitate the gentlemen's withdrawal in every way. I do not need to assure Your Excellency of my absolute discretion, and remain, with deep respect,

Your very obedient servant
Th. H.

January 16

Letter to Richard von Schöller:

My Dear Sir:

Since we are not likely to meet again in the near future, I should like—more out of a passion for logic—to come back to two of the remarks you made yesterday.

First of all, you said that the attitude of your lesser colleagues in the last elections militated against the project. No, it speaks in its favor. You are surprised at not having produced a long-range effect. A comparison will explain this most succinctly.

You possess power, that is certain. (This is why I took the matter seriously). But you could just as well put wires under a waterfall; at their other end no effect would still be produced, even if it were

Niagara Falls. To make the power transmissible, you must first convert it into electricity, and this is done by means of a dynamo. But such a machine must be constructed correctly and must work, otherwise it too is only junk. Once the installation is successful, you produce a long-range effect and propel wheels.

The other matter was everybody's consent, which you said must come first. In my modest opinion, this can never be attained in a large group. If it is achieved *par impossible* [in the face of its impossibility], it is no gain. For then there appear all sorts of windbags, know-it-alls, and busybodies who frustrate sensible, purposeful work. You can't get many heads under one hat. If you ask them first, the result is only talk, perhaps a brawl, and the hat is more likely to be torn to pieces than to be put on. That is why the guiding intellects must simply put on the hat and lead the way, then the others will tag along with admiration and devotion. Do they admire the intellect? I cannot esteem the masses that highly. Rather, I believe that they admire the hat and the courage it took to put it on. This is the way things really are in the world. I have seen many kinds of individuals and of corporate bodies and have never found anything else. The big committees are just as rotten as the republics.

If I understood Mr. Kr. correctly, he shares this view.

Very sincerely and respectfully yours,
Th. H.

January 16

Only now do I have a chance to enter the events of yesterday, a day that means a lost battle.

Nothing was to be expected in the morning. As usual I went to the office of *Die Welt*, to my parents, and then to the *Neue Freie Presse*. Cordial conversation with Benedikt about the elections of two days ago, which he considers a victory, etc.

But from 2:30 on I started to get nervous. I diverted myself by taking care of the material that had come in for me. Was it my last

batch? Would I leave this last room with one window to become emancipated?

Since becoming literary editor of the *N. Fr. Pr.* I had many thousands of times enclosed with rejected material the same letter expressing keen regret. Only a few weeks ago it had occurred to me that I could have the four main forms of these letters of rejection mimeographed. I discussed this with the stock-room manager and ordered the letters—and yesterday, of all days, they were delivered, with my handwriting reproduced a hundred times. I gazed at these piles with hope and with regret, because they had come only now when they were superfluous. I immediately used these letters for some twenty mailings on which I only had to write the addresses.

Meanwhile it had grown late. A call from Sch. was supposed to come by four o'clock. Half-past three, a quarter to four—nothing. I cheated my anticipation by working. A few times I was called to the telephone—trifling annoyances. Then, at ten minutes past four, a letter came. The agreed-upon letter without signature. I was to come between four and six. I began to get a little feverish, but I did complete my work first. Come to think of it, "between four and six" was strange, if all the gentlemen were to be there. Would they wait for me? I was in low spirits, to be sure, but did indulge in the possibility that an agreement was impending.

I had to wait for a few minutes in the reception room. There were no drafts on the table. Then Sch. came out and immediately informed me that the situation was "not favorable." I instantly had my complete composure and self-control. *Rebus in arduis* [in adverse circumstances] I always manage to keep my equilibrium. I listened to his remarks very amiably, the upshot of which was that I was to bring an offer for the purchase of the *Neue Freie Presse* and that they would then see how the necessary funds could be raised. This I declined to do. He then talked back and forth about a number of other things which I tried to argue down even-temperedly. The most important things are mentioned in my letter above: he thought that the industrialists' refusal to fall in line with his suggestions boded no good for the new paper.

Only now did I begin to have a more discriminating view of this

young man. There is a great deal of intelligence in his ponderousness. He is like an elephant. He will yet play a big role in Austria. He evidently wants to be in the *Reichsrat*. He will become a Minister, perhaps the head of a government.

Only in the end, when I was already taking my leave, did he get to the financial question: "You are asking such a lot! Two to three hundred thousand guilders."

"You will get plenty of people who will do it more cheaply," I said with a shrug and bade him a friendly good-bye. He said he would let me hear from him again in a few days. I replied that I would probably go to Paris at the beginning of February. He smiled, apparently taking it for another pressure manoeuvre, like my mention of Bacher's departure, although the latter actually did leave last night.

As for me, without getting excited about it further, I think the whole thing has broken down. When I got home I immediately wrote and sent off the letter to Koerber.

But I again slept rather badly in my chains. Had I let my liberation slip away?

Yesterday evening I had agreed with my parents that I would write Auersperg today and ask that my original draft of a contract be returned to me. I slept on it and changed my mind. I mustn't cut the line so sharply. I must continue to carry on negotiations, even though I no longer expect anything. There may still be turning points. I can still have a saving idea. Maybe Koerber will save the situation by his intervention. Perhaps I shall find an honorable way of moderating my demands.

In short, I didn't write to Auersperg, but to Schöller.

January 17

Calm, but not the halcyon kind.

No reaction from either Koerber or Schöller so far.

The project really seems to have been abandoned. I am reproaching myself greatly because of my excessive demands which

may have wrecked the plan. I would now be satisfied with much less. I am softened up—*et je suis rentré dans la domesticité* [and I am back in harness].

Yesterday afternoon Marmorek and I inspected his Nestroy-Hof. The house would make a wonderful building for a newspaper office. While I was taking the negotiations seriously, I didn't dare to inspect the house out of superstition. Now I no longer cared. At some later date, when the matter is definitely over, I shall tell Marmorek what I had in mind with him.

Again I slept miserably. In the dark morning hours, when my brain works best, it occurred to me that I can use this building to resume negotiations. At the same time, as a test of the seriousness of their present intentions. If I haven't heard anything by Monday, I shall then telephone Schöller, tell him that I have discovered a splendidly suited house which could be had for 5000 less than we tentatively budgeted, and ask him whether I should get a few days' option from the owner.

I had also figured out what I would tell them about Zionism which would have to come up in some fashion, because they must have informed themselves about me.

I intended to say: "Zionism is the Danube-Oder canal of the Jewish Question, which Benedikt also kept silent about because of the rich Jews. It is a big thing, a world-historic solution to which I have even persuaded the German Kaiser. And Benedikt kept silent about it. And yet, if you don't want me to, I would not even report Zionism in the objective form in which the *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Times* or *Temps* have done it. My friends could not even hold it against me, for this would show them once again that my livelihood is independent of Zionism; that I do make sacrifices for it, but derive no profit from it. It is true that I could have the movement pay me a big salary, as has been offered me. I could also become the manager of the Bank which I have established. But I don't want to. I earn my living only with my pen."

But at the same time I think to myself that through the great

connections that I would then have I could be of infinitely greater service to Zionism than through a few partisan articles.

* * *

For consolation I tell myself, finally, that if Messieurs Sch. and K. rejected my demands which aimed at safeguarding my future—their ulterior motive might have been to exploit me, to have me set up the machinery for them, and then push me out.

January 17

Letter to Vámbéry:

My good *Vámbéry bácsi:*

The deadline has expired, and the project of the £800,000 loan is finished. The firm of Lissa & Kann withdraws from the transaction, and this also cancels all promises of commission which it has made. Misled by C. and his associates in Constantinople, I have disgraced myself a bit in front of these financiers. The agents down there are really not to be taken seriously. Imagine, at the eleventh hour they put in a claim with me for much higher *baksheesh* than was originally agreed upon. Naturally this was the last straw.

However, in this matter, which fortunately constituted only an *incident sans conséquence* [incident with no consequences], I must be covered completely and in every direction. Of course, I don't want to be the *dupe* of the financers either, nor to have my dear Schlesinger-*bácsi* taken in. I hope you haven't mentioned the name of the firm to anyone, for otherwise it would be possible that it will be approached directly now or later. But should you have been incautious enough despite my warning, I beg you immediately to inform the same man to whom you mentioned the firm that it pays no commissions. Caution urges me to notify you of this, and I beg you to confirm receipt of this cancellation.

You probably remember my having written you that, prudently

enough, the firm of L. & K. had been brought in by the president of the Colonial Trust only for the single and specific purpose of this small loan.

Our great project would of course be managed by a different and larger financial power. But I believe that we will first have to give Cohn trouble in order to make him amenable.

My departure has been delayed by my indisposition during the last few days. Before starting out I want to be quite fit again, and this will probably be the case in eight or ten days.

With cordial regards,

Your loyal
Dori.

January 18

Sleepless nights.

If I think of freedom, which seemed so close, at night, it costs me my sleep.*

This morning, however, I received a letter from Auersperg: why didn't I call on him "sometime." But so as not to appear over-anxious, I am answering him that I have no time before Monday the 21st and will come then.

* * *

Meanwhile I want to write a political *feuilleton* for my duelling opponents *sans en avoir l'air* [without making it look like one].

As a thread on which to string my glass beads I chose the subject of the population question. Benedikt, whom I informed of this yesterday, couldn't see that as material for a *feuilleton.* But I stuck to it. Thereupon he himself supplied me with material on political economics, a book by Molinari, etc. Comedy hasn't disappeared yet.

* Translator's Note: A paraphrase of a line from Heine's poem *Nachtgedanken* ("*Denk' ich an Deutschland in der Nacht/So bin ich um den Schlaf gebracht*").

January 21

Yesterday evening I played cards with my wife's relatives. I wanted to keep on playing and then sleep through the abbreviated night, so that I wouldn't have such a muzzy head today as I did after the previous sleepless nights.

But I lost a lot and was greatly put out. Now this shall be a lesson to me to play cautiously in today's conference and to lose *en beau joueur* [be a good loser].

January 22

Yesterday evening I went to see Auersperg. He was very amiable; I, reserved.

He said the Prime Minister had shown him my letter (that is what I had written it for), but that it was by no means all over. The industrialists only wanted to make the foundation secure. I would probably be invited to a conference this very week.

I told him that I would like to attend this conference only on condition that my emolument wasn't discussed any more. I said I didn't like the idea of talking about my salary and my abilities like a tutor or a female cook. The financial question had been discussed sufficiently. Let the gentleman make a definite offer. I would accept it or decline it, and come to the conference only if I had accepted it.

For I am determined to accept any proposition whatever, because the financial opportunity is not remotely so important to me as the freedom, the fealty to the Emperor alone, which beckons to me in case an agreement is reached!

Then, too, I want no more nervous strain from this conference.

All right either way.

January 22

Vámbéry writes under date of the 18th inst. that I can set my mind at rest, he hadn't mentioned Kann's name to anyone.

January 24

Jours d'attente [days of waiting]. After Auersperg's words I certainly can't assume that the project has been abandoned. Or have we plunged back into the indecision 'twixt the cup and the lip?

The day before yesterday, when I was on my way to the *Neue Freie Presse,* it suddenly occurred to me that my situation bears a resemblance to the one of 22 years ago when I was sighing my way through the last weeks of secondary school. Before me lay graduation, and beyond that, the freedom of the university.

I expect the invitation to the conference for tomorrow, because Krupp said that Friday was his lucky day. I've been kept on the string for two weeks now.

* * *

It would be the greatest of all miracles if my Zionism did not harm me with these financiers of the Christian faith. Don't they know about it yet? Can it be that they will not find out before the agreement? It is very improbable that they won't, for they will undoubtedly make inquiries in advance about me at an information bureau, and the first item must surely be: Zionist. And will this then be grounds for a break? "I don't like the nose"?

But one gets used to waiting for decisions, too, and so I am facing the *coming events** with more composure than I had last week.

January 24

Up to this evening nothing has come. I am consoling myself also for the eventuality that nothing may come of it. It would have great disadvantages, too. I would surely be unable to produce anything more and would be sniped at by all the world every day.

* In English in the original.

January 25, in the evening

*Nothing.**

If nothing comes tomorrow too, it will be all over, *pour de bon* [for good and all].

I have already consoled myself.

To be sure, my draft of a contract said that the paper must be run honestly and respectably in every way—but perhaps later they would have exerted pressure on me anyway, in the spirit of capitalistic exploitation and squeezing the people dry by industrial magnates. I would have had to put up with it or get out—despite all independence, even as my own editor-in-chief.

Actually, I lost no more in these negotiations than the free hours of the last few days which I ordinarily use for my own work. And all it cost me was a few cab fares.

Of course, it would have been the most ingenious arrangement of my life to have Christian big capitalists found a newspaper for me, under the benevolent eye of the Austrian government, in which I could have worked dynamically for very lofty ideas.

It would just be interesting to know what wrecked the project. Was it the discovery that I am a Zionist?

After I have entered this additional item, the episode will be finished for me and my diary.

Who knows what it was good for?

January 26, evening

Niente [nothing]!

January 26

A fatuous letter from Crespi: I am to guarantee that no *tollé général* [general outcry) would result in Europe if the Sultan received me.

* In English in the original.

I am answering: Get me the audience, pocket the audience *baksheesh,* and leave the rest to Allah.

January 27

This morning between dark and light was fruitful. I drew up my plan of action for the next two weeks. The day after tomorrow I shall inform Koerber and Auersperg of my departure for Paris on February 2, asking Koerber to receive me before that date, if possible. I even know everything that I am going to tell him.

In any case, I want to put a stop to this waiting and baiting.* If the paper project has a negative outcome, I will speak with Reitlinger and Edmond Rothschild in Paris.

I am already having a dinner with Lord Rothschild arranged at Seligmann's house in London. There I shall sketch the outline of a Jewish financial policy *entre la poire et le fromage* [over the dessert].

Further, I am having a banquet with the Zionist M.P.'s arranged by Cowen and Greenberg.

I shall also put things in order at the Bank, and perhaps take the occasion of a *mass meeting*** to announce the start of the Bank's operations.

January 28

Today the hilarious "Consul-General" Fischl "von Dirsztay" came to see me and brought me letters from Crespi, who now wants a monthly salary of 1000-2000 francs. I told Dirsztay that Crespi had better not make a fool of himself. Before he had obtained that audience with the Sultan for me I wasn't interested in having any further dealings with him. After the audience it would probably be no trouble to employ Crespi as a correspondent at 1000 to 1500 francs a month.

* Translator's Note: Herzl's play on words is *Warterei und Marterei.*

** In English in the original.

January 29

After what *jactatio in alto* [tossing about on the sea]* day after day, from morning till night, I am finally writing these two letters:

To Koerber:

Your Excellency:

I am planning to be out of town for about two weeks early in February. My next address will be Hôtel Chatham, rue Daunou, Paris. I would postpone my departure from Vienna only if something important came up. However, this does not seem to be the case at present.

With sincere respect,

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Th. H.

To Auersperg:

My Dear Count Auersperg:

Early in February I plan to take a trip of about two weeks, going to Paris first. Should the gentlemen with whom we have talked wish to see me before my departure, it would have to be this week.

With deep respect, I am

Your very obedient servant
Th. H.

January 30

Three months torn out of my life, bit by bit, in *great expectations.***

* Translator's Note: Reference to Virgil's *Aeneid,* Bk. I, l.3: "*multum ille et terris iactatus et alto.*"

** Editor's Note: In English in the original. Reference to the title of Dickens' novel.

First that fellow Crespi, who led me a merry chase, then the big-business boys with their newspaper. In the meantime I have neglected my novel which becomes worse and worse and more and more insipid the longer it lies there.

Now I have to go to London and won't be able to get back to my desk again for three weeks.

The wind blows through the stubble. I feel the autumn of my life approaching. I am in danger of leaving no work to the world and no property to my children.

It would be ridiculous to take up the novel again two days before my departure. But I am giving myself my word of honor that I will do so right after I return.

January 31, evening.

Until now I actually still believed that something would come of the newspaper project. But since I have had no sign of life up to now—Thursday evening—and I had placed myself at their disposal only until the end of the week, there can no longer be any doubt of the negative conclusion.

It has left me with an uneasy feeling.

February 4, Paris

Until the last moment before my departure I hoped to get some word on the paper project.

Nothing. *Mort et enteré* [dead and buried].*

February 4, Paris

Through the greatest of all coincidences I got onto a new track on the Orient Express yesterday. A nice Parisian woman, who made a party of all fellow travelers with her chatter, was responsible for my getting better acquainted with a good talker. It was

* Translator's Note: A phrase from the famous French song *"Malbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre."*

a former inspector of the Ottoman Bank who is now going to California as manager of a gold mine. I had him tell me all he knew about Turkey and her finances. I learned that the *dette publique* [public debt], like the Ottoman Bank, was in the hands of the Protestant Parisian (as well as London) *haute banque* [big bankers]: Mallet, Hottinguer, Pillet-Will, etc.

On the basis of this I constructed a new plan in the sleepless hours between night and morning.

If Lord Rothschild, as Cowen informs me, refuses to meet with me, I shall try to get from the Ottoman group, through Reitlinger, an option on its Turkish assets. This group will perhaps be glad to get out of Turkey with a profit of 50–60 million francs and to leave us its bonds as a fair exchange for the Charter.

I am now going to see Reitlinger.

February 5, Paris

Spoke with Reitlinger. He thought the idea of buying out the Ottoman group very good.

I explained to him my plan of acquiring from the Ottoman group an option on their holdings of Turkish bonds. With this option in our hands we could demand the Charter from the Sultan in return for surrendering the *dette publique*.

Reitlinger thinks, however, that we would have to give the Ottoman group a guarantee of at least 50 million francs, and this would require the formation of a big syndicate.

February 9, London

Arrived last night.

Cowen, Greenberg met me at the station; Wolffsohn, Katzenelsohn, Rosenbaum at the hotel.

I requested Seligmann to come to see me. He did. Zangwill came of his own accord.

At first I drew Seligmann aside and explained the *dette publique*

plan to him. He laughed at me for believing that I could get Rothschild for it; incidentally, the two have had a falling out. Lord Rothschild's fortune, he said, didn't amount to five million pounds. The South Africans Wernher, Breit, and people like that were wealthier.

Then I discussed the other way to R. with Zangwill and Cowen. Zangwill would like to bring R's cousin, Lady Battersea, into the picture, and I gave my consent to this.

February 9

Zangwill is bending every effort to build social bridges to Lord Rothschild for me.

I am supposed to go to dinners, etc. Greenberg wanted to try it, without my approval, through Asher Myers, the *editor** of the *Jewish Chronicle* and Lord R's adviser in *communal matters.** But when I found out about this, I rejected this method, because Asher Myers is a wretched fellow.

Then it occurred to me this morning that a snobbish way to R. would be the one via the King of England.

I therefore decided on the following telegram to the Grand Duke:

To His Royal Highness Grand Duke Friedrich of Baden.

I am addressing a very great request to the tried-and-true benevolence of Your Royal Highness. It would be of the greatest value to the cause in whose service I have placed my feeble powers if I were received by His Majesty the King of England, even though for but a quarter of an hour. I should like briefly to expound to His Majesty the unaltered basic features of the plan with which Your Royal Highness is acquainted.

My whole desire consists in being allowed to inform His Majesty the King of the matter, and I wish to request his Most High Benevolence for it—no more and no less. In the English Parliament some thirty deputies of all parties are favorably dis-

* In English in the original.

posed toward our cause and intend to bring it up for discussion when the opportunity arises. We have had the good fortune to gain valuable sympathizers in English church circles. This and no more I would like to tell His Majesty.

My respectful request is that Your Royal Highness may be pleased if possible to introduce me to His Majesty telegraphically in such a way that I shall be granted an audience in the next few days. I can stay here only until Thursday or Friday. With deepest respect and most heart-felt gratitude,

Your Royal Highness' devoted servant
Dr. Th. H., Hotel Cecil.

London, February 13

A few listless days, with sporadic hours of dejection. I omitted noting these moods.

The following wire came from Karlsruhe:

Grand Duke instructs me to inform you that His Highness regrets being unable to give you requested recommendation in desired way, considering political significance of your business.
Babo.

* * *

Actually, I hadn't even had a strong desire to be received by the King.

More than by this refusal I was worried by the *feuilleton* about "*M'amour* [My Love] in the *Palais Royal*" which I have intended to write every day since leaving Paris and haven't been able to finish because of constant disturbances. This *feuilleton* was supposed to be an excuse for my absence from the *N. Fr. Pr.*, for my staying away is irregular, and, after all, some day I could lose my job on such a trip.

Until I got the idea to ask my good father—two days ago—to see Benedikt and ask him how much the *N. Fr. Pr.* costs. The question coming from here will throw them off the scent.

This evening the reply came from my father, saying that B. wanted to discuss the matter with Bacher.

He will obviously say no, but no longer dare to reproach me because of my absence.

* * *

The conference with Rothschild has been refused by him. Zangwill, who has become very nice now and is all Zionist, had me meet Lord Rothschild's cousin, Lady Battersea, yesterday. She was waiting for me in Zangwill's apartment. A charming old woman, kind, amiable, refined. I explained everything to her, made my old Address to the Rothschilds to her. She was won over and immediately contacted Lady R. Their meeting was to take place today at Lady Battersea's house.

However, this noon a telegram came from Zangwill:*

She (Lady Battersea) wires following three words: "Quite unsuccessful, alas."

Zangwill.

At the same time a letter came from Alex Marmorek, saying that Edmond Rothschild didn't wish to see me.

Maintenant c'est bien fini des Rothschild [now I am completely finished with the Rothschilds].

I just saw cross-eyed Meyersohn of the I.C.A.—I think it was he—at the hotel. It is not impossible that he is here in order to thwart me if I should undertake something.

Je suis leur bête noire [I am their bogeyman].

The Jews are a wrangling, divided people. In the East End I made peace between such factions. I was able to do it, because they consider me above them.

Wrangling in the West End, too.

Lady Battersea complained about Sir Francis' Congress speeches. So the Rothschild family has remembered these speeches. Sir

* Original text.

Francis Montefiore, on his part, today sent me a derogatory book about the Rothschilds by Reeves, in which a passage about their quarrel with the Péreire family was especially marked. Yesterday, when he had luncheon with me, he already recommended that I form a coalition against the R's with the aid of the Péreires's, because there was an old family feud there.

* * *

I am writing to Lady Battersea:

My dear Lady Battersea:

Permit me to say to you before my departure a word of the most cordial thanks for your kindness. You were not able to help me further, but I was nevertheless delighted with you. Surely I may say this to a lady of your age. For the sake of Lady Battersea the House of Rothschild will one day be forgiven a great deal. *Tout cela, c'est de l'histoire* [All this is for history].

Your cousin and I are two eras that do not understand each other. I understand him better than he understands me. Thus I consider it quite loyal that he does not even want to see me, since he is determined not to participate. It would be less nice if he used excuses. But it is a mistake on his part to believe that he does not commit himself by keeping away entirely. There are ideas which one cannot escape. One commits oneself by saying yes, by saying no, and by saying nothing at all.

Your cousin could have expedited a great work which he is too weak and too poor to prevent. Now many hundreds of thousands of people will continue to sigh, continue to weep. Among these are men and women who are in despair, children who are going to seed.

We must simply go on working as best we can and do our recognized duty. As for me, I shall always remember you, Milady, with pleasure and gratitude.

With sincere admiration,

Yours very sincerely,
Th. Herzl.

February 20, Vienna

After mature consideration I didn't mail this letter after all.

Zangwill wrote me that Lady Battersea had also won Lady Rothschild to our cause. This has to suffice for the time being.

Letters and telegrams, London, February 1901.

February 20, Vienna.

Yesterday a wire came from Crespi which he sent from Pera and which has thus come to the attention of the Turkish government; in it he asks me to renew last November's offer of a loan, since the Turkish government needs money again.

I am answering him immediately:

"Je ne ferai absolument rien, avant d'être appelé [I shall do absolutely nothing before I am summoned]."

February 20

Today Bresse, a teacher of French, brought Don Diego Lastras, a Spanish abbot attached to the local Spanish Embassy, to see me. Lastras needs 3000 guilders as security for the *congrua* [emolument for prospective priests]. I promised him to think about how I could get this amount for him.

I think I shall be able to use him in Rome at some time or other. I would have given him the money immediately if I had had it. But I'll try to get it for him.

Lastras used to be a Dominican and then became a diocesan priest. I should very much like to have a Catholic helper too.

February 25

Another communiqué from the *Politische Korrespondenz* about the prohibition of immigration, but with the interesting statement that Italy is against it.

According to my old principle, this new difficulty must again be used for getting ahead. I am writing Nordau to try to inspire parliamentary intervention in France and Italy; Cowen is to do likewise in England, Gottheil in America. Once these voices are heard, I shall have Vámbéry call the Sultan's attention to the fact that he would do better to come to an understanding with us and our money than with the Powers which will demand the same thing from him gratis.

This will possibly be the theme of the 5th Congress; we shall call upon the Powers to get us permission to immigrate—all the Powers! A tremendous appeal!

February 26

Between night and morning it occurred to me who must make the interpellation in the French Chamber of Deputies: Rouanet, who, as Leven told me at Salzburg in 1895, received money for his speech about Jews.

Today I am sending instructions to Alex Marmorek, without telling him Rouanet's secret.

February 26

Letter to Leopold Auersperg announcing my return.

March 1

Yesterday evening Prof. Kellner was at our house. He brought up a subject *en passant* [in passing] which has frequently occupied me and which I haven't explored further only on account of my family: my moving to London. My wife didn't seem to have any objections to it. If I can also persuade my parents, I shall go through with it.

The suggestion continued working in me all night. I could already see everything in London: my house in Regent's Park, my parents' apartment nearby, the Congress Office, the office of the

two editions of the *Welt,* my communication with the East End in weekly articles in the Yiddish edition (letters to the East End: "My Dear East End. . . . Your Friend Th. H."), my visits of inspection to the Colonial Trust which will flourish because of my presence—a whole full life.

This would presuppose the *N. Fr. Pr.*'s giving me the position of London correspondent with a minimum of £1000 a year and a 5- or 10-year contract. But perhaps my leaving Vienna would be worth that much to them. *Situation à creuser* [A situation to explore]!

March 5

This morning I read to my surprise that Parliament wants to go back to work after a strike of almost four years. To Koerber's very remarkable credit.

I immediately wrote him:

Your Excellency:

My congratulations on the tremendous success which, to be sure, as is customary here in Austria, people will spoil, belittle, and later deny, but which, nevertheless, no one but you has accomplished. I would recommend starting a collection of newspaper opinions from the past half-year, especially the past month, where what is an actuality today was called a fantastic impossibility, and to submit the most characteristic expressions of opinion to the Emperor. *Sa Majesté s'amusera* [His Majesty will be amused].

With deep respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant
Th. H.

March 6

Koerber writes a card with "warmest thanks for your very kind words" and "hopes for a personal meeting soon." Thus the thread is not completely broken yet.

March 14

Yesterday I was called to Police Headquarters to give information about the deceased Russian Georg Taubin who visited me quite some time ago in order to bequeath his property—I believe he once mentioned 200,000 guilders and another time 140,000 rubles—to me for the use of the Zionist movement. I can still see him in my mind's eye and described him to the police inspector the way I see him: How he came to see me the first time in the Cottage section in company with Dr. Brod's brother and spoke sensibly, even nobly. How some time later, at the request of my friends, I returned his visit and found him in a strange get-up, drunk or demented. On this visit, too, he declared that he wanted to donate some money to me for Jewish purposes. I no longer remember whether he mentioned the 200,000 guilders on that second occasion or on the first one. The figure has stayed with me; it cannot have been crowns at that time. (The police attorney spoke of an estate of 600,000 crowns). I also told them how I had then left, promising Taubin to call on him again and let him know. Which I didn't do, however, because I didn't want to accept any money from a madman. I also told my friends that I was dropping the matter because I didn't want such money.

I saw Taubin on one subsequent occasion, at a students' party at the Bayrischer Hof, where he sneaked past me with the look of a whipped dog, but didn't dare to come close to me, obviously because he was ashamed of having been drunk that time.

The banker Vogl—from a wealthy anti-Zionist family!—has cheated his way into possession of the inheritance I scorned.

March 14

I am now industriously working on *Altneuland.*

My hopes for practical success have now disintegrated. My life is no novel now. So the novel is my life.

March 16

Letter from Crespi who wants to have me for some financial intrigue. Refused.

March 18

The Taubin affair—the Russian Taubin who wanted to bequeath his money to me—has risen from the dead again and is now in the papers, because Vogl the banker has committed inheritance fraud.

Some people admire me because I didn't let myself be dazzled by the 200,000 guilders. Others explain the matter to themselves by saying that I didn't take Taubin to be so rich. This is the rascally point of view taken by the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (W. Singer). Yesterday I wrote Singer an indignant letter.

It is curious the way the *pares* [peers] always get together. The moneyed Jews, as whose representative Vogl must be regarded, are secretly furious at me 1) because I have given an example of restraint when confronted by money, 2) because it is becoming apparent that I am different from them.

Logically enough, in the polemics greater emphasis is placed on the insane character of Zionism, while for a time it had been customary to mark me, in connection with the Colonial Trust, as a confidence man and cutpurse.

March 18

Two evenings ago I went to see Kremenezky and found Seidener there. What did we discuss, of course? *Palestine Exploration.**

Seidener said that one of the first things he was going to make in Palestine some day was a limestone sand brickworks, using the system known only for the past two years.

"How much money will this require?" I asked.

"200,000 francs!"

* In English in the original.

"I will get that for you. On the 29th of this month there will be a *board meeting** here. I will bring up the matter. The brickworks shall come into being at the same time as the branch bank at Jaffa."

This gave me a second idea. We shall establish this brickworks as an Austrian or German anonymous joint-stock company. That way we shall have the protection of these powers. In the meantime the shares will be put in our Bank's portfolio.

I believe this moment was another turning point in the movement. We are moving out into the practical.

The Turkish government can prohibit the immigration of settlers, but not a German, French, or Austrian industrial establishment.

Perhaps I shall call Beer the sculptor in on this.

March 19

Letter from Nordau about negative result with Deputy Bérard who was supposed to make an interpellation regarding the Turkish difficulties about immigration into Palestine. However, Bérard offered to bring Nordau together with Foreign Minister Delcassé, which Nordau declined as pointless.

I am writing Nordau to go back to Rouanet and keep Delcassé in reserve.

* * *

Letter from C., who talks drivel about a loan of three million pounds which Krupp is flirting with.

He says that he has written to the Sultan, warning him not to make such a bad deal, but to summon me instead.

March 21

Beginning of Spring.

Yesterday was a curious day and an important one, I believe. Levontin, the bank director whom I had sent for from Russia, pre-

* In English in the original.

sented to me, Wolffsohn, Kremenezky, Marmorek, and Kokesch his plan to buy up the shares of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad plus all that goes with it. I thought this a splendid idea. In Levontin I may have found the long-sought banker.

I accepted this plan and today am sending it to Paris, where the Palestinian Navon, the agent for the railroad shares, lives.

Levontin will be here again next week. Then he will go to London as assistant manager of the Trust. He will stay there till autumn in order to put the Colonial Trust in order. Then we shall send him to Jaffa as manager of our branch.

However, it is not to appear as a branch but as an independent bank with its home office in Cologne, Germany.

Yesterday I had Marmorek write to Bodenheimer to draw up the by-laws etc. of the bank for Jerusalem and Jaffa immediately. Share capital 500,000 Marks with assets of 50%. The Trust will take over the shares and put them in the portfolio, in order to give up the minority holdings when revenue comes in later.

The controlling shares of the Jaffa railroad as well as of all enterprises will always have to remain in the possession of the Trust.

Next week I shall call Beer, who is to go to Palestine to set up a cement and brick factory.

Yesterday another idea came to me in a flash: to buy a Mediterranean shipping company, that is, one that is not doing well, whose control can be had cheaply, and which we shall then reorganize. The "Adria" of Fiume would be suitable for this, as a cursory glance into the commercial register tells me.

Levontin also has the idea of making our Jaffa bank the collector of taxes and customs in Palestine for the Turkish government.

March 21

A letter from Crespi with the enclosure of a Turkish letter which he claims to have written the Sultan in our interest.

I am sending this Turkish swindle to Vámbéry for translation, asking him at the same time whether he is ready to go to Constantinople.

March 24

Before day-break yesterday I decided to speak with Benedikt about my transfer to London.

During the day I wrote a *feuilleton* entitled "*Über- und Unterbrettl,*"* though greatly distracted by the thought of being an *adventurer.***

In the evening I sent the manuscript to the office by my gardener. Then I called Benedikt to the telephone and asked for an appointment for today or tomorrow morning, to discuss something.

Right away I heard the excitement in his voice over the telephone. Why didn't I say immediately what it was all about. I refused. He became more pressing, like someone who is afraid he won't be able to sleep till he knows. I had to laugh into the telephone, but stuck to my refusal. However, we won't be able to talk until the day after tomorrow, Tuesday afternoon.

March 25

The "ability of the Bank to operate" has been the unsolved problem for a long time.

I have had the following idea which I had already touched upon several times and finally made Wolffsohn and Rosenbaum understand yesterday. There are now 317,000 shares which have been subscribed and on which a down-payment has been made, but only £200,000 has been paid in cash on them. Now I think that one ought to find a banker or a group who would pay in cash the remaining 60% on the shares on which a down-payment of 40% has been made, and in return for this we would give them the full shares as security as well as a guarantee and a commission. Wolffsohn was immediately for it, Rosenbaum thought it would be impossible to find such a banker.

* Translator's Note: The *Überbrettl* was a famous literary café and cabaret in Berlin, founded and run by Ernst von Wolzogen. *Brettl* means something like "cabaret," and Herzl's punning title might be rendered as "Supercabaret and Subcabaret."

** In English in the original.

March 25

I am writing to Crespi that Vámbéry is ready to go to the Sultan if he is summoned. This is what Vámbéry had written me the day before yesterdav. He thinks Taptschi Crespi's Turkish letter to the Sultan might be a fraud.

March 27

When I got to the office yesterday, Benedikt had already left. It seemed to me that he had evaded me. And this was indeed so. For when we met today, he looked embarrassed, and when I told him that I wanted to speak with him now, he really recoiled. "No, no," he resisted, "not with me alone. If you have some editorial matter to tell us about, tell it to me in Bacher's presence. We always have differences of opinion afterwards; you claim to have heard something different. So it is best if Bacher is a witness."

But I still wouldn't be put off and told it to him: It is possible that I shall go to London.

He took it with mixed emotions: joy and regret. He said that they couldn't do without me here, couldn't spare the literary editor and still less the Vienna *feuilletonist*. He saw absolutely no possible replacement. But if I insisted on it—they would simply let me have my way, just as they did when I wanted to come back here from Paris. If they had to make a choice between losing me entirely or sending me to London, they would naturally do the latter, for the Herzl brand must not be lost to the *Neue Freie Presse*. In short, the most extreme compliments. He said that the two of us—he and I—in that room were the best that Viennese journalism had produced. There was no substitute for us. And actually, I was too good for a correspondent, *et autres balivernes* [and other nonsense]. But if I insist on it, it will be done.

There obviously remains the question of money. This may be the stumbling-block.

We parted friends. He was really charming.

March 27

A bluffing letter from Crespi. I am supposed to write him that the Zionists would fight a usurious loan which the Sultan plans to take from Krupp. *Pas si bête* [Not so stupid]. Of course, I am not taken in by him and won't even answer him. For he would commit blackmail and fraud with my letter.

March 28

Forgot to enter from the conversation with Benedikt: He asked me how long I wanted to stay in London. I said: "For good! Unless you called me back to Vienna to be co-publisher of the *Neue Freie Presse.*"

This he rejected with his hands and his eyes.

But he said he expected one good thing from my London sojourn: that I would give up Zionism and return a different person after a few years.

I answered: "Why, the very idea! I shall never abandon Zionism."

That I am going to London precisely because of Zionism he didn't guess and I didn't tell him.

April 2

The whole London project collapsed the next day, because I told my parents about it and they got terribly excited. They won't come along at any price. If I don't manage to persuade them in a shrewder way, I shall have to abandon the entire plan.

April 2

Yesterday with Alex Marmorek.

He wants to turn over his remedy for tuberculosis to Reitlinger in Paris and will settle for 50% of the net profits, because Reitlinger will make the 200,000 francs available.

I told him that the Colonial Trust could handle this instead of Reitlinger. If Alex presents Reitlinger's draft contract, both we and he will be covered against recriminations. I consider it a splendid acquisition for our Bank. The shares will at once rise greatly in value, and because I am firmly convinced of it and must accordingly persuade Alex to leave the matter to us, I shall sell my 2000 shares. Then it will be documented that I am not asking Alex for this donation to the Bank in my interest. For I am letting my shares go the way I bought them, minus loss of interest. It is, of course, something exaggerated on my part, but it is necessary, because only this will give me the authority—in Alex' eyes as well as those of outsiders—to support this arrangement effectively.

Something that Alex will probably not do at Reitlinger's: He could stipulate a year's monopoly on his remedy for the benefit of the Jewish people. After one year he can announce the remedy to the public. However, the prospect of this one year will put the Bank on its feet, because all the shares will be subscribed if the J.C.T. has such a business in its hands.

Preliminary question, of course: is the remedy any good?

* * *

April 3

Yesterday Alex, Oscar and Isidor Marmorek came to see me. They gave quite the correct reasons why it wasn't feasible to turn Alex' tuberculin over to the J.C.T. The physicians hit in their livelihood would seize the chance and call it a put-up swindle on the part of the Zionist Bank.

I was convinced by this argument.

* * *

Meanwhile an expedient occurred to me overnight. Alex could tell Reitlinger that he has an offer from me, but that he is declining it, so as not to incur suspicion that he is using his position on the A.C. to make a business deal. However, he did want to let the

movement get some benefit, and therefore he was stipulating that Reitlinger give the J.C.T. an option to buy his share for a million francs when the gross receipts had reached 1,200,000 francs.

* * *

April 4

Vámbéry writes me who his friends around Cohn are (Crespi's request), and calls me to Pest.

April 11

Yesterday I was in Pest to see Vámbéry.

He himself offered to go to the Sultan now, because according to the latest reports he was high in favor at present. The Sultan would probably want Vámbéry to establish a good relationship with Edward VII with whom V. is friends. V. intends to use this opportunity to tell the Sultan that he should send for me, because I could be of use to him in a variety of ways. V. plans to say to the Sultan: "After all, you can hoodwink Herzl. Be friendly toward him; that won't commit you in the least."

I mentioned to V. that I might be able to work out an arrangement involving the redemption of the Turkish debt, etc.

In short, V. is leaving next week. As traveling expenses he asked for 600 guilders, but I offered him a thousand guilders—more correctly, 2000 francs. Which he accepted, remarking: "I shall return to you any part that I don't use."

I am also prepared for his returning without any result—but this expenditure must be risked. Now the treasury of the A.C. is so empty that we have to raise these 2000 francs in the form of a forced loan from the Viennese members of the A.C., because we don't want to use the deposit of £3000 in the Unionbank which is available to us by the Board's decision until I get the summons to Constantinople.

* * *

April 11

Just received a most curious letter from Crespi: I am to ask Vámbéry what was in the letter-package which he received recently from Yildiz Kiosk via the Foreign Minister. And whether there was anything in it that concerned our pending negotiations. The wording of Crespi's letter is strange: as if he knew that there was something of interest to me in the package. If that is correct, something more serious than I had thought and he told me might be behind Vámbéry's decision to go to Constantinople. Then his *bonhomie* [joviality] would have a false bottom; he knows already that the Sultan wishes to see me and is just playing a trick on me. *C'est ce que nous verrons* [That is what we shall see].

* * *

April 13

The day before yesterday Alex Marmorek came to see me before his departure for London and suggested that I take over one-tenth of the amount which Reitlinger is to give for the T.B. serum. I immediately declined, because I want no financial benefits from him—which are probable in this case. He said that he was thinking of my children; still, I didn't want to. Now my wife reproaches me with it; perhaps my children, too, whom I have also deprived of so much earning power, would some day reproach me if Alex' remedy yields the participants a big profit. For this reason I am writing him the following letter, not without a certain repulsion:

Mailed on April 15

Dear Alex:

I was incautious enough to tell my wife—without any details—that you wanted to give me an opportunity to participate in an enterprise I consider splendid, and that I rejected your proposal because we are friends. Now she gives me no peace with her reproaches.

The nagging wouldn't bother me, but she is right about one

criticism, because it is one I am making myself. For years I haven't thought of the advantage of my children; in fact, I have even done them grave material harm through my Zionist activity. Now, if your remedy were, God forbid, good—*je suis gentil, quoi?* [I am nice, eh?]—and your hopes and mine were fulfilled, I would have to listen to reproaches forever. In short, I accept your proposal after all.

But I like clean situations and want you to give me the following confirmation in writing:

1) that you remit to me the amount of 20,000 francs not out of your half as the inventor but out of the purely commercial half of the financier Mr. Reitlinger of which it represents a one-tenth share and which I shall send to you at Paris as soon as you wish.

2) that you regard me in this matter not as a friend, but as just such a backer (on a reduced scale) as Mr. Reitlinger.

Finally and chiefly, that your offer and my present acceptance are null and void if you should succeed in inducing Mr. Reitlinger to grant an option to the Jewish Colonial Trust. The substance of this option is to be as follows: After a gross yield of 1,200,000 francs has been achieved, the Jewish Colonial Trust will have the right to pay Mr. Reitlinger 1 million francs for his share. You will, of course, send the draft of the contract here before you sign it, so that Isidor and I may examine it for legal validity. If you manage to get this option from Reitlinger, which would be a great windfall for the Bank (not so much on account of the profit but because of the "multiplication of strength" which I explained to you here), I shall naturally *not* participate, because as the president of the Council I must not carry on any business transactions with it.

In that case I would not be reproached with being a heartless father either, because if I didn't it would be "turpis causa [a disgraceful act]," as the jurists say.

I hope to hear soon what you have achieved in London.

With cordial regards,

Your devoted
Benjamin.

April 14

Letter to Count Leopold Auersperg:

My dear Count Auersperg:

May I ask another great favor of you? Some time ago I gave you a hand-written draft of a contract which they have forgotten to return to me. I would be extremely grateful to you if you were kind enough to send me this document.

With deep respect, I remain

Your very obedient servant,
Th. H.

April 14

Vámbéry acknowledges receipt of the 2,000 francs and writes that he is going to Constantinople today or on Tuesday.

I am writing him:

My good *Vámbéry bácsi:*

Just a few words, since you may already have left. Should Cohn be inclined to withdraw the restrictions that we spoke about, this would have to be done cautiously. Otherwise the consequence would be a *rush** that I wouldn't want to be responsible for. But I *will* assume the responsibility if the matter is not publicized and the choice of those to be admitted is left to me or to my men.

With best wishes for your trip,

Your faithful
Dori

Have changed my mind. This letter could do harm and only call attention to the *rush.** If it comes to it, I shall have time to tell it to the Sultan.

* * *

* In English in the original.

April 15

The organization of the Bank, which the "experts" have been dozing over for the past two years, is occupying me now. *Gam zu letauvo* [May this too be for the good]! It was necessary for this time to elapse. In the meantime I have learned to administer and to direct. In Levontin I hope finally to have found the suitable instrument for the organization of the Bank. I am writing him:

Dear Mr. Levontin:

Your news that business is brisker gratifies me. Be sure to exert all your acumen and your energy so that we may have the Colonial Trust all finished and ready for action by the middle of July, the time of the Congress.

Then I have even bigger things in mind for you than we discussed here. You see, I would entrust an even more important post to you, one in Russia, if you not only stand the test until July, but distinguish yourself.

It is my plan to create an international credit organization, with headquarters in Russia. Here is this plan, in brief outline.

The "International Credit Bank" (unless such a firm already exists) will be founded with a share capital of one million rubles in Moscow, St. Petersburg, or Odessa (I should like Odessa best, if that place is suitable from a financial-technical point of view). The majority of the shares will be taken by the Jewish Colonial Trust—that is, for example, 550,000 or 600,000.

The rest of the capital we shall either leave to financiers whose names we need on the board of directors, e.g., Polyakov, Brodsky, Poznansky, or we shall put it up for public subscription.

The International Credit Bank will set up branches in all important Russian cities, but also in Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, New York, etc., wherever we have interests and a potential clientele. The main thing will be the business in foreign currency, especially with London where our Colonial Trust will be made use of. The safety of credit grants could perhaps be assured every-

where according to (my Dad's) Columbia System which you have studied.

I would entrust the management of the International Credit Bank to you.

If you have understood me, you will as soon as possible work up a complete founding program for me, which I would then submit to the Council and the Board of Directors and put through.

The International Credit Bank ought to come into being as early as this autumn.

Don't discuss this matter with *anyone* for the time being, and send me word.

(I am also asking him whether he has a sufficient quantity [100,000] of bearer-share forms in stock, in case of sudden mass orders; I have Constantinople in mind for this).

With kindest regards,

Yours,
Herzl.

April 15

Crespi informs me that the *lettre-paquet* [letter-package] to Vámbéry contained a decoration for the wife of the editor of the *Pester Lloyd.*

April 17

Wrote to Koerber again today (in order to pick up the thread) and told him that I would like to see him. He sent me word that I should come tomorrow morning.

* * *

April 17

Oskar Marmorek is offended again, because he is not being sent into the *Allianz.* Yesterday, during the meeting of the A.C., he wrote me a letter of resignation, and today another one.

I don't have enough annoyances and have to deal with personal sensibilities on top of that.

* * *

Have been to see Koerber today. He had the opening session of Parliament today; therefore I only rode a short, sharp attack. I told him what I had heard from a contributor to the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* two days ago: that a middle-class, sharp opposition paper was being planned for autumn. Then the *N. Fr. Pr.* too would probably change its attitude, which is now friendly to the government, so as not to have the opposition wind taken out of its sails. If, therefore, our friends of January still had the paper in mind, it would have to be started now, otherwise it couldn't be done at all in the foreseeable future. One doesn't build a sugar refinery either when another one is just going up. And it was possible that he would face a rather disagreeable journalistic situation in the autumn.

He didn't say a word, a shadowy figure, but I think that he understood me perfectly. Then he told me that I should see Count Auersperg, which I declined to do, giving as the reason that Count A. hadn't answered my last letter. I preferred his sending for his Ministerial Councillor to my having to ask the latter for anything. He did immediately instruct the doorman to call the Count, and, as I noticed later, this order rushed through the Ministry with increasing urgency.

We then spoke about Archduke Ferdinand's encounter with the Catholic School Association. I permitted myself to call this archducal notoriety rather incautious and superfluous. He was quite of my opinion. He also agreed with me when I said that this affair had obviously been arranged before the opening of Parliament, so as to cause him, Koerber, embarrassment in the House of Deputies.

Then I took my leave. When I came into the ante-chamber, the servants were already calling out to one another: "Count Auersperg is to come to His Excellency immediately."

Eh bien, nous verrons [All right, we shall see].

April 22

The day before yesterday, Saturday, I telephoned to the National Casino in Budapest to ask if Vámbéry was there. The servant told me he had last been there on Thursday and had said he was going to Constantinople.

After this information I wasn't even sure that he had left at all.

Then, this afternoon, I was called to the telephone at the office. Dirsztay told me he had just received a letter from Crespi dated the 19th (Friday, then) informing him that he had just spoken with my *bácsi* and that things were going well. Vámbéry was on his way to the Sultan, and if I received a telegram, I should immediately notify Dirsztay who in turn would wire it to Crespi. Crespi's letter presented my summons as so certain that he already recommended the Hôtel Luxembourg or the Hôtel Khedivial for me to stay at, because one was more undisturbed there. But of course these are hotels where Crespi has his spies.

At the same time Dirsztay asked me if I knew for what purpose Director Taussig of the Bodenkreditanstalt had gone to Constantinople. I have no idea; but it is disagreeable in any case, because only recently Taussig made a speech against me before the Jewish Community and therefore will do me as much harm as he can in Constantinople if he has only the slightest opportunity for it.

My first impression of Dirsztay's disclosure was favorable, because this is how Crespi's letter presents the situation. But now I have figured it out: the situation evidently is not favorable. A telegram could have reached us ahead of Crespi's letter mailed on the 19th, that is three days ago, but up to now no telegram has arrived. I immediately went to Kremenezky to whom the telegram was to be addressed—nothing had come.

Vámbéry intends to spend only a week in all in Constantinople, and three days of that have already passed. This means ice and snow on our hopes. And if Taussig gets there with loans in his pocket and bad information about me, we shall be frozen stiff.

The Vámbéry attempt is the most serious we have made to date; therefore its failure would be the most severe diplomatic defeat

since October, 1898, when the German Kaiser was forced to blow a retreat.

The next few days will again have historic value. *Aequam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem* [Remember to keep an unruffled mind in adverse circumstances]!*

April 24

The "next few days" had no value whatever. I am not even a 48-hour prophet. Nothing has come from the Emperor of Turkey, and nothing from the Grand Vizier of Austria.

These are days of which it may be said: I don't like them.

A good remedy for it is not to expect anything any more. *Car rien n'arrive* [For nothing happens] etc.

In this connection it must be stated that it is better for my personal well-being if nothing comes from either quarter. My present personal situation is quite pleasant; at my well-paid literary post on the *N. Fr. Pr.* I have reasonable peace, respect, lickspittles, flatterers, etc.

A trip to Turkey could expose me to serious danger, even mortal danger; there is no doubt about that.

And yet it is a disappointment to me—to which I resign myself *aequa mente* [with an even mind]—that nothing comes.

April 25

Now finis has been written to the new paper. Auersperg has returned my draft of a contract to me. *Requiescat* [Let it rest]!

Our life consists of miscarried attempts.

* * *

Nothing from Constantinople, nothing from Vámbéry.

* * *

Yesterday I attended the *five o'clock*** of Bertha Suttner, in honor of d'Estournelles.

* Translator's Note: A line from Horace's *Odes*, II, 3.

** In English in the original.

D'Estournelles is a pleasant Frenchman who, *le plus agréablement du monde* [in the most pleasant way in the world] makes fun of his own dream of creating a United States of Europe. Since he wants favors from the *N. Fr. Pr.* we immediately got on a footing of pleasant familiarity.

Among those present was the Italian ambassador, Nigra, who not only knew me by name, but even confessed—which is a lot for these people—to having seen me at The Hague two years ago. We chatted *a parte* [apart] from the others; he seemed to prefer me, he reminisced about Paris at the time of the Empire. Among other things, he said that he had been at the meeting of the *Corps législatif* [legislative body] at which Minister Ollivier had declared *d'un coeur léger* [light-heartedly] that he was going to war.

Someone else who was present was Province Marshal Baron Gudenus of Lower Austria. When he arrived, the Suttners said: "It's Pepi [Joe]!"

Pepi, a lean, elderly cavalier who looked like an officer and not intelligent, greeted me with a friendly smile before he knew my name. Then he became brusque and cool. So he too knew me—namely, from the opposition side. I was no less gruff and cool than he was.

April 25

Ussishkin, Bernstein-Kohan, etc., whom I invited here for May 5th to convince them of the necessity of holding the Congress in London in July, don't plan to get here until May 16th and don't want to have the Congress at that time and not in London, but only in October and somewhere else. These troubles exhaust me. I am complaining bitterly about this to Mandelstamm today. This is the old "practical" *Hovevei Zion* spirit which always leads them to defeats. Now they are frittering their time away with the I.C.A. meeting and the Palestinian labor question, instead of working for the Congress and the Bank.

May 2

Today I am forty-one years old.

Der Wind saust durch die Stoppeln,
Ich muss meinen Schritt verdoppeln. . . .
[The wind blows through the stubble,
I must redouble my pace. . . .]

It is almost six years since I started this movement which has made me old, tired, and poor.

* * *

Last Sunday, April 28, since no news of any sort had come from Vámbéry who according to my calculations must have been already departing, I decided to force my luck superstitiously. I wanted to be absent when Vámbéry's telegraphic summons came. Therefore I decided to start the long-due trip to the Salzkammergut to rent a summer residence on Monday. However, Wolffsohn, who was here, advised me first to ask Vámbéry by telegram whether I could absent myself for two days.

I sent the wire Sunday night.

Monday morning Kremenezky, the agreed-upon addressee, came fairly beaming with joy, since he knew nothing about my inquiry, and brought me the following telegram from Pera:

"*Pouvez vous partir? Venez jeudi a Budapest pour me voir* [Can you get away? Come to Budapest on Thursday to see me]. Schlesinger."

His misconception that the *pouvoir partir* [ability to get away] meant to Constantinople was soon cleared up.

However, that same day a second wire came.

"*Empêché de partir. Ne venez pas jeudi a Budapest* [Prevented from leaving. Don't come to Budapest Thursday]."

Therefore I went to Aussee on Tuesday ἀκαχήμενος ἦτορ [trou-

bled at heart], took a summer residence, and returned again yesterday. The 19 hours of this round-trip were whiled away for me by Hess with his *Rome and Jerusalem,* which I had first started to read in 1898 in Jerusalem, but had never been able to finish properly in the pressure and rush of these years. Now I was enraptured and uplifted by him. What an exalted, noble spirit! Everything that we have tried is already in his book. The only bothersome thing is his Hegelian terminology. Wonderful the Spinozistic-Jewish and nationalist elements. Since Spinoza Jewry has brought forth no greater spirit than this forgotten, faded Moses Hess!

Fiducit [A toast]!*

When I got home, I found two letters from Crespi waiting for me.

In the first, dated April 27, he writes, supposedly on instructions from Vámbéry, that the latter was asked by the Sultan not to leave until Monday, and that it had already been decided that the Sultan would receive me. But this was not to happen until after Vámbéry's departure, and as soon as he got to Pest, Vámbéry would give me the details of the arrangements. At the same time Crespi inquires whether my previous promises regarding an audience still stood.

In addition to this letter there was another, dated April 29, in which Crespi asks who Mr. Mayer is, who is in Constantinople now carrying on the Jewish colonization of Palestine and also planning to appoint someone Rothschild's representative.

I don't know if this is Mayer, the secretary of the London Rothschild, or Mayerson of the I.C.A. . . .

At the same time Crespi reports in his second letter that Vámbéry has been detained by the Sultan until the end of this week—that is, until today or tomorrow.

I don't understand the whole thing yet. Why am I to be received only after V.'s departure when V. was supposed to serve as the best interpreter? Is it a case of some Levantine swindle? But what kind? After all, I am not giving gratuities for an audience until after the audience. Naturally I wrote Crespi yesterday that all my

* Translator's Note: A Latin term used as a response to a toast at German students' drinking parties, expressing acceptance and loyalty.

promises are still in force. Last year I did it *mea sponte* [of my own accord] when I tried to operate with V. first. I probably should have done it this year, too.

The situation is corroborated somewhat by V.'s invitation to come to Pest. Well, we shall soon see whether it is hokum or not, as soon as V. is back. That ought to be tomorrow or the day after.

May 5

Today I am having a bad day of *défaillance* [discouragement]. From East and West come crisis reports from my lieutenants.

The Russians are grumbling and don't want to have such another trifling London Congress as last year's. They don't want to go to London in July. A Congress in late autumn at Basel would have 80 participants at the most and would be proof of the decline of the movement. Without a Congress, however, no *shekel,* no operating funds.

De Haas also gives a critical picture of the situation in England.

The Bank is not getting ready.

In today's *N. Fr. Pr.,* a despatch from Rome, interpellation in the Chamber by de Balzo about the prohibition of Jewish immigration into Palestine. It appears from it that in 1900 the Turkish government twice turned to the Powers for prevention of Jewish immigration. The Powers gave no answer.

However, the worst thing today is—the rising of the Turkish bonds at the stock exchanges. Apparently the *coup* [stroke] for whose execution Taussig, that cheat, went to Constantinople. And I am powerless! If today I at least had the paper which I lost in January through indescribable stupidity!

May 7

This morning Kokesch sent me the following wire which had arrived last night:

ppd. Pera.

Dites Théodore se trouver Budapest demain soir [Tell Theodor to be in Budapest tomorrow evening].

Crespi

Consequently I am leaving for Pest in the afternoon.

May 8, on the Budapest-Vienna train

When I reached Vámbéry's apartment yesterday evening, he had not yet arrived. His wife, his son, and his daughter-in-law received me. The first they knew of his imminent arrival was through my telegram of yesterday morning. In the afternoon a wire came from him, saying that he would come on the Orient Express.

According to the time-table we had three hours to wait. At the station it grew to four—the train was an hour late.

He arrived at 12:45 a.m. With a volley of oaths this grand old man of seventy stepped from the train. The train-shed resounded with his voice because no porter was at hand. His son and I carried his bags to my carriage.

The son and daughter-in-law took their leave. He drove along with me, since we only had these few minutes in which to talk.

Now he turned his abuse against the Sultan who had detained him on and on.

But first, the upshot: The Sultan will receive me! Not as a Zionist, but as Chief of the Jews and an influential journalist.

"When I arrived," Vámbéry related, "he received me with suspicion: 'Why did you come?' I told him that I had been invited to see the King of England; perhaps he had some message to give him. Secondly, I thought it necessary to improve public opinion on his behalf; that is why he ought to receive one of the most respected and influential journalists (myself). Six times he made me come before he yielded. The fellow is plumb crazy and a robber.

"The latest is that he has confiscated all of the European mail. He figures that they won't go to war against him for that.

"You mustn't talk to him about Zionism. That is a phantasmagoria. Jerusalem is as holy to these people as Mecca. But Zionism is good nevertheless—against Christendom.

"I want the continued existence of Zionism—and that is why I have procured the audience for you, because otherwise you wouldn't have been able to face your Congress. You must gain time and keep Zionism alive somehow.

"As long as I was there he simply refused to receive you. It might give rise to complications that could turn out to be bothersome to him. Ibrahim Bey, the *introducteur des ambassadeurs* [official greeter of ambassadors], will serve as interpreter.

"I will give you letters to Tahsin Bey, the 1st Secretary, who is completely devoted to me, and to my trusty Wellisch, a fine Jew.

"But you must be patient. It may be a week or two before you are admitted."

When we reached Vámbéry's door, we again kissed each other several times, and I promised to call on him again the day after tomorrow, that is, Thursday evening at eight, so that he may give me instructions and letters of recommendation.

I forgot the most important thing. I asked V. whether the Sultan had made any remark about me personally.

"He doesn't even know your name," V. replied.

But maybe he was only annoyed at me for having helped me into the saddle, or jumpy from the trip.

For how could this square with V.'s earlier statement that the "Basel Conferences" had done me harm with the Sultan? Either it did me some damage in his eyes, or he doesn't know me!

Actually, I am highly satisfied with this result, provided that I can have at least an hour's talk with the Sultan. Then I shall promise to cure his ills and inspire his confidence.

If he should want to sell me Palestine right now, I would be extremely embarrassed.

After all, I must raise the money first.

Right now I need the bag he will leave me holding. This bag I will then fill.*

Naturally I didn't sleep much after that talk in the cab. I was up again as early as five o'clock and planned my program for the next few days.

My first errand after leaving Vámbéry was to the telegraph office, where I wired Wolffsohn that he must be in Vienna tomorrow, Thursday, because we were going to Cohn.

If he doesn't come, I shall take only Oskar Marmorek along.

May 8, in the evening

I was met at the Staatsbahnhof [State Railroad Terminal] by Kokesch and Marmorek.

I drove into town with Kokesch. On the way I told him everything, and he raised the question whether it was all right for us to use the £3,000 which the Bank has placed at our disposal to secure an audience on such vague prospects. I replied that the A.C. would have to make a decision on it this very day, and that I would drop the whole matter if there was no unanimous vote.

When I got to the office, neither Bacher nor Benedikt was there any more. I took care of my duties, put my manuscripts in order, and continually had the feeling of the "last day"—as though I were never again to occupy the shabby little despot's chair of the literary editor.

I have decided not to ask for a leave of absence, since I have to go away in any case, and take my leave by letter. This way I shall at least save myself the nervous strain of the last clash.

In the evening the gentlemen of the A.C. met at my house which right now exhibits the awful confusion of moving. We are to move into the new place in three days, and I have to go away and leave these big little worries to my wife.

At the A.C. meeting in the attic I made all the arrangements

* Translator's Note: Herzl uses the idiom *"jemandem einen Korb geben,"* "to turn someone down," literally, "to give someone a basket" (from the ancient German practice of fixing a basket on the house of a rejected lover).

with the gentlemen which I have been pondering for many months.

Sealed orders will be deposited with Alex, Cowen, and Katzenelsohn to be opened only upon a telegraphic signal from Kokesch. Bernstein-Kohan will be called here from Paris without further information.

A telegraphic code and instructions were drawn up.

Then came Secretary Reich whom we partially took into our confidence after swearing him to secrecy.

Wolffsohn wired that he would have a hard time getting away; was it absolutely necessary? I would have liked best to answer him to stay where he was. But his coming along may be good for promoting the Bank, and therefore he must go with me. I once more asked him urgently by telegram.

I then helped to put my dear children to bed. In golden innocence, untouched by the troubles of moving or the long, hard journey ahead of their father, they made their usual bedtime jokes and blissfully fell asleep.

Then I went to see my parents who are also moving now. May my old folks never know sorrow in this new home of theirs—only happiness and joy.

I am not telling anyone, of course, that this journey is not without danger. I am not so much worried about the plague in Constantinople as about putting myself into the power of a half-demented Sultan who has just robbed the European post offices.

* * *

Letter to Benedikt:

Dear Friend:

A month ago, when I discussed my future with you, you advised me to take a short trip in order to think about these things at leisure and with detachment. This prescription, you said, had always worked in your case. It gave one a clearer insight into oneself and into situations. I am now taking your friendly advice and plan to get away for ten days to two weeks. Naturally you may definitely count on my contribution to the Pentecost number, even

if I shouldn't send in anything before that. I am enclosing the key to my desk. Everything is in the customary order.

With kindest regards to you and Dr. Bacher,

Yours very sincerely,
Herzl.

May 9.

Awoke before daybreak, thought everything over with refreshed senses.

The main thing, of course, is to arrange to mute the explosive echo which the audience will have in Europe if it materializes. This is why the sealed orders contain instructions for Nordau to see Delcassé, Katzenelsohn to go to Shipyagin, Cowen—Francis Montefiore to Earl Lansdowne, and Hechler will be sent to see the Grand Duke. Only for Rome I didn't know what to do. Overnight it occurred to me: Gleichen-Russwurm, who has just threatened me with a novel and a *feuilleton*. I am now writing him:

My dear Baron:

I received your kind letter shortly before my departure. I am going to Constantinople for a few days. I don't recommend that you send a manuscript during my absence; it could easily be lost. Please send it only after I am back.

You could now do me a great favor, my dear Baron. I have long had the desire to give to His Holiness the Pope and Cardinal Rampolla exact information about the Zionist movement which they are perhaps not accurately acquainted with and may even judge unfavorably. I am convinced that they would bestow their favor on the cause if they had detailed information. I would be infinitely grateful to you if you were good enough to ask the Pope and the Cardinal, with whom you are certainly in touch, if I could count on being received in audience as soon as I came to Rome.

Please do not address your kind response to the office, but to my private address: Haizingergasse 29, Währing, Vienna.

And in any event, the whole thing will remain strictly between us, won't it?

With the kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Th. Herzl.

* * *

I shall end this book here, because I cannot take it with me to the land of the mail-robber.

I shall start a new book *en route*.

What will it contain?

On Pentecost it will be six years—no, sixty years—since I entered the Zionist movement.

Book Nine

Begun on
May 9, 1901

May 10, 1901

On the Orient Express, somewhere in Serbia.

Yesterday I went from Vienna to Pest, alone. My Wolffsohn, well-behaved again, had listened to reason after all and wired me that he would arrive in Vienna punctually. So I made the final arrangements in the A.C., said good-bye to my parents, wife, and children amidst the awful confusion of house-moving, and departed. My dear children didn't like the idea, and especially sad was our good Trude, whose birthday is on the 20th of May and who fears that I may not be here.

It was only when I was sitting in the train on my way to Budapest that the whole fatigue and strain following the nervous shock of Schlesinger's announcement made itself felt. While at the *N. Fr. Pr.* a storm was probably raging over my brusque and unauthorized departure and they were perhaps making the decision to dismiss and replace me, I was traveling Pestward in a complete *abrutissement* [daze].

Only my old saying *que rien n'arrive, ni comme on le craint, ni comme on l'espère* must serve as consolation and assuagement.

I didn't rouse myself from my stupor until just before Pest. It is one of the curious things that I should be passing the same stations two days later, like a railroad conductor. There is Bánhida; to the left on the mountain, the magnificent monument: a bronze eagle alighting on the Hungarian land with outspread wings. There is Kelenföld, from where the electric street car hastens toward the city as it did two days ago. The ordinary people continue on their dull, sullen, comfortable trot without any presentiment of world history. And there is the cemetery with already forgotten graves no longer the object of any living piety, and there again it makes no difference whether one was a man of the day or of eternity.

Schlesinger gave me a less friendly reception than usual. He seemed to regret the service he had done me. He gave me instructions and a letter for Cohn which was enclosed in an envelope addressed to TB. In addition, he gave me Dr. W.'s card, who, he said, would accompany me to Yildiz and bring me to TB. W. is

his confidential agent. However, I should be on my guard against C. and *Moi*. *Je serai partout sur mes gardes* [I shall be on my guard in every direction].

But my telling him that I would of course honor the promise I had given *Moi* aroused a storm. He screamed, cursing and swearing, that I was being cheated; he had done everything, and those people didn't deserve a thing. I insisted that I would have to honor my word like a promissory note, although I had given it but orally and without witnesses. He was furious. For three weeks he had toiled and slaved, and now others were to reap the fruits.

I understood, but wanted to keep him coming. His son was in the adjoining room. I made the proposal to let the son decide whether my *sentiment* was the right one. The son came in and listened to the story with a wry face, for he seemed to understand that I wanted to give something only to the *Moi*-C. group. Perhaps the whole thing was only an excuse on my part and I had *posé un lapin* [broken a promise].

However, by now I was shrewd enough not to let myself be carried away by the prevailing ill humor to make a fresh promise. I merely submitted it to Schlesinger's judgment to decide how I was to distribute the 30. Naturally he would have wanted the whole thing for himself, but he didn't come out with such a proposal. With difficulty he conceded that I give TB one-third and gave me a card for him. I mustn't give the others anything. His son shared this opinion: no pay-off without production.

We parted without having reached an agreement. I promised to come to him directly from Cohn and give him a report. The leave-taking was cool.

His son and daughter-in-law accompanied me to the restaurant and then to the station. While we were listening to gypsy music and chatting about *futilités* [trivia], I thought about what word I could send him by his son so as to wipe out the unfavorable impression at parting.

"What do you think?" I asked, as if I hadn't been sure that he would accept an offer of this kind. "If I gave TB, Schlesinger, and

the *Moi* group one-third each, would that be all right with your Dad?"

"Certainly!" said the young man, whereupon I asked him to be my advocate with his father. He promised me this. Then we parted friends.

I forgot something interesting in the conversation at Schlesinger's. He said: "You won't get the Charter now. That will take a few years and will cost up to a hundred thousand guilders."

"Done!" I replied. "It's all right if it costs even more."

* * *

On the whole, however, the after-effects of our difference of opinion at Schlesinger's must be good, even though he is annoyed that others will get something for his "work." For he sees that I am keeping my word and am not breaking any promises. He and all interested parties must regard me as *miché sérieux* [a whore-chaser], as they say in the Jardin de Paris.

Wolffsohn and Oscar were already on the Orient Express. An evening conversation, then I had a swell night's rest. In the freshness of morning I got my plan ready and drafted the following letter to V.

On the train, May 10

My good V. *bácsi:*

It was very difficult for me to get across to you yesterday, although we usually communicate so well with each other. Since I know so well that your aid is given from the noblest motives in general and from personal friendship for me— which makes me very proud—in particular, I was a bit embarrassed about coming right out with my intentions. Yesterday I repeatedly put the words into your mouth, but you wouldn't understand me. Fortunately I later spoke with your clever and charming son, and he encouraged me to present to you what I have in mind. If I make a mistake in this, you mustn't rake *me* over the coals, *bácsikám* [my little uncle],

but Rustem. But I hope you won't be angry at him either, for our idea is that of approximate justice. The "group" probably doesn't deserve anything; but I have pledged my word that after I have had a conference with Cohn I will distribute the familiar amount. I shall redeem my pledge as a matter of honor, even if I have been taken in. But I want to do it sensibly. Rustem shares my opinion that the following is the right way. I shall give one-third to you, one-third to the man for whom you have given me your card, inscribed in Turkish, and one-third to the "group." If you don't give me your consent, I shall have to give two-thirds to the "group," otherwise I shan't have kept my word. I hope, my dear, rude *bácsi*, that you will give me the pleasure of accepting. If you do, then send me a wire at the Hotel Royal saying "quite right." And sign it with your *nom convenu* [code name].

If you are not willing, then just telegraph me "No."

However, I expect you to wire me "quite right," which certainly doesn't mean that I consider the debt of gratitude of my friendship as paid off by it.

You said yesterday that the Charter would cost 100. Get it for me for three hundred, and in addition to my gratitude you will have the everlasting gratitude of *Kol Israel* [the entire Jewish people].

With cordial regards to your dear family and an embrace for you, my good, growling *bácsi*, I am

Your devoted
Dori.

* * *

However, it is my plan to give the group the full ⅔ after all, and TB ⅓. But I want to raise a fourth third for Schlesinger.

But I shall ask C. and *Moi* to give me the list, and I shall have Wolffsohn hand the amounts to the individuals.

I shall demand the list in particular. This way I shall get the chiefs. Then it will be up to C. and *Moi* to persuade the people,

who evidently don't know anything yet, to accept and thus incline them in our favor.

* * *

May 13, Constantinople.

Here I am, after five years, sitting in the same Hotel Royal, even in the same suite, where I stayed with Newlinski at the beginning of the project. I look out the windows, a changed man, and see the unchanged Golden Horn. Beauty no longer moves me. For me the world is no longer Representation but Will.* Strange how one's whole *weltanschauung* involuntarily and unwittingly assumes another character when one gets into such an *engrenage* [chain of circumstances] as I have done.

* * *

Dr. Wellisch, a Hungarian Jew who has become a Turkish official, is truly useful to us. He came right after our arrival two days ago and placed himself entirely at our disposal.

Afterwards came the Levantine "scissors-grinder" Crespi, timid and crafty, prepared to be thrown out. But I gave him a friendly reception and only asked him to come back the next morning.

Yesterday morning there came a wire from V:

"Quite right. Schlesinger."

So I have guessed his innermost thoughts. He is accepting. *Je n'y attendais un peu* [I rather thought he would].

Then Crespi showed up. First of all I had him give me the list of those to be given a share. Naturally I consider his list to be *de pure fantaisie* [made up out of whole cloth]. But let him be forced to have them really paid off by Wolffsohn. This way I shall really get these influential people.

At 10:30 in the morning I drove out to Yildiz Kiosk with Wellisch. The familiar route on which Newlinski once hoodwinked me. The army of doormen and loafers.

Then we entered Tahsin Bey's quarters and waited in a salon

* Translator's Note: An allusion to Arthur Schopenhauer's work *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (*The World as Will and Representation*).

with a pretty view. We sent our cards in to Tahsin Bey. After a while an attendant came with the information that Tahsin Bey was too busy now.

Wellisch sent him the forceful message that I had a letter from Vámbéry to deliver. In response to this there came an official and inquired *what my profession was!* I gave as an answer: "A writer, *homme de lettres* [man of letters]."

He asked me whether I was the head of the *N. Fr. Pr.* I told Wellisch that I wished to be announced only as a writer, not as a representative of the *N. Fr. Pr.*

After another few minutes the official came back and invited us in to see Tahsin.

We now went to his office.

A delicate little man, with a waxen, pallid, immobile face, half-closed eyelids, black beard. He got up, gave me his hand, asked me to sit down opposite him at his writing desk without a raised rim, and said some ceremonious Turkish words of greeting to Wellisch, which were translated into German for me and to which I replied with similar cold phrases of politeness. I said I was grateful to him for the kind reception, was delighted with Constantinople, which I wasn't seeing for the first time—I had been here with the Kaiser in 1898—and was completely loyal to the Sultan. Then, after replying to a question from Tahsin by saying that I intended to stay here for 3–4 days, we took our leave.

* * *

Now we are waiting for my summons. Yesterday afternoon an excursion to the Sweet Waters. I ruminated on what I should tell the Sultan so that the fabulous moment of my desire might not go by unused.

May 14, Constantinople

Yesterday Wellisch drove to Yildiz in our carriage to see Tahsin and brought word that our matter didn't seem to stand badly. He had been invited to state the highest decoration that I possessed.

When I mentioned my Commander of the Mejidie, Wellisch turned up his nose: he had that one himself. I had also inquired whether I was to come in a full-dress suit or in a frock coat. He had not been given a decision on this yet. However, Tahsin had invited me to attend the *selamlik* on Friday. Then I would learn whether or not I would get to see the Sultan. Apparently the Sultan—provided he wants to—wishes to receive me under the powerful impression of his assembled warriors, as a mighty lord.

* * *

In the afternoon we went to the Bazar and to the Church of Saint Sofia. Impressive spatial effect of this dome which has weathered all tempests of history. In the evening I went alone to see the beautiful view from the Taxim Gardens. The view over the Bosporus! In these years I have gone through the development from "life is a dream"* to "life is a struggle." Nevertheless, this sight made something of old dreams well up in me.

But I had to think of the more immediate things. That business of a decoration with the impending ludicrousness of a 2nd-class order came into my mind. At noon I had sent Oskar to Crespi in order to arrange a meeting with Nuri in Crespi's apartment for that evening. Nuri declared he definitely couldn't come now, for he was under surveillance. So I went to the Anatolie Han in the evening by myself. Wolffsohn, my faithful companion, was and still is sick. He was very worried when I went off by myself. I joked: if I wasn't back by morning, they should look for me in Crespi's den.

Crespi was waiting for me at the Anatolie Han passage. As I walked past him I told him that I wished to speak with him at his house. He followed me. A shabby house in a dark back alley behind the Han. Shabbily furnished, too. In the study of the valiant spirit, who put on such aristocratic airs in Vienna, framed newspaper illustrations adorned the walls.

In conversation he proceeded from timidity to boldness, spoke of five francs and millions of pounds. He timorously inquired

* Translator's Note: A reference to the title of Calderón's play *La vida es sueño.*

about the bad things that I might have been told about him. *Il s'en doutait un peu* [he could more or less imagine them]. The hotel manager had told me that only a few weeks ago Crespi had had his face slapped by a swindled Frenchman at the Hôtel Royal. Vámbéry had thrown him out, etc.

I acted as if I knew nothing. I would, of course, redeem my promise—although Vámbéry had told me that the group had done nothing, nor could do anything. But I wanted services in future. At this he got cocky and showed me a letter from Dirsztay promising Crespi a monthly salary of 1,500 francs *de ma part* [from me] if the audience materialized. I said: "Yes, if I were allowed to submit the entire plan to the Sultan and he appointed a committee."

But soon I sensed threats and counter-intrigues in the tramp's words, and quickly came round: *"Je ne lésinerai pas avec vous, si vendredi je suis content* [I won't be stingy with you if I'm satisfied on Friday]."

I slept on it too: it will be well if I give him this gratuity for the first few months until the Congress is over, otherwise he will play tricks on me. For the beginning I shall promise him 1000 fr., and when the Committee for the Study of Zionism has been appointed, 1,500 fr. per month.

Incidentally, I managed to stipulate that Nuri will give me a receipt for the money, like that time in Vienna. For the time being I didn't mention Tahsin's "third," and I also slept on that. It will perhaps be worth 10,000 fr. to keep the Nuri people, who belong to the Izzet faction, from knowing about the donation to Tahsin. Otherwise they could use it against him. All I have to do is to get my companions' consent to this increase in the expenses.

For the rest, Crespi declared—and this was probably the only true word he said—that he couldn't do anything for me prior to the audience. Nuri must not even show himself in the matter. He couldn't come forward until later. Consequently he couldn't intervene for a higher decoration. But why didn't I refuse the 2nd class.

Actually, then, I left the *coupe-gorge* [cut-throat] plundered all

over again. But his advice to refuse the 2nd class was also worth some money.

This morning I asked Wellisch to tell Tahsin that I was no friend of decorations. Five years ago they had sent this 3rd class one, which I hadn't asked for either, to my house. I hadn't refused it, out of courtesy; but if they wished to give me a decoration now, I couldn't accept less than 1st class without making myself ridiculous.

* * *

Wellisch is useful to us.

May 15, Constantinople

An idle day yesterday. Excursion to the Bosporus whose beauty finally did stir even my hardened heart. In the evening, in the *coupe-gorge* [squeeze] again at Crespi's, who tried to have me turn blue in the face. I let him tell me his *bourdes* [fibs].

Day and night I ponder the words which I intend to say to the Sultan in the moment of my desire.

May 16

Today another empty day of expectations. I am considering every turn which the conversation with the Sultan might take.

Details of the day: In the evening we went to the Taxim Gardens. Nuri Bey sat there with a European and as I approached held his handkerchief in front of his rogue's face which was covered by his red beard and blue glasses anyway. I got the point—and didn't see him. However, I recommended to Wolffsohn and Marmorek that they take a look at him when we went out, so that they might know him when the gratuities were passed out.

Another detail, this one from Offenbach's *La Vie Parisienne*. With Dr. Wellisch, our table companion, we talk *de omni re scibili* [about everything under the sun]. He is very much interested in financial matters. The president of the Colonial Trust, my good

Daade, betrayed a funny weak spot yesterday. He wasn't able to figure right off how much 4% of 5 billions in French war indemnities came to. Wellisch was surprised.

May 17, Constantinople

This will perhaps be a big day, perhaps a very small one—perhaps no day at all, i.e. I shall not even be received.

In the latter case I would immediately wire to Vámbéry in such a way that they will have to read the telegram here as well.

At any rate, I didn't sleep badly—from ten till six.

Was rather alert in the morning. I thought out my Pentecost story for the *N. Fr. Pr.*: sunset, a diplomat's last love, told by himself on the Petala stone terrace at Therapia, with the waters of the Bosporus at his feet. The Countess in the garden, etc.

Then I thought about the Sultan. Perhaps he is "the Master" as I imagine him.

While sitting in my hip-bath, in front of a mirror, I rehearsed the conference as it may possibly unfold.

"*Est-ce que Sa Majesté permet que je parle simplement, ouvertement, sérieusement* . . . [Will His Majesty permit me to speak plainly, frankly, seriously]?"

"*Je ne suis pas venu pour de petits services mais pour les grands services* [I have not come to render small services, but great ones]."

"*Les articles des journaux se payent de 50 à 500 louis. Moi, on ne peut pas m'acheter—je me donne* [Newspaper articles cost 50 to 500 louis. As for me, I cannot be bought—I give myself]."

L'histoire d'Androclus et du lion [The story of Androcles and the lion], etc.

How much of all this shall I be able to get in?

May 19, Constantinople

I got everything in.

I wasn't able to make any entries yesterday, because I was called to the palace in the morning and had to stay there till evening, wait-

ing about to the point of exhaustion. After that, writing was out of the question, and so my account of this first memorable conversation with the Sultan has probably lost its freshness already.

On Friday morning at ten o'clock, then, after a careful toilet—frock coat and Mejidiye rosette—I drove with Wellisch in my coupé to Yildiz Kiosk. It was already warm, but nevertheless I sat there in my overcoat (which I had had custom-tailored for this very purpose two years ago, on the occasion of Newlinski's last expedition, and had taken very good care of since then), and kept the windows closed, so as not to get a speck of dust on my suit. Troops were marching to the *selamlik,* sturdy fellows on foot and magnificent horsemen.

There are strict rules for keeping certain areas blocked off during the *selamlik,* but *comme par enchantement* [as if by magic] all barriers opened before me. I was immediately escorted to the First Secretary, Tahsin Bey, with whom I found Fuad Pasha. Tahsin was more amiable than hitherto and introduced me to Fuad. Next I was called to the Grand Master of Ceremonies, R. Ibrahim Bey. A suave, smooth gentleman, round-shouldered, and with a full grey-streaked beard. Here, too, the most splendid reception. Then I was taken to the spectators' section where I had been with Newlinski five years ago. This time there were only a small number of people, because lately admission has been granted very sparingly. Even so, I didn't find the prospect of standing there till one o'clock very pleasing.

Again as if *par enchantement,* my wish to sit down in the shade was fulfilled. An adjutant came up to me and asked me to step into the ambassadors' reception-room. There I found the diplomatic corps assembled who seemed much more ordinary and stupid at close range than from a distance. Even the women who, as seen from the lawn, stood by the windows and looked the pictures of elegance, were much less so when I had a closer view of them. The time passed quickly for me as I watched that beautiful Osmanli opera they call the *selamlik.* Every Friday the same thing. Troops start marching and form walls more impenetrable than stone. The court, eunuchs, princesses in closed landaus, pashas, dignitaries,

flunkeys and lackeys *de toutes les couleurs* [of every sort]. All moves past to the accompaniment of music. Over yonder, the Bosporus gleams wondrously blue. Then the muezzin calls from the minaret, and the Padishah drives in his partly closed carriage to the mosque.

Another brief half hour of sitting quietly and amusing myself by watching the vacuous, ugly diplomats.

Then H.M.'s chamberlains entered in order to welcome the guests. I was told to wait there for the 1st Secretary. Then Ibrahim appeared with a large case containing the Grand Cordon for a Russian admiral who is here with his *escadre* [squadron]. The admiral turned quite red with joy and vanity, and accepted the congratulations of the assembled company. I stood in a corner by the window and watched quietly. Presently Ibrahim Bey came up to me, too, and informed me that the Sultan had conferred upon me the order of the Mejidiye, 2nd class. I thanked him most kindly and said I didn't want any decoration. The 3rd class had been given me five years ago by mistake. At that time I had accepted it only out of courtesy, but now I would forgo the honor entirely. The least I could accept was the 1st class. Ibrahim repressed his rage beneath great politeness, saying that he would inform the Sultan of this.

Finally, the whole company withdrew. I remained alone in the room, looked over to the floating blue islands and would have preferred to remain sitting there. But after five or ten minutes servants came. They passed me from one to the other. We walked down gravel paths to another kiosk. There I was first taken to Ibrahim Bey who, with a beaming face and a happy titter, informed me that H.M. had bestowed on me the Grand Cordon of the Mejidiye—as in the *Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein.**

And another few minutes later I was conducted back through the ante-room to the audience chamber, which was located to the right of the entrance.

"The Master" stood before me, exactly as I had pictured him: short, skinny, with a large hooked nose, a full dyed beard, a small, tremulous voice. He wore his grand *selamlik* uniform, a cloak over his tunic, diamond-studded decorations, gloves. He gave me his

* Translator's Note: A comic opera by Jacques Offenbach.

hand, and we were seated. Without further ado I sank deeply and comfortably into my chair. He sat on a divan, his sword between his knees. Ibrahim sat and stood; he kept jumping forward, so as to catch H.M.'s words, and translated them for me—and, vice versa, my words to him. As he did so he continually beamed with happiness, smiled blissfully, and reproduced everything in a tone of infinite importance. Whenever the Sultan spoke to Ibrahim I observed the Master carefully, and he did likewise when I spoke in French.

He began with *salaams*, and so did I. He said he always read the *N.Fr.Pr.* I am just wondering how he does it, since he doesn't know any German. It was the paper through which he informed himself about the Transvaal, China, etc. Next I thanked him for the high decoration. Then he spoke of the friendly relations between our countries (meaning Turkey and Austria). He rejoiced to hear that Emperor Franz Joseph was well, and more of the same.

But I didn't want to stay on that subject. I told him (through Ibrahim) that I was devoted to him because he was good to the Jews. Jews all over the world were grateful for this. I in particular was ready to render him any service, naturally not minor ones—there were plenty of other people for those—but great services. I emphasized that I didn't intend to publish anything about our present conference. He could speak with me in all confidence. He thanked me, took two cigarettes out of a small silver box, gave one to me and kept the other for himself. Ibrahim, who was not permitted to smoke, lit first his, then mine.

Then the Sultan said: "I am and always have been a friend of the Jews. In fact, I rely only on the Moslems and the Jews. I haven't the same amount of confidence in my other subjects."

I thereupon lamented the injustices we experience throughout the world, and he said he had always kept his Empire open to Jewish refugees as a place of refuge.

At which I said: "When Prof. Vámbéry informed me that His Majesty would receive me, I had to think of the beautiful old story about Androcles and the lion. His Majesty is the lion, perhaps I am Androcles, and maybe there is a thorn that has to be pulled out."

He acknowledged the compliment with a smile.

Might I continue to speak openly and plainly? He begged me to do so.

"The thorn, as I see it, is your *dette publique* [public debt]. If that could be removed, Turkey would be able to unfold afresh its vitality, in which I have faith."

He sighed, and smiled, sighing. Ibrahim translated: Ever since the beginning of his glorious reign His Majesty has striven in vain to remove this thorn. This thorn was acquired under His Imperial Majesty's exalted predecessors, and it seems impossible to get rid of. If I could be of help in this, it would be ever so nice.

"Well then," I said, "I believe I can. But the first and fundamental condition is absolute secrecy."

The Master raised his eyes to heaven, placed his hand upon his breast, and murmured, *"Secret, secret!"*

I gave him the reason for my insistence. The Powers who wanted Turkey weak would try as hard as they could to prevent its recovery. They would make every effort to frustrate this operation. He understood.

I continued—and from that point on I took the lead generally in the conversation—that I would have this operation carried out by my friends on all the stock exchanges of Europe, provided I had His Majesty's support. However, when the time came, this support would have to take the form of some measure particularly friendly to the Jews, and it must be proclaimed in an appropriate manner.

Ibrahim drank in his master's words with an astonished air and translated them with a happy face: "His Majesty has a court jeweller, who is a Jew. He might say to him something favorable about the Jews and instruct him to put it in the papers. He also has a Chief Rabbi for his Jews here, the Hakham Bashi. He could say something to him also."

This I rejected. It occurred to me that Dr. Marcus once told me that the Hakham Bashi spat at the mention of my name.

"No," I said, "that would not serve the purpose. It wouldn't get out into the world in a way that might be useful to us. I shall permit myself later to indicate to His Majesty the moment at which we

can use it for our great ends. I should like to put the active sympathies of Jewry to work for the Turkish Empire. Therefore the proclamation would have to have an imposing character. Words spoken to the Hakham Bashi would only remain in Turkey."

The Master nodded his agreement to everything I said. I continued:

"All this beautiful country needs is the industrial skill of our people. The Europeans who usually come here enrich themselves quickly and then rush off again with their spoils. An entrepreneur should certainly make a respectable and honest profit, but after that he ought to remain in the country where he has acquired his wealth."

Again the Master nodded contentedly and said to Ibrahim, who repeated it to me, beaming with joy:

"Unexploited treasures still exist in our country. Only today His Majesty received a telegram from Bagdad, saying that oil fields have been discovered there, richer than those of the Caucasus." If I remained here long enough, H.M. would ask me to take a look at the areas served by the Anatolian railroad. To the right and left of the line, the land was like a garden. There were ores, too, and gold and silver mines. During the reigns of H.I.M.'s exalted predecessors the gold had been mined, made into ingots, and then coined; this is how the soldiers had been paid.

I had in fact noticed that during his last speech the Master had measured off a length in the air with both hands: evidently these were the little bars of gold.

Then something surprising happened. The Master asked me, via Ibrahim, to recommend to him a capable financier who could create new resources for the country: for example, taxes that would not be too onerous, similar to the match-tax.

I felt extremely flattered by this display of confidence, but said that this involved a great responsibility for me, because, after all, for such an assignment I could recommend only a man of whose integrity I had just as firm a conviction as I had of his efficiency. But I said that I would look into the matter and let H.I.M. know as soon as I had found the right man. Incidentally, I thought that the

man should only study the financial situation in secrecy and give me his results; on the basis of this information I would then work out a program for economic recovery.

But the Master was of a different opinion. He imparted it to Ibrahim, who was all ears and then repeated it to me with a blissful smile: "His Imperial Majesty thinks it would be fairer if the man were given an official position, because that would attract less attention. He should be attached to the Ministry of Finance—ostensibly as an under-secretary—and give you regular reports. The Master can then correspond with you through this confidential agent."

I recognized the superior soundness of this idea, and went on to ask in what way I could get my letters into H.I.M.'s hands; did I need a special mark or seal for this?

The Master told me, through Ibrahim, that my own seal would suffice. Letters sealed by me would be handed directly to H.I.M. by Tahsin Bey.

Then the Master turned to the pending project of consolidating the national debt. I asked what that meant. The Master explained it to the very intent Ibrahim for my benefit. Consolidation consisted in contracting a new debt in place of the old one, thereby effecting a total saving of one to 1½ million pounds, to meet the previous year's deficit.

"What? So little?" I exclaimed with a regretful shrug, and the Master also regretted and also shrugged his shoulders, with a sad smile.

I now requested that I be informed about the whole consolidation project, so that I could judge whether it was advisable to proceed with it at all if one had bigger things to be accomplished. Perhaps consolidation would be good, perhaps bad. First I would have to know the entire plan. H.I.M. declared that my wish would be fulfilled. Someone would be instructed to give me all the necessary information.

We then continued our conversation, meandering from subject to subject. I held his interest. In broad outlines I sketched a program for the future, all that could be done in this naturally magnificent city and in the Empire. With a view to getting decorations

for them, I mentioned my companions Wolffsohn and Marmorek who might possibly be available. New sources of revenue could be opened up, for example, a monopoly on electric power.

H.I.M. informed me, through the delighted Ibrahim, that the palace had an electric-light plant and that H.I.M. was pleased with the light. It was better than the other kind.

Then I spoke about possible improvements in the city: for instance a new Stamboul bridge, high enough for the biggest ships to pass under (Marmorek's idea) into the harbor of the Golden Horn.

However, H.I.M. requested me through Ibrahim to drop these plans for the time being and to occupy myself first with the removal of the *dette publique*.

By that time I was exhausted; the conversation must have lasted over two hours. I had spun the threads the way I had wanted to. I was fairly certain now that he would wish to hear further details from me. So I let the conversation flag. The Master, too, found nothing more to say, and after a brief pause he arose. He gave me his hand. However, I stayed a little while longer and recapitulated: above all, profound secrecy as to our intentions and understanding. The Master repeated: "*Secret, secret!*"

Further, I desired a pro-Jewish proclamation at a moment to be designated by me (I had the Congress in mind). Finally, I requested a detailed presentation of the financial situation and the consolidation project. All this was promised me.

Then the Master took a few sideways steps toward the door. Ibrahim and I withdrew—Ibrahim bending low and *à reculons* [backwards], I with a half-turn and three bows, each of which the Master returned.

I forgot before that at one time during the conversation I completely rose from my seat and bowed—when the Sultan described himself as a friend of the Jews and promised them his permanent protection if they sought refuge in his lands.

Then Ibrahim conducted me back again to his salon and handed me the red case with the Grand Cordon, exactly like the one which

the Russian admiral Kriger had received during the *selamlik* a while ago.

I left the salon. In the ante-room a lot of *baksheesh* hands stretched out toward me. I passed out gold pieces. My top-coat, which I had checked with attendants several times, has already cost me a fortune.

When I emerged from the Sultan's kiosk, who should be waiting for me outside? Crespi! It was extremely embarrassing for me to have Ibrahim see me in his company. But Crespi was not to be brushed aside. He tagged along with me right up to the gate.

There another scuffle for *baksheesh* broke loose. A crowd of fellows pressed about my carriage. I handed out louis as long as my supply lasted, and sent Crespi to get Wellisch. But I had hardly seated myself in the carriage, and had seen Wellisch coming, when someone called me back into the palace. We thought it was Ibrahim; but it was Izzet, whom I hadn't seen in five years. He stood among the shrubbery in front of the audience-kiosk, apparently talking to some one. He looked at me with an expectant grin as I went past. I was conducted to his office.

There sat an unknown person, and with him the chamberlain who had told me earlier in the day, in the ambassador's room, to wait there for the 1st Secretary. What was the meaning of this?

Again I had to wait awhile. The one good thing about all these tortures of waiting is the view of the pink and bluish landscape. At last Izzet came, with the evil eyes of a beast of prey and a friendly grin. He offered me a cigarette, which I courageously puffed, lit one himself, and treated me like a dear old friend.

"*Quand pourrais-je causer avec vous* [When could I have a chat with you]?" I asked, as though this were my most ardent desire.

"*Mais—tout de suite* [Why, right now]!" he said.

I remarked that I was too tired. The long conversation with the Sultan had greatly taxed my strength. I said I would wait upon him tomorrow, and then we could chat about everything.

He continued to probe. "*Il est question de l'unification de la dette* [It is a matter of consolidating the debt]," he said, as if he al-

ready knew everything and were only continuing the Sultan's conversation.

I looked past him out the window, with tired eyes. I told him that after the mental strain of the audience I was incapable of thinking or talking. I asked him kindly to give me a hearing tomorrow (i.e., yesterday). We made an appointment for 12 o'clock *alla franca* [western style], and I took my leave.

Wellisch, who drove with me, was all stirred up about the high decoration and the long audience. I was calm, as always in success.

Wolffsohn and Marmorek were waiting, like *Soeur Anne,** at the look-out of the hotel window. While still at a distance I waved to them from the carriage. We embraced. Marmorek, who even in normal times is jumpy enough to give a stone nervous fits, was of course beside himself. Wolffsohn wanted to hear details. But I had already been through enough, even on this journey, from the incautious remarks of my otherwise dear companions, and therefore said:

"I shall tell you nothing. Not a word. Only when we are sitting in the train will you hear something. That will save you the agony of keeping a secret."

Being good fellows, they submitted, too.

I had hardly got home when Crespi showed up. He and his partner in crime Nuri now demand the reward for what Vámbéry has accomplished. *Il faut s'exécuter* [I must comply]. He wanted to go to Nuri with me, but I declined his company, saying that we must now be careful and henceforth not show ourselves together. Half an hour later I drove to Nuri, who of course acted very important, as though he had done it all. I left him the illusion. "*C'est un art de grand seigneur de se laisser voler* [One of the arts of a great lord is to let himself be robbed]";** just let him rejoice like a thief—which he is.

* Translator's Note: Sister Anne, in Charles Perrault's *Bluebeard* story. Anne's sister, Bluebeard's seventh wife, asks her to keep a look-out at the window for the arrival of their brothers who are to save her from her husband's homicidal desires.

** Translator's Note: A line from the comedy *Le Gendre de M. Poirier* (Mr. Poirier's Son-in-Law), by Emile Augier and Jules Sandeau.

I asked him whether my interpreter, the Grand Master of Ceremonies Ibrahim, was on his list.

"No, not he!" replied His Excellency Nuri (I'd like to know who is.) Some time I ought to send Ibrahim a fine carriage and a span of horses, preferably through Crespi. (The very idea!) I let him give me this and other counsels, and acted as though I believed every word. However, I asked how much he intended to give Izzet.

"Between 7,000 and 8,000 francs," he lied, with a wavering glance behind his pince-nez. "Izzet is my closest friend."

But when I told him that I had seen Izzet and would see him again tomorrow, he earnestly warned me against him.

"How's this? But he is your closest friend!"

"Bah—he is one of my good friends all right. But in the interest of our cause you musn't see him again, otherwise you'll make an enemy of Tahsin."

"And how much do you propose to give Tahsin?" I asked innocently.

"About the same amount," he lied on. "Tahsin is all-powerful. But beware of Izzet. He's a squeezed-out lemon. You may believe me, for I am fairly friendly with him. His calling you into his office was a trap. He wanted it bruited about all over the palace. He will claim that you made disclosures to him about the audience—and everything will be ruined."

May 20, Constantinople

Interpolated letter to Tahsin:*

(I shall enter the happenings of May 18 and 19 *en route*).

Your Excellency:

Before awaiting H.I.M.'s orders here yesterday, I had instructed my friend, Mr. Wolffsohn, to deliver to Your Exc. a communication which had been forwarded to me by Prof. Vamb.

Mr. Wolffsohn did not have the honor to be received by Your

* In French in the original.

Exc., and I fear that he had some deplorable misunderstanding there, caused by his ignorance of the language. Under these circumstances I must transmit to Y. Exc. the communication from Prof. Vamb., whom I am going to visit when I leave here today.

At the same time I shall ask the prof. to explain to Y. Exc. certain incidents of these last few days.

But I do not want to wait until then to assure Y. Exc. of my deep and lasting gratitude. You may at all times and in all circumstances count on my absolute and very sincere devotion. The prof. will tell you whether I may be believed.

Assuring Your Exc. of my deepest respect,

Dr. Th. H.

May 20, Constantinople

I have the events of the 18th and 19th to note down.

On the morning of the 18th I was just about to write the Sultan that I desired another audience, when a letter was handed me from Ibrahim Bey who asked me to come to the palace at 10:30. Wolffsohn and Oskar had gone out to get the 40,000 francs from the bank. I left word for them that Wolffsohn should wait at the hotel until I came back, but that Marmorek should go to Nuri and tell him that Wolffsohn had to wait for my return from the palace. Only after my return would he come and pay the 50,000 francs.

I felt a bit uneasy. This is a country of quick changes. Yesterday still Grand Cordon *du Medjidié,* today perhaps *foutu* [on the scrap heap] already.

So I arrived at Yildiz with anxiety and called on Ibrahim, who smiled amiably but gave me a penetrating look.

We seated ourselves in his office, and he questioned me, with a casual air, about things he knew perfectly well. They had wanted, as early as yesterday, to send me the invitation to come to the palace, but hadn't been able to locate me. Then it had occurred to them to ask my address from the gentleman who had accosted me

yesterday outside the audience-kiosk and had walked along with me—what was his name, anyway?

"Crespi," I said calmly.

"Oh yes, of course, Crespi. And afterwards you were with Izzet?"

"Yes sir, he sent for me. I hadn't seen him in five years and had been quite out of touch with him. He wanted to talk with me about matters connected with the audience. But I told him that I was too tired. I intend to give information only as far as I am authorized by His Majesty."

Ibrahim nodded his gratified approval. I don't know to this hour whether he belongs to the Tahsin party or to the Izzet party.

"As a matter of fact, I have sent my excuses to Izzet Bey for being unable to keep this noon's appointment, as I have been commanded to keep myself at His Majesty's disposal."

Ibrahim again was pleased.

From time to time reports were delivered, and he wrote letters. Two of them were addressed to the Sultan, as I inferred from the reverence and special care with which he sealed them. Several gossips dropped in from other offices. At times Turkish was spoken in very, very low tones. This, of course, was due to my presence—as though they weren't quite certain that I didn't understand Turkish.

Noon came. Ibrahim invited me to eat with him. A luncheon table had been improvised, army style, in the ante-chamber. Innumerable dishes were served up, each one worse and more Turkish than the last.

We were sitting over the second course when the door was flung open and in walked Izzet, *en maître* [like the owner of the place] and with a friendliness that boded ill. He immediately sat down with us and started eating greedily. We had gone through several courses when another mysterious something made its appearance.

A blue envelope, which Ibrahim handed me: from H.I.M.

I thanked him with emotion and opened it. It was a stick-pin, a token of friendship. A golden-yellow diamond.

I was the only one drinking wine, the others having water. I rose, raised my glass, and drained it to the Master's health. The others drained their water-glasses, standing.

After our meal, over coffee, Izzet identified himself as the man charged with explaining to me the plan for the consolidation of the public debt.

Obviously a thieves' plan. A syndicate was to supply 30 million pounds, with which the debt could be bought up on the stock exchanges. Sheer nonsense. I listened calmly, and finally I said that I would think it over and then give them my opinion.

Izzet went off with his wild-animal's grin; then I asked Ibrahim to announce my presence to the Sultan. This had best be done through Izzet, said Ibrahim; and from that moment on I was convinced that he belonged to the Izzet party. Izzet was overtaken before he had left the ante-chamber and undertook the assignment, although I foresaw a negative result.

I stayed for a while longer with Ibrahim, who questioned me about my position on the *N. Fr. Pr.* I had repeatedly emphasized that I was only the editor of the literary section. But they consistently treated me as *directeur* [the editor].

His attention attracted by my corrections, he asked me with ironic penetration: "*Il y a donc un directeur général* [There *is* a managing editor, isn't there]?"

"*Oui, M. Bacher* [Yes, Mr. Bacher]!" And as I said this and felt a certain embarrassment about my *grand-cordon,* the usually harmless Ibrahim's expression became malicious.

Presently the Sultan's reply came: he was too busy and regretted being unable to see me now.

The yellow diamond was the only result of the day.

Later, Nuri called on us at the hotel, accompanied by his lascar Crespi.

Wolffsohn had made difficulties about the receipt, and there ensued an angry scene at the writing table when Nuri refused to give such a clear acknowledgment.

When Wolffsohn demanded a receipt on his visiting card, he

rose to his feet with an air of deeply offended innocence. I patched things up by letting Nuri sign in any way he wanted to. Then he got up, still offended, and refused to accept the thick wad of banknotes himself: "Give that to Crespi!" And as he left, he coldly extended his hand to Wolffsohn and said to me: "*Ce monsieur ne fera pas beaucoup d'affaires ici* [That gentleman won't do much business around here]!"

I deferentially showed him to the door. At the staircase he said: "*Je rendrai ces 40,000 francs à cette banque. Et je compte sur vous comme tel*—[I'll deliver those 40,000 francs to that bank. And I rely on you as a—this]" (at which he gave my wrist the Freemasons' grip).

"*Vous me connaissez* [You know me]," I said, and returned the sign in jest.

May 19, Sunday

A miserable day. In the morning I had sent Wolffsohn to the palace, together with Wellisch. I gave Wolffsohn a note for Ibrahim with an enclosed letter to the Sultan, as well as a letter containing ten thousand francs for Tahsin.

They were away until 7 o'clock in the evening. We went through great excitement. Oskar's terrific agitation while waiting made me terribly nervous as well. In the end I locked myself in my room, in order to get away from him, and lay on the bed for hours, thinking.

The long absence of the two men was really mysterious and alarming. Had Tahsin perhaps taken offence at the remittance of money and raised a storm? Or what else was it?

At last they came back. Tahsin had refused to receive them at any price and had rebuffed their repeated attempts. They had had to wait at Ibrahim's to the point of unconsciousness.

* * *

Interpolation of May 21, farewell:*

* In French in the original.

Sire:

In taking leave of Your Imperial Majesty I once more place at the foot of the throne this acknowledgment of my unalterable devotion and of my profound gratitude.

I shall only remain in Vienna the requisite period of time and shall set out immediately in order to be able to submit the completed project within one month.

During my travels it may become necessary for me to put myself in immediate and very confidential touch with Y.I.M.'s orders. For this reason, Y.I.M. in your exalted wisdom may perhaps deem it useful to instruct your ambassadors in Vienna, Paris, Brussels, The Hague, London, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Rome immediately to transmit to Y.I.M., by wire and in code, the communications which I shall permit myself to make to you, or to have conveyed by the Embassy courier the very respectful letters that I shall have the honor to address to Y.I.M.

I humbly beg Y.I.M. to let me know through H.E. the Ambassador to Vienna if this easy, discreet, and rapid form of correspondence has met with your exalted approval.

The coming weeks will be filled with work. May it please God that it be useful and serve the glorious reign of Y.I.M.

With complete devotion, I am Sire,

Y.I.M.'s very loyal and obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

To Ibrahim: *

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to submit to you herewith my farewell letter to H.I.M. It contains directions for the safety of the reports which I am to make.

At the same time I beg Your Excellency kindly to take note of my private address where all communications should be directed.

It is Haizingergasse 29, Währing, Vienna.

* In French in the original.

Begging you to accept the expression of my deepest respect and my profound gratitude, I remain

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Th. H.

* * *

May 21, on board the "Principessa Maria"

We have just left the Bosporus, the beauty of which made the morning hours short, and only now is this part of my adventure happily concluded, an adventure I considered not without its dangers.

I got into the power of a despot whom I had every reason to regard as half-demented, and whose government, as the debate in the Italian Chamber of Deputies showed, had twice during the past year demanded the intervention of the Powers against Jewish immigration.

The situation was made hazardous in another direction by the fact that I was obliged to introduce myself, at first, not in my real and universally known capacity as head of the Zionists, but as an editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*—they turned this into *directeur* [the editor], and again I endeavored to modify this by adding *littéraire* [literary].

As a matter of fact, I remained in constant fear that I would run onto some rock and not only be shipwrecked but disgrace myself forever. In addition, all that money would have been thrown away, and I would rightly have been held responsible.

Well, things turned out better than that, but tremendous new cares and troubles arose. Not the least of them is over my future and that of my family, for this will probably cost me my position on the *N. Fr. Pr.* and I shall run the risk of having to pursue literary odd jobs.

Mais c'est un engrenage. Quand on y a mis le doigt, il faut passer tout entier [But it's a cog-wheel; once you've put in a finger, you've got to go all the way in].

I have seen Yildiz Kiosk as it really is, and have gained one particular impression from it which it may not be without interest to history to record.

In this diary I am sometimes forced to distort my fresh impressions, for I record them right on the spot where a stroke of bad luck or a trick of espionage might purloin the book from me as an incriminating document. But here and now, on a Rumanian boat in the Black Sea, I feel quite free, safe, and at liberty, like that time on the "Dundee" after leaving Jaffa.

For this reason the favorable things which I say here about Sultan Abdul Hamid for the benefit of posterity have the full value of truthfulness.

Naturally, neither his red cordon nor his yellow diamond has influenced me in the least. Such things leave me completely cold, as they would any sensible person. For me they have only political value, which I weigh calmly, neither overestimating nor underestimating it. I believe that some capital can be made out of these things for the benefit of the movement. This will make us stronger, give us more authority, and this authority will in turn enable us to make further progress.

My impression of the Sultan was that he is a weak, cowardly, but thoroughly good-natured man. I regard him as neither crafty nor cruel, but as a profoundly unhappy prisoner in whose name a rapacious, infamous, seedy camarilla perpetrates the vilest abominations.

If I didn't have the Zionist movement to look after I would now go and write an article that would give the poor prisoner his freedom. Abdul Hamid Khan II is a collective name for the most depraved pack of rogues that has ever made a country unsafe and unhappy. I never even suspected that such a *troupe de malfaiteurs* [gang of crooks] was possible. The shamelessness of this business of tip-taking, which begins at the palace gate and ends only at the foot of the throne, is probably not even the worst of it. Everything is a business, and every official or functionary is a crook. At least, this is what I heard from all sides, and what I have seen of the goings-on makes me believe that it is no slander.

I can only compare this anonymous band of bums to a tangle of venomous snakes. The weakest, sickest, and least noxious snake wears a little crown. But this army of snakes has such a peculiar structure that it looks as though its crowned head were the one that bit and poisoned everything.

The rabble of Yildiz Kiosk is the real *bande de malfaiteurs* [band of crooks]. They always scatter after committing some infamy; and since there are always several of them, no one is responsible except him, the Master, in whose name the deed was done.

And to this name attaches all the horror which only a shrewdly cruel criminal on the throne could inspire, while in reality the criminals *surround* the throne.

In my idea for a play, *The Master,* I had had in mind just such a cowardly, unprincipled set of servants, enfeebled and enervated by the horrors of slavery, as represented by dependence on modern capitalism. The "Master," however, played by a comedian, was to be a stupid, weak, ludicrous figure, so that the absurdity of the lord might make the tragedy of dependence appear even more shattering. This ridiculous Sultan is almost the embodiment of my conception, and yet he is not, for I can't help feeling sorry for him. Perhaps I ought to add a new dimension to my idea for a play by making the manufacturer, the "Master," secretly a bankrupt.

I can still see him before me, this Sultan of the declining robber empire. Small, shabby, with his badly dyed beard which is probably freshly painted only once a week, for the *selamlik.* The hooked nose of a Punchinello, the long yellow teeth with a big gap on the upper right. The fez pulled low over his probably bald head; the prominent ears "serving as a pants-protector," as I used to say about such fez-wearers to my friends' amusement—that is, to keep the fez from slipping down onto the pants. The feeble hands in white, oversize gloves, and the ill-fitting, coarse, loud-colored cuffs. The bleating voice, the constraint in every word, the timidity in every glance. And *this* rules! Only on the surface, of course, and nominally.

But who is the real blackguard behind the grotesque mask of this poor Sultan?

Is it the 1st Secretary Tahsin Bey? Is it the 2nd Secretary Izzet Bey? Is it still others whom I don't know yet, lurking in the swamps and behind the bushes of that glorious Yildiz Kiosk?

Tahsin is a man of cold impassivity, Izzet is ready to pounce at any moment like a tiger.

Probably my best piece of work this time was the way I tamed the tiger Izzet. Surely he is ready to tear me to pieces at the first opportunity, but for the present he had to slink off snarling and craven, with his tail between his legs.

And this is what happened yesterday:

May 20, Trudel's birthday.

We packed all our trunks and bags the first thing in the morning, in order to be able to leave at noon. Oskar Mamorek was assigned to get everything ready for our drive to the station, so that we could still catch the Orient Express even if we got there at the last moment. I wouldn't let Wellisch accompany me this time, for Wolffsohn had told me that on the previous day he had fingered and sniffed the letter to Tahsin a bit conspicuously. I took Wolffsohn with me to the palace, and he had on him the letter with the 10,000 francs to give to Tahsin in case a *circonstance favorable* [favorable occasion] could be arranged. I wanted to make a friend of Tahsin, but didn't wish to risk an *éclat* [scandal] or a refusal of the money. The occasion would have to be taken accordingly.

Ibrahim Bey was already waiting for me when I arrived at the palace at 9 o'clock. I left Wolffsohn in the ante-chamber and went with Ibrahim into his office. First he gave me a message from the Sultan. H.I.M. (an awestruck bow at each mention of this hallowed pseudonym) was too busy to receive me at this time, but had asked him, Ibrahim, to communicate to him without delay whatever I had to say. H.I.M. had immediately read my yesterday's letter, or rather, had a translation of same made by the honest Ibrahim. His Most Illustrious Highness had even deigned to take cognizance of my missive on his afternoon walk. The great lord was very curious to learn my proposals, the more so as the finances at this particular time were in an even sadder condition than at any time since the

beginning of his glorious reign. The Sultan had also repeated a number of times my saying about the lion's thorn. Accordingly, why didn't I express my views to him, Ibrahim; it would almost be as if I submitted them directly to His Supreme Highness, for he would immediately write them down and send them over to the Sultan.

So I started right in, and Ibrahim took notes.

I gave a sort of systematic presentation, calculated for the weak brain of H.I.M. the Caliph. My oral outline broke down into two parts, which I clearly expounded to poor Ibrahim and had him write down in the following manner.

I. Negative Part.

a) Izzet's consolidation plan is impracticable and even to attempt it would be harmful.

b) All loans are inadvisable at present, the main reason being that in her present situation Turkey could only obtain money on the most severely usurious terms—*et encore* [and then]!

II. Positive Part.

a) Buying up the *dette* on the stock exchanges should be carried out in complete secrecy by a trustworthy syndicate, something that under the most favorable circumstances could be accomplished within three years.

b) Meanwhile, immediate requirements must be provided for, and, in particular, steps taken to meet the deficit of 1½ million pounds by October 1st.

c) During this time, however, tapping new sources of revenue should be studied and implemented.

III. General Rationale.

We Jews need a protector in the world, and we would like this protector (the aforementioned lion) to regain his full strength.

Ibrahim wrote and wrote, and made a clean copy of his notes—everything on the palm of his hand and on his propped-up knee,

Turkish fashion. Meanwhile I asked him to have me announced to Tahsin, to whom I wanted to pay a farewell visit. Tahsin again sent word that he was busy, and afterwards he was called to H.I.M.

At 11 o'clock Ibrahim had finished, sealed the report with reverential care, and sent it to H.I.M.

After a short time he was summoned by the Sultan, which I could tell from his slipping on his Turkish court-jacket. When he returned after a little while, Tahsin Bey was with him, positively amiable this time, something I couldn't immediately account for. He squeezed my hand, smiled, regretted he didn't have more time for me, and said with charming certainty that he counted on seeing me again soon in Constantinople.

Again I had to wait a short while. Time was passing; it was already unlikely that I could still catch my train. Suddenly the door opened, and who should jump in but the lean and malignant panther Izzet. He held in his hand a paper which I recognized immediately: it was the strictly confidential report which I had dictated to Ibrahim and which was intended only for H.I.M. The former American Ambassador, Straus, had told me in Vienna long ago that H.I.M. was a *scoundrel.** Was this the "*secret, secret*" that he had promised me with eyes solemnly upturned?

Izzet brandished the paper grimly and triumphantly, as if to say: "What? You never guessed, did you, you Jewish dog, that I would get my hands on your scheme and tear your intrigue to bits!"

He cleared the decks for action. So did I.

"*En quoi, Monsieur, le projet de l'unification de la dette est-il nuisible* [In what way, sir, is the plan for consolidating the debt harmful]?" he asked harshly, and I recognized that my proposal had thwarted his thievish designs.

At first I gave way before his onslaught. I tried to be polite.

"*Je ne dis pas que l'idée n'est pas bonne* [I am not saying that the idea isn't good]," I said.

"*Ah, elle est donc bonne* [Ah, then it *is* good]?" he said sarcastic-

* In English in the original.

ally, and then he imperiously turned to Ibrahim: "*Ecrivez* [Write]!"

So Ibrahim was supposed to take down a statement which would evidently be submitted to the Sultan, garnished with lies.

But that "*Ecrivez!*" and Izzet's furious glance drew my attention to the full extent of the danger. He now intended to ruin me and discredit me in the eyes of the Sultan. In a moment I had regained my fighting spirit, and calmly said to Ibrahim:

"*Oui, Excellence, écrivez! L'idée est bonne et belle, comme il serait beau aussi de voler* [Yes, Your Excellency, write! The idea is good and fine, just as it would be fine to *voler**]. . . ."

A furtive look suddenly came into Izzet's eyes. Did I mean stealing or flying?

I politely added:

"*De voler dans l'air. Mais c'est impossible dans ces circonstances. Et puisque vous pourriez, en tentant l'impossible vol aérien, tomber et vous casser quelque chose, l'idée est nuisible. La tentative n'aurait d'autre résultat que de faire monter le cours des titres turques en Bourse, mais l'opération est infaisable. Vous ne trouverez jamais les trente millions de livres nécessaires pour commencer le rachat. Et même si vous les trouviez, les cours monteraient par suite de vos achats et 30 millions ne suffiraient plus du tout* [Fly in the air. But under the circumstances this is impossible. And since in attempting the impossible aerial flight you might fall and break something, the idea is harmful. The only result of the attempt would be to raise the price of Turkish bonds on the stock market—but the operation is impracticable. You will never find the thirty million pounds needed to begin the redemption. And even if you found them, the price would go up as the result of your purchases, and the 30 millions would no longer suffice by a long shot]."

"*Ce n'est pas ce que j'ai voulu dire* [That isn't what I meant]," said the rogue, giving in. For that is what he had said yesterday.

I didn't make it hard for him to come round. After all, I wanted

* Translator's Note: *Voler* means both "to steal" and "to fly."

to win him over. And after I had shown him my clenched fist, I tried to make him tractable by glances.

As Ibrahim was present, I couldn't say anything to him; I could only look deep into his eyes and say: With our cooperation every financial operation on behalf of H.I.M. will turn out well. With our cooperation you will do well, etc. And many other tempting, promising *sous-entendus* [hints], which I accompanied with a wink.

I looked at my watch. We had missed the train. Then I made a mistake, maybe a big one, but perhaps not one at all. I went outside and handed Wolffsohn the letter for Tahsin which had been prepared in the hotel, for immediate delivery. In this letter I told him that I would send him, through Vámbéry, the message that he had refused to accept from Wolffsohn yesterday.

When I returned to the office, Ibrahim and Izzet arose according to Turkish custom and did not sit down until I had done so.

The conversation continued. Izzet was more gentle. We talked about the *ressources à créer* [revenues to be created]. H.I.M. was offering me the exploitation of five monopolies: mines, oil fields, etc. Presumably this meant that we were to raise the money for the purpose. They would like to clean us out. I looked friendly and dense: that could be done all right.

Then Izzet blurted out:

"We need about four million pounds in the near future. We have ordered warships, etc. In short, we need something like four million. Could you get that for us?"

"I think it possible. I should have to consult my friends. Everything would depend on the attitude His Imperial Majesty would adopt toward us Jews."

"What is your idea," asked Izzet, "for raising and covering such a loan?"

I still didn't want to come right out with the Charter, but wanted to let them work up to it, and said I would send them word in three or four weeks, after I had consulted with my friends.

It was at this point, I think, that Ismail Hakki Bey, Tahsin's confidential dragoman, came in, and with a very unfriendly air—

obviously on purpose, because of the presence of Ibrahim and the mortal enemy Izzet—asked me what kind of message was mentioned in my letter. Tahsin requested me to send him the message through Ismail Hakki.

Izzet pricked up his ears, and I saw him give Ibrahim a knowing wink. They guessed that money was involved. I couldn't understand what was going on. Did Tahsin want to nail my attempted bribery? Was he simply asking for money? Since I wasn't sure about the local set-up, but knew in any case that I was in the presence of the enemy, I said as nonchalantly as possible that it was something Prof. Vámbéry had asked me to communicate to him and which I would write him before I left.

Ismail Hakki went out angrily.

We, however, went on with our conversation, which now reached an unexpected climax.

H.I.M. asked me, through Izzet and Ibrahim, what about the citizenship of those Jews who wanted to do business, in one form or another, with or inside Turkey.

"*Ils peuvent venir chez nous, les Israélites,*" said Izzet in his barbarous French, "*mais ils doivent accepter la sujétion ottomane. Par exemple, si vous rachetez les titres de la dette publique, les membres devront être des sujets de S.M.I. Ainsi de même ceux qui viennent comme colons. Ils devraient non seulement devenir sujets turques mais aussi renoncer à leur sujétion antérieure et se faire attester leur sortie de la sujétion par le gouvernment respectif* [The Israelites can come here, but they must agree to become Ottoman subjects. For instance, if you buy back the bonds of the Public Debt, the participants will have to become subjects of H.I.M. The same thing applies to those who come in as colonists. They must not only become Turkish subjects, but must also renounce their previous allegiance and must have this renunciation documented by the government concerned]."

"*Et faire le service militaire si S.M.I. les appelle sous les drapeaux* [And perform military service if His Imperial Majesty calls them to the colors]," said Ibrahim.

"*Dans ces conditions-là on pourrait recevoir les Israélites de tous*

les pays chez nous [Under these conditions we could let in the Israelites of every land]," said Izzet with the friendliness of a hyena.

I thought to myself: "*Eine gute Kränk,* [You should live so long]!" It would just suit Messieurs Izzet and Company for us to bring in poor men and rich men for them to plunder. But that wasn't the moment to raise objections with blackguards from whom, at a later date, the Charter will have to be bought section by section anyway.

So I pretended to be delighted at the prospect of coming under the old reliable and glorious sceptre of Abdul Hamid, and said I was agreeable to entering into details.

"For another thing, colonization must not take place in masses. Instead, let us say, five families here and five there—scattered, without connection."

"So you can plunder and slay them more easily?" I thought to myself and made a friendly face expressing agreement.

"Even though I wouldn't have the slightest objection to such a dispersion, certain technical and economic difficulties nevertheless militate against it. Last year, as you know, His Imperial Majesty was gracious enough to make some land in Anatolia available to Rumanian Jewish refugees. With all gratitude for so much generosity I still was not in favor of scattered settlements, because the economic foundation was lacking. Such haphazard emigration must not be encouraged. There is no point to it. What could be done, however, is to organize a great land company to which uncultivated territory could be assigned and which could then settle people on it. Surely there is land enough in Palestine which could be used for such a purpose. If this land company, which would no doubt have to be an Ottoman corporation, were given a suitable concession, it could make the land arable, settle people, and pay taxes. And on the prospective income of this land company, money could perhaps be borrowed in advance. You would have a *ressource* [source of revenue] right there."

In that inoffensive form I propounded the Charter to the Sul-

tan's representatives for the first time, and contented myself with their listening to all these suggestions.

It will be time enough to elaborate on the matter in the subsequent negotiations, and gold will serve to sweep away all the misgivings of doughty Izzet and his likes.

Izzet disappeared, ostensibly in order to inform H.I.M. of everything I had said. After a while he returned with a farewell greeting from H.I.M., who expects my definite proposals within a month.

Thus we have actually entered upon negotiations for the Charter. All it takes now to carry out everything that I have designed is luck, skill, and money.

At the present stage, I am giving the grant of a Charter more the character of a favor rendered to us in order to awaken our sympathies for the Turkish Empire.

Et nous verrons après [And after that we shall see]!

These were the noteworthy incidents of May 20, 1901, the ninth birthday of my daughter Trudel.

So far there is not much that is tangible in these results, and yet I already see in them the embryo of the whole.

May 24, Vienna

Returned home yesterday evening. There has only been a trickle of news from Constantinople. The *N. Fr. Pr.* has been silent, of course. My Dad told me that the fellows had sent someone to my house to get my address. My Dad went to the office last Saturday and spoke with Benedikt, also showed him my telegram saying: "Trip most satisfactory, homeward bound Monday." Benedikt said: "That's terrific." But they definitely counted on my supplying that essay promised for the Pentecost number.

I am now writing to Benedikt:

Dear Friend:

I returned home last night. I am planning to write the Pentecost *feuilleton*. It is a simple love story entitled "Sunset." Since I assume

that you want it for the main section and not the supplement, I shall turn in the manuscript tomorrow evening.

I suggest that you run the enclosed item among the despatches.

Of course, I need have no fear that the matter will be taken up further in the paper, but by way of precaution I would recommend awaiting my oral information.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,
Herzl.

Enclosure. (Despatch):

Constantinople (Special). The Sultan has bestowed the Grand Cordon of the Mejidiye Order on Dr. Theodor Herzl of Vienna, whom he had received in a two-hour audience last Friday after the *selamlik*.

* * *

Addendum: The letter which I addressed to the Sultan on Sunday, May 19th:*

Sire:

The gracious welcome with which Y.I.M. has deigned to honor me has gone straight to my heart, and I beg Y.I.M. to count me among his most devoted servants.

It is for this same reason that I request the honor of being received again before my departure which must be effected tomorrow, Monday, on the Orient Express, because my duties recall me to Vienna.

The information which H.E. Izzet Bey was good enough to give me on orders from Y.I.M. has sufficiently enlightened me on the project in question, and from now on I shall be able to express my humble opinion if Y.I.M. does me the signal honor I am requesting. It would be most useful if this could be done orally.

* Translator's Note: At this point the original manuscript contains the rough draft of the letter to the Sultan, in French.

I have another scheme to submit in the profoundest secrecy, to the lofty wisdom of Y.I.M.,

[Instruction to Embassy:
I shall have another,
final talk with Izzet]*

and this very day, because Y.I.M. may wish to go into the details and the explanations might take some hours.

The hour may have come in which the lion will be relieved of his thorn. God the Almighty, who is above us, willing, Turkey has arrived at a turning point in its history, and the glorious reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan II, so beloved by his Moslem and Jewish subjects whom he makes happy, will cover it with new splendor. I am very moved as I direct these words from a sincere heart to the august person of Your I.M.

I have the honor to be, Sire, Your I.M.'s very faithful and obedient servant,

Dr. Th. H.

Whit-Monday, May 27, Vienna

Yesterday or today it is six years since I visited Baron Hirsch and, following his refusal, decided to create the Jewish State on my own.

What travels, what travails!

May 27, in Vienna

I am writing to Benedikt in order to avoid seeing him and letting him get me excited, because I definitely have to leave tomorrow:

May 28, 1901

Dear Friend:

It is better if I write you than if I talk with you about it. A few weeks ago you told me that such altercations get you a bit excited,

* In German in the original.

and that certainly isn't necessary. At that time I explained to you that I don't feel quite happy in my position with the *N. Fr. Pr.*, because I am more dependent than is in keeping with my temperament. No matter how amiable and amicable you and Dr. Bacher may always have been toward me, still, I didn't feel the way I would have wanted to.

The "editorship" of the *feuilletons* and of the literary section of the *N. Fr. Pr.* cannot satisfy me.

Now I have searched my mind and am making you a proposition. The reason for my dissatisfaction and nervousness is the above-mentioned "editorship" of the literary section, etc. This is a cobweb and a suit of mail. I am superfluous there, and yet tied down. If at any time I want to get away for a week or two, it is a whole project. To the extent that it isn't mere pen-pusher's work, Dr. Ganz, for instance, could and would easily take care of it. That you don't give the literary editor his independence I understand perfectly; a newspaper can be run only by a central will. Anyone can draft a telegram to Dreyer or Brieux.

If I may be so immodest as to speak of the small value which I may have to the *N. Fr. Pr.*, it can be only that of my articles. But I can also write them the way Wittmann does, that is, without working at the office. If I am in Vienna, I can come to the office every day, to hear what is going on, to keep in touch, and you commission a *feuilleton*. When I am in the country, the same thing can be done by telephone or telegraph. If, finally, it should happen that I take a trip for a week or two, I can send a *feuilleton* a week, as I have been in the habit of doing from Paris or London in the last few years. This expresses the essence of my relationship to the *N. Fr. Pr.* Naturally, I could imagine this form of relationship to the paper only under the condition that my emolument remain the same. The fact that part of my income is put down for the "editorship" you called only a matter of bookkeeping at the time, and I have never regarded it as anything different.

May I request you to address your kind reply to my father, Mr. Jacob Herzl. He will forward it to me, for I should like to take another trip of a few weeks; naturally, this will exhaust my vaca-

tion. Then, from the end of June on, you can count on my *feuilletons* each week even during the *saison morte* [dead season], if you so desire.

With the kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Th. Herzl.

* * *

To Crespi, May 28, 1901, Vienna:*

Dear Sir:

I am leaving today for several weeks, and this is why I am sending you the enclosed check for a thousand francs, covering the month of June, before June 1st.

Please address your letters to me in a double envelope to Dr. O. Kokesch, Tuchlauben 17, Vienna I.

Expecting your useful information and begging you to convey my kindest regards to our eminent friend, I am

Cordially yours,
Herzl.

May 28, Vienna.

To Ibrahim Bey:*

Your Excellency:

Permit me to send you a little souvenir of the fine hours during which I had the honor and the pleasure of meeting with you in your devotion to H.I.M. It is a snuff-box, which I am sending by mail.

The kettle plates have been ordered and will be sent to you next week.

* In French in the original.

By doing me the honor of accepting these trifles you will give me evidence of your good will which I value so highly.

I am setting out today with the purpose you know about.

With the expression of my profound respect and gratitude,

Faithfully yours,
Th. Herzl.

May 29, on the express train to Franzensfeste,
to see Vámbéry

Yesterday there was quite an uproar before my departure, until I finally landed at the Südbahnhof [Southern Railroad Station] four minutes before the express train left and was just able to have my suitcase thrown into the baggage car, but didn't have time to register it.

In the morning I went to see Dirsztay, who read me vilifying and threatening letters from that blackguard Crespi. This Dirsztay seems to be a Jew as dirty as he is rich, of the *apikorsim* [free-thinking] kind. For he evidently has Crespi do him favors in return for promising this Levantine scamp to put in a good word for him with me. For this intercession he probably wants some decoration, unless he even uses it for speculation—he, who gets an annual stipend of hundreds of thousands of guilders from his father-in-law.

Of course, I acted as though I didn't think ill of him, but asked him to write his friend Crespi that he shouldn't dare to write me in an insolent tone, for otherwise I would immediately and without further ado break off relations with him. Naturally I wouldn't be taken in by Crespi's lie that he hadn't got anything of the 30,000 francs. I hadn't even checked on whether I was being cheated or not. But they shouldn't take me for an idiot, even if I acted generously. Dirsztay obsequiously promised me to write quite in accordance with my wishes.

Then I drove to see Ambassador Mahmud Nedim Bey, who greeted me with the words "Congratulations, effendi!"

And immediately he was off and told me all his worries and stupidities. *That* a diplomat?! What am I, then?

He grumbled about all his secretaries, who were spying on him, slandering him, and not doing any work. Nothing but liars, blockheads, and blackguards. The First Secretary of the Embassy, he said, was writing reports to Constantinople in which he, the ambassador, was presented as a drunkard who staggered about plastered all day *et ne peut tenir sur ses quatre pieds* [and can't keep on his four feet]. On my four feet! said the jackass. And to make it even more graphic for me, he got up and with a serious expression performed the actions of a souse, babbling and reeling about. This solo comedy-act took about half a minute. If I had hitherto been able to take his inanities for a shrewd pretense at simple-mindedness—it was that improbable that an ambassador could really be so stupid—after his ridiculous behavior there could no longer be any doubt that he really was an ass.

Then he vilified the Second Secretary, who, he said, came from his mistress at 9:30 in the morning, smoked a few cigarettes, and left again at 11, with which his work was done. Then he berated the embassy councillor whom they had assigned to him, an ignorant Egyptian who couldn't read or write, and the husband of a Mohammedan woman who attended evening parties in low-cut dresses. She is the Khedive's sister, and had wanted him to introduce her to the Emperor. But her brother had flatly refused her this, because it ran counter to Mohammedan custom. And the way he tried to illustrate all this for me by examples from Judaism: it was as if I wanted to serve pork to a Rabbi on Saturday, or offer him a cigar.

Then he complained about conditions in Turkey—the mismanagement, the rascalities. They still owed him £4,500 in back pay, and he had to pay 10% of his salary to usurers. *Je fis la sourde oreille* [I turned a deaf ear]. If he should ever be able to be of use, I shall get him the loan at 4 or 5%.

He also spoke critically of Izzet whom he called *le mauvais génie* [the evil genius]. He had already fallen from favor once, it was true, but the Sultan could not part with this sharer of secrets. If

he should disappear, however, the Sultan would surely offer four candles "*dans une église non catholique* [in a non-Catholic church]."

Tahsin, he said, was somewhat better. But Mahmud Nedim can't forgive him for his failure to have the £4,500 *arrièrés* [arrears] paid to him, although the Sultan had already issued two *irades* to this effect. The secretaries Tahsin and Izzet did whatever they wanted. But Tahsin was the more loyal one, and even though, for example, he seemed to be the creature of Maximow, the Russian, this was surely happening with the Sultan's knowledge and approval.

Mahmud Nedim was visibly impressed when I told him about my long audience with the Sultan. I said that I had to keep silent about its contents, but I was authorized to transmit my letters to the Sultan directly through Ibrahim. In reply to my request to send my letter through the *courrier de l'ambassade* [diplomatic pouch] he told me that they had no such institution. Every ambassador, he said, sends his letter by ordinary mail! But he did place his code key to Tahsin at my disposal, and we arranged that he would sign his letters and telegrams to me "Dym." I shall sign mine to him "old man."

Dirsztay had told me that permission to wear my Grand Cordon would be granted by the Austrian government only upon the request of the Turkish ambassador. This seemed improbable to me, because surely an ambassador cannot do anything but what his master wishes—in one of his stupid remarks Mahmud Nedim had represented himself as the former's "*exécuteur testamentaire*" [executor of his testament]—but I requested him to do it anyway. He refused, perhaps out of innate malevolence, but perhaps because he really is unable to. *Je n'insistais point* [I didn't insist at all] and said I would take it up with Koerber as soon as the decree arrived.

Then we parted friends.

* * *

In the afternoon the A.C. met at my home, and I gave instructions for the period of my absence.

* * *

I shall write Nuri from Paris that he shouldn't let Crespi bother me.

May 29, evening
On the train, between Innsbruck and Munich.

Vámbéry entered my compartment at Mühlbach, we rode to Franzensfeste, and over lunch at the local inn I gave him my report. He thought what I had achieved tremendous. I for my part told him that he had accomplished a great deal more than he had promised me. To this he replied: "You are a noble person for not minimizing this now."

He thinks that we shall have the Charter this very year. He plans to go to Constantinople again in September. Meanwhile he would like me to make a draft of the Charter which he intends to present to the Sultan and get it signed by him without any Secretary or Minister finding out about it.

For this I promised him 300,000 guilders and a eulogy in world history.

He showed himself receptive to both.

I also asked him to get Wolffsohn and Oskar Marmorek one order second class each.

Moreover, he should write Tahsin that I was his friend, and to the Sultan, that I am now traveling to various courts in order to dispel the concern that my appearance in Constantinople on behalf of Palestine may have given rise to. Also, that I was going to render the Sultan journalistic assistance once I had straightened out his finances for him.

May 31, morning, on the Orient Express, outside Paris

Yesterday, then, I visited the good Grand Duke. This time the audience did not take place without difficulty. The train which

I took there from Munich was more than an hour late, because earlier a train had been derailed at a Bavarian station. I arrived at Karlsruhe at four instead of three. At the hotel I was told that the Grand Duke had expected me two days ago and had twice sent messengers there. Yesterday at three, too, a court lackey had been there to tell me to come to the palace the minute I arrived from the station. However, the train had been sectioned in Württemberg, because they had not been able to straighten out the Bavarian delay, and one section of the train had arrived in Karlsruhe at three; when I wasn't on it, the Grand Duke probably thought I wasn't coming at all, although I had sent him a telegram from Munich.

When I had them telephone the palace right after my arrival to say that I was here, the answer was "the Grand Duke has no more time today" for me.

In giving me this message, the hotel clerk, who had treated me submissively, made the face expressing ironic regret which one shows to courtiers who have fallen from favor.

But his saying that the Grand Duke had probably gone to Baden-Baden was worse. Then the chances for an audience were dim. I already resigned myself to the idea of losing a day in Karlsruhe. But I personally telephoned the palace to say that I was expecting H.R.M.'s orders.

I was now at liberty to be bored stiff for two hours and meditate about the difficulties of dealing with princes.*

But at half-past six a telephone message came from the palace, saying that the Grand Duke was expecting me at 8 o'clock. I was to wear my overcoat. Not *evening dress,*** then.

I had them harness the hotel carriage for me, packed my suitcase in such a way that I could depart at the last moment even if the audience should take a long time, and made a careful toilet. Frock coat, but without the Mejidiye rosette. I didn't want to appear to

* Translator's Note: Herzl's phrase is *über das Kirschenessen mit Fürsten,* based on the idiom *mit ihm ist nicht gut Kirschen essen,* "beware of eating cherries with him," i.e., he is hard to get along with.

** In English in the original.

be *fishing for decorations.** At this particular time a German decoration would be a great impediment to me. At five minutes to eight I drove up to the palace courtyard in style. The guards almost presented arms. When I didn't return the half-salute, the soldiers smiled.

At the gate ramp the lackeys helped me out of the carriage like an old acquaintance. And so I stood once again in the flag room with the war pictures. Waiting among these flags and pictures is another recurring chapter in the novel of my life.

I had thought that the invitation for 8 o'clock meant a dinner invitation and had not eaten. I hadn't had anything since 11 o'clock that morning. But one should always eat before going to see princes; for they don't know that ordinary mortals have stomachs too.

At 8 o'clock the changing of the guard took place. The young fellows marched across the palace yard at a goose-step. Then I had no diversion until half-past eight and stood till I was fit to drop.

Finally, at half-past eight, the Grand Duke opened the door to the red salon, so familiar to me by now, and gave me a very friendly greeting. We seated ourselves in the red salon in armchairs, and he began by saying that he had already learned the gratifying news from the *Welt,* which he read regularly, and from Hechler. Hadn't he always told me that I must try to get to the Sultan directly?

Parbleu [My heaven]! I thought to myself.

He himself and the Kaiser must not dare to come out in behalf of our cause, out of consideration for the German Jews, for people might interpret it to mean that they wanted to be rid of their Jews. Caution was required on account of the anti-Semites as well, for they could support the movement in a compromising manner: Out with the Jews! Anti-Semitism was altogether a dangerous and detestable movement which ought to be opposed everywhere.

Très bien! mais ça ne faisait pas du tout mon affaire [Very well! but that didn't serve my purpose at all].

I said: "I too believe that at present the German government cannot stand up for the Zionist movement in a tangible way, but

* In English in the original.

for a different reason. It will be possible, when the time comes, to make the German Jews understand that precisely as German patriots they can and should support our cause, even if they do not emigrate. For there are German interests in Asia Minor which would undoubtedly be served by it. The Jews all over the world are an element of German culture, which was shown conclusively by the language in which our Congresses were conducted. I can see another reason for the German government's reserve: namely, for Germany to set itself up as the patron of the Zionist movement would arouse the utmost distrust and jealousy of the other Powers. I understood this so well that I didn't bat an eye-lash when the protectorate promised in 1898 didn't materialize. And yet that was a frightful blow to me. Many who had already joined us dropped off when the magnificently staged reception in Jerusalem didn't lead to anything."

"I hope these weren't the most influential elements," said the Grand Duke regretfully.

"It took a great deal of steadfastness on my part to survive this blow. But I told myself that the only way in which I could show myself worthy of the trust placed in me would be to keep silent. People said that all the assertions about German good will were a fraud. I kept silent about that and let them snipe at me. It was part of the adverse reaction that the funds for publicity became scarce. On this occasion I should also like to rectify something that our good Mr. Hechler has done. He asked Your Royal Highness to donate money for the Zionist Bank. This happened without my knowledge and intention. He meant well. But it would be terribly painful to me if Your Royal Highness could believe for even a second that I was interested in anything but moral support."

He smiled amiably, every inch a king, and said:

"On this occasion, too, you are displaying the delicacy of feeling that you have shown from the beginning."

I said: "When I arrived in the city of the Sultan, my first impulse was to send word, through Hechler, to Your Royal Highness as the first patron of our cause."

He replied modestly: " 'Patron' is saying too much. Let us say 'helper!' "

After that I reported in brief and non-commital outline about what I had accomplished at Constantinople. I said that I hadn't got beyond the initial steps. In general, negotiations were only in an embryonic stage, and therefore I trembled greatly for this embryo. My particular worry was Russia which might interfere 'twixt the cup and the lip.

"Russia," said the Grand Duke, "is otherwise occupied. The Far Eastern difficulties are greater than was thought. There Russia has territorial complexes to defend which aren't easy to hold. Most of all, the popular principle of uniformity of language and faith cannot be put into effect there. In the Balkan peninsula, too, Russia has worries enough. It could happen that a crisis over the Serbian succession will lead to an enlargement of Montenegro. In any case, there are no interests in Palestine comparable to these which would be of major importance to Russia, with the exception of the religious ones. But surely you will take care not to infringe upon these?"

"Of course!" I said. "Jerusalem will remain *extra commercium* [untouched by business]."

"Incidentally, the present conditions there are rather a disgrace to the Christian creeds," said the Grand Duke. "But there is respect for the Turks, otherwise there would constantly be the greatest disorder. At any rate, a further expansion of the influence of the Greek Church would be neither possible nor desirable. But what do you want from Russia?"

"Nothing. Just an audience with the Czar."

"That young gentleman," said the Grand Duke, "despite all his ability has a very introverted, reserved nature. He certainly cannot be induced to make a decision. You would have to turn to other persons of his circle: Grand Duke Constantine, whom he has just made Inspector of Military Training, or to Minister Witte, to Lambsdorff, or to the new Minister of Education. Grand Duke Constantine seems to be a person of importance. He proceeds on the assumption that in an army spirit is more than numbers. That

was our good fortune in 1870. It was the spirit that fought our battles, even though we faced a ten-fold superiority. Constantine's wife, a German princess (I think he said the Princess of Anhalt), was in Baden recently; she was the one who told me these things. It will show you what kind of woman she is if I tell you that she has remained a German and a Protestant in Russia. Through her I could get the Grand Duke interested in your cause and in you and get him to receive you."

"Perhaps it could also be done via Denmark?"

"Through the Emperor's mother? I don't think so. It will be hard to get the Czar anyway."

"I want nothing from him but an hour's conversation—a symbolic act of benevolence. As far as I am concerned, he can let me tell him something about the theatre in Paris. I need this conversation so that the Sultan in his timidity won't be afraid that he will provoke Russia against him if he has dealings with us. I don't want any help from Russia—on the contrary! For then we would get under its terrible thumb. Nor do I want a decision from the Czar. Rather, I shall be very glad if, after hearing me, he is just bored and dismisses the matter as uninteresting. My only desire in this is to reassure the Sultan."

"The Sultan is stronger than he thinks. You could and should draw his attention to this—now that you are a Knight of his Mejidiye Order!" he said teasingly. But he added: "This decoration has really caused a stir—the highest that he confers. That has given many people food for thought."

We spoke about many other things of no major *importance*. But I think he liked the idea that I didn't want any binding aid from Russia, and he offered to write to Grand Duke Constantine and recommend that he receive me. He promised me a prompt answer, because I told him that I didn't want to make the Sultan any proposals before I had assured myself of Russia's neutrality.

But he regarded the fact that the Sultan had permitted me to make propositions to him as an enormous success.

It was ten. I gave him to understand that my train was leaving

soon, and he dismissed me, amiably and charmingly as always, assuring me of his continuing favor.

He is the noblest person I know—cultivated, great-hearted, and helpful. There have been times when I considered him intellectually insignificant, but yesterday he was altogether independent and sagacious in his political remarks.

May 31, Paris

Immediately after my arrival I telephoned Reitlinger and asked him to come to see me. I told him everything and requested him to let me know by tomorrow whether he could raise at least £1½ million for the Charter; I told him that I wanted to try the I.C.A., to be sure, but was under no illusions about the envy and jealousy of those people.

June 1, Paris

Yesterday, following an hour-and-a-half's conversation with Reitlinger whom I tried to entice a little as a Zionist and a lot as a businessman, I went to see Alex Marmorek at the *Taverne Royale.* Alex was very pleased about the success in Constantinople. However, he said that the Russian *Hovevei Zion,* who are at the same time members of the A.C., had received the news very coolly. As a matter of fact, Kokesch had already told me in Vienna that Tschlenow, Ussishkin, Bernstein-Kohan, and Barbasch had reproached us for having drawn upon Bank funds for such a purpose, though it was only a loan and on our personal responsibility.

They were against the Congress because we had nothing to "offer," and they don't consider the negotiations with the Sultan worth all that money.

And this at the very time when their humiliating visits of supplication to the I.C.A. and to Baron Edmond Rothschild have netted them the most disgraceful of rebuffs.

These are the "helpers" I have to work with.

Once the Jewish State is in existence, everything will appear small and obvious. Perhaps a fair-minded historian will find that it was something after all if an impecunious Jewish journalist in the midst of the deepest degradation of the Jewish people and at a time of the most disgusting anti-Semitism made a flag out of a rag and a people out of a decadent rabble, a people that rallied erect around this flag.

But all this and my skill in negotiating with Powers and princes are nothing.

No one can appreciate what I have done and what I have suffered who doesn't know

1) what I have endured these past six years with the *N. Fr. Pr.* when I had to tremble for my children's bread,

2) what toil and trouble procuring the funds for propaganda has caused me,

3) who my helpers have been. Those with the best intentions are either too poor or hamstrung or unsuited.

* * *

From the *Taverne Royale* we went to see Nordau. I made my report, in the middle of which I was interrupted by Feldmann the newspaper correspondent, an old comrade. He said in response to my questions that he knew absolutely nothing about the Zionist movement. He is a baptized Jew.

After he left I continued.

Then Nordau made a speech. My audience with the Sultan was a world-historic fact, but I had committed the enormous mistake of playing *va banque* [all or nothing]!

People were going to say later that I had forced my way to the Sultan under false pretenses, etc.

Bref, il m'a écoeuré [In short, he nauseated me].

No help might be expected from I.C.A., just as little as from Rothschild. When I interjected that I was considering requesting an audience with the Czar, so that the wealthy Russian Jews might be impressed and donate money, Nordau disposed of this by saying:

"That is a hallucination!"

Finally I proposed that the three of us should get together with Zadoc Kahn and ask him if he was willing to intervene with the I.C.A. and with Edmond Rothschild—provided that he expected some success from this, and at least no harm.

We were supposed to sleep on this and make our decision today.

June 2, Paris

The Reitlinger arrangement must, I believe, already be regarded as collapsed. Reitlinger despairs of getting rich Jews to cooperate in the matter.

I am making him the following proposal:

Since I consider it a waste of time to attempt to make Zionism intelligible to the rich Jews, he should try to set up a syndicate that would first of all subscribe and make available the £50,000 needed to enable the Bank to function. In return the syndicate will be given the option on the remaining 1½ million shares, to be exercised after the Colonial Trust has obtained the Charter, which it should be given.

Besides, the syndicate will get a share of 25 to 30% of all business which the Colonial Trust transacts with the Turkish government.

He is to think this over.

* * *

After the luncheon at Reitlinger's I took Alex to see Nordau.

The phenomenon Nordau is interesting to watch right now. He wishes me well—I am convinced of that—, but he has to make some effort to put up with my successes. If it were the other way around I would surely be no better, probably even much more envious.

He feels that certain humiliation common among relatives, as when a cousin's enterprise is successful. It expresses itself in cold criticism, putting a damper on my further hopes, and in an

unmistakable desire to view the matter as if I had made false representations to the Sultan—which, by the way, Nordau is prepared to forgive me, as a politician *sans scrupule* [without scruples].

However, the situation is different and therefore all the more splendid.

I made no definite offers in Constantinople, but only promised my efforts. Therefore I can say in three weeks: My Jews are favorably inclined in principle, but they would like to have an assurance first—*the Charter, for example!*

The upshot of the conversation at Nordau's was that we agreed to ask Zadoc Kahn for a conference. Alex immediately went to see him and made an appointment with His Jewish Eminence for today, 10:30 in the morning, at Nordau's home.

* * *

However, the most noteworthy thing yesterday was a letter from Moritz Benedikt which my Dad copied and sent to me.

Cruel Moritz writes with bewitching amiability. He appeals to my heart: "Wittmann is ill, Speidel is old, and you are tired of allegiance to the empire. Thus the whole burden lies on Bacher's shoulders and on mine." He wants to have a sensible heart-to-heart talk with me as soon as I return from my leave, which means that he recognizes the latter. I am not being treated as a deserter.

This means: he is afraid that I will raise the money for a new paper now and wants to make up with me. He says I should not start anything now. Therefore, when I come back he will either have to excuse me from working in the office, make me co-publisher, or sell me the *N. Fr. Pr.*

The first alternative would suit me best right now, although it is the least lucrative.

June 3, Paris

Yesterday, meeting with Zadoc Kahn at Nordau's; Marmorek present.

Afterwards the three of us took down a protocol and sent it to Zadoc.

Zadoc advised against the I.C.A., which is still unattainable for us now, but recommended us Edmond Rothschild. I said I was willing to go to him if Edmond Rothschild invited me and promised me discretion. However, it should be noted for the record that the initiative was not mine, but Zadoc's.

Nordau and Zadoc *se chamaillaient* [squabbled]; Nordau insulted Zadoc first. I succeeded in restoring the peace.

* * *

Result nil. Today Zadoc writes that Edmond is not willing.

* * *

Letter to Fr. Montefiore:

*Strictly confidential!**

June 4, 1901

Dear Sir Francis:

The latest infamy of the Rothschilds (the insulting denials in the *Financial News*, etc.) were the last straw. My patience is at an end and I intend to wage a campaign on the largest scale against these people. But this cannot be done with speeches and propaganda alone. A financial group to oppose them must be created. Now that I have returned from Constantinople with a tremendous success in my pocket (which I must not make public as yet), the time has come. I remember our last conversation in Green Park. You said that I should win over the Péreires. All right, I shall do my part. But for that I need you, Sir Francis! I know it is a sacrifice for you to come over here, on account of your sea-sickness. But I also know that you are just as ready to make sacrifices as I am. I beg you, come here to Paris the day after tomorrow. Then we shall go to see the Péreires together. I should like to have you, the head of the first and foremost Jewish firm, by my side when I go on this

* In English in the original.

errand. Surely you have some connections with the Péreires, and even if you don't, you haven't been the target of such attacks as I have.

It is entirely possible that the Péreires think me a dangerous person, if they have their information from the hostile press.

In short, this time I need you as I need no one else, Sir Francis!

Please wire me tomorrow whether I may count on you.

With cordial regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Th. Herzl.

* * *

Reitlinger wants to try to bring in the speculator Michel Ephrussi.

June 5, Paris

Yesterday evening, another attack of brain anemia. One day I shall remain in such a condition. I was just taking a drive in the Bois when I fainted in the carriage. At first I lay down on two chairs in the bushes, then drove home with greatly diminished consciousness. Today I feel better again. But my nerves are gone. I can't stand this flogging dead horses in the conferences at Nordau's every afternoon any more. Nordau paints a graphic picture for me of all the disagreeable things in store for me. The hostile press, he says, will say shortly that I am a new Baron Hirsch who wants to make business deals with Turkey on the backs of the Jewish people—*et autres bonnes choses* [and other nice things]. It's enough to give a man a stroke.

Nordau is *against* my speaking in opposition to the Rothschilds in London now. The speech would only cause a sensation, and we ought to keep away from demagogic declamations. As for benefit, Nordau foresees none from it.

June 6, Paris

My good English boys have immediately flocked to the colors.

Francis Montefiore—honor to him!—telegraphs that he plans to be here today.

Zangwill has arranged a *Maccabaean Dinner,** Cowen is making the general arrangements.

* * *

In any case, the English Jews present a picture quite different from that of the French. Yesterday I paid Zadoc Kahn a visit for the sake of appearances He defended the *mauvais vouloir* [ill will] of the Rothschilds, and said in his funny Alsatian French: "*Il vaut bourdant bleintre les riges* [Yet ve haf to piddy de rish]."

Bleintre les riges! That sufficiently characterizes the pious man.

* * *

Francis Montefiore is here, but doesn't know the Péreires. My first move now is to find out which Péreire is the master mind and what kind of a man he is. This afternoon Nordau is calling on a Comte de Larmandie, who knows Péreire, in order to get the necessary information from him. Then Sir Francis is to go to Péreire first and ask him whether he is willing to meet with me.

Today Nordau criticized to Alex—in my absence—the way I had acted up to now. He thinks me insincere and sneaky in my dealings with princes and the Jewish people. I believe that one day he will carry this censure of his into the open and disgrace himself, myself, and all of us with it.

In any event, his behavior at this moment is discouraging. Should things go wrong later, he will have covered himself. If things keep going well and upward, he will simply, *entre nous* [between us], have made a mistake—*et n'en parlons plus* [and let's not talk about it any more].

* In English in the original.

June 6, Paris.

Letter to the Sultan:*

Sire:

In accordance with Y.I.M.'s desire, I have set to work immediately.

I have the good fortune to be able to report today that matters stand well. Among my friends I have found dispositions that permit me to hope that I shall be able to submit definite proposals to Your Imperial Majesty this very month. But I must not gloss over the fact that there are also Jews who do not share my views.

Y.I.M. in your lofty wisdom will be able to make out easily whom and what interests those people are serving. It has seemed opportune to me first of all to create a current of opinion favorable to the general project of coming to the aid of the Ottoman finances, and to this end I shall make a speech in London next week, at a Jewish club of which I am an honorary member and which is tendering me a banquet. It is known in London as elsewhere that I do not pursue personal interests, and for this simple reason I believe that my words will produce a certain effect.

Perhaps the enemies, Jewish and non-Jewish, of the prosperity of the Ottoman Empire will also use the occasion to pounce upon me—but with the aid of God and the trust of Y.I.M. I shall proceed with the task I have undertaken, and I hope to succeed within a very short time.

The lion will be relieved of his thorn.

Begging Y.I.M. to continue to grant me your favor, which gives me the necessary courage and makes me proud and happy, I remain, Sire,

Y.I.M.'s very devoted and obedient servant,
Dr. Th. Herzl.

June 8, Paris

Yesterday I gave a luncheon at my hotel in honor of Francis Montefiore, and utilized the table talk to draw Nordau's attention

* In French in the original.

in a very delicate manner to the fact that I now need forbearance, and not criticism, from my friends. A man on a tight-rope should not be made dizzy.

At first he was piqued, but then he became pleasant and said: "You are right; all we can do now is hurry along with the mattress." (That is, in case there is a fall.)

No answer so far from Péreire as to whether he is willing to see us. Good Sir Francis has just gone there again. This goes to show what assurance great social standing gives a man. I would have thought that I would compromise my dignity terribly by it. Sir Francis simply hasn't received as many refusals in his life as I have.

* * *

The most elegant thing about yesterday's luncheon, which was very *chic* [smart] was Mr. Reitlinger's *mezummen bentshen* [joint after-dinner grace], in accordance with Nordau's truly discriminating suggestion. The yellow-damask-covered furniture of the Hotel Chatham had never heard anything like that.

June 10th, Hans's (tenth) eleventh birthday

On the train, between Folkestone and London.

I have now dozed and rested for 24 hours in Folkestone.

Before my departure from Paris, the Jerusalem Jew Navon Bey called on me with projects—a badly Parisianized Oriental Jew, type of red Oriental Jew, face of a bird of prey, furtive crook. He once made intrigues against me and now offers me his services. I let him come, in any case. He isn't going to cheat me.

June 11, London

Considering the hopelessness of winning over wealthy Jews, in Paris or anywhere, Alex Marmorek and Nordau suggested the idea of touching Carnegie, the American Croesus-philanthropist, for some money. Nordau expressed his willingness to go to see him,

introduced by the American Ambassador Porter. However, Porter was not in Paris. During the night before my departure it occurred to me that Hechler would be a better man for it.

I immediately sent him a telegram, and he is arriving here this evening.

Vámbéry is also here and will attend tonight's dinner of the Maccabean Club. Zangwill, who is very nice, sat up late into the night translating my speech.

June 13, London

*I am awfully dinnered.**

On commence à me s'arracher [I'm beginning to be in great demand].

The day before yesterday the *Maccabean Club Dinner** went off the way I had intended it to. I said so little that a lot can be conjectured.

The *press** has been rather good so far. I had a telegraphic news-agency wire a manifesto to America which Zangwill had to compose for me. I am asking £1½ million.

Yesterday noon I lunched at Lady Lewis's with a few Jewish ladies from among the *uppers,** got into a violent dispute with them, made an impression, and got further invitations.

But a more important figure has turned up: Mr. Bramley Moore, the bishop of the Irvingites, who once came to see me in Vienna.

Hechler is staying with him. Bramley Moore, too, is an ardent Zionist, and wanted to have me join him for luncheon yesterday. I came, but didn't eat anything, because I wanted to save my appetite for Lady Lewis's.

The bishop's house is very elegant. But in the drawing room a tabernacle is set up.

* In English in the original.

Then I decided, *au même titre que* [by the same token as] Hechler, to include Mr. Bramley Moore in the Carnegie project.

He felt moved, it seemed, to be collaborating on the *Jewish restoration.** He is a charming, good-humored old man *qui a la religion gaie* [whose religion is cheerful].

The bishop's wife is a nice, friendly old soul, too.

Bramley Moore proposed that we approach the Duke of Northumberland as mediator with Carnegie. I accepted this idea, and now I am waiting.

June 15, London

High society! *Society** is curious about me. I am an object of interest, a dish at the dinner-table; people come *to meet Dr. Herzl.**

Yesterday at Sir Francis's house with several ladies and gentlemen. Present: Princess Löwenstein, Lady Jane Taylor, and others whose names I didn't retain. Also Gilbert Farquhar, both a Lord and an actor.

I shall use Princess Löwenstein to get to the King. For they all invited me. Lady Jane was in the audience at the last Congress and told me that her daughters had envied her for having lunch with me.

Only the Jews of the *Upper Tens** won't hear of it.

June 17, Richmond

I have been here since yesterday, in order to have a rest and write the Sultan.

In the meantime, I have a few irons in the fire. I am having Zangwill pave the way to Carnegie for me. I sensed that he wanted to get into the act when I told him about our agreement in Paris

* In English in the original.

that Nordau should obtain an introduction to Carnegie from General Porter, the American Ambassador. Yesterday it occurred to me that Rudyard Kipling could be the intermediary, since Zangwill is on good terms with him. I wrote Zangwill from here to go to Brighton to see Kipling. Don't know if he'll do it.

On Saturday I sent Hechler to the Bishop of Ripon, a friend of the King's, in order to get me an audience with the King. Good Bishop Bramley Moore also thought this would raise my prestige. I would ask the King to tell his big Jews that they could help me without prejudice to their *English patriotism.**

On this occasion Hechler told me that after the first time I had called on Bramley Moore, the latter had immediately gone to the nearby Irvingite church with him. There Bramley had put on his bishop's vestments and said: Now let us pray to God and ask him what our duty is.

Good Hechler wept as he told me this, and I too was very touched.

These simple Christian hearts are much better than our Jewish clerics who think of their wedding fees from the rich Jews.

* * *

Alex Marmorek has been to London and had a breakdown when the experiments on animals, made by English physicians, failed completely. I cheered him up and told him that I had faith in him nevertheless and would get him the necessary money, which he can't get from any other source now. The only condition I made was that he must not leave his position at the Pasteur Institute until he felt secure. I told him that he had to take a six months' leave, but must not quit entirely.

* * *

Letter to the Sultan:**

Sire:

I have the honor to place at the foot of Your Imperial Majesty's Throne the result of my endeavors.

* In English in the original.

** In French in the original.

Following the line Y.I.M. saw fit to suggest to me, I believed it urgent first of all, that is to say, up to the month of October, to obtain a million and a half Turkish pounds to take the place, in a less burdensome way, of the difficult, if not impossible, task of consolidating the Debt.

The arrangement that my friends and I have worked out is as follows.

The 1,500,000 Turk. pds. could be raised by the immediate creation of a new source of revenue. But this source of revenue must, at the same time, be of a sort to make the Jews aware of the highly generous feelings toward them which Y.I.M. cherishes in his fatherly heart. In this way we shall prepare the ground for all future undertakings.

To this end my friends are willing to set up a joint-stock company with a capital of five million Turk. pds. The purpose of this company would be to develop agriculture, industry, and commerce—in short, the economic life of Asia Minor, Palestine, and Syria. All the necessary concessions being granted by Y.I.M.'s grace, the company would engage to pay an annual contribution of 60,000 Turkish pounds to Y.I.M.'s government; and on the basis of this contribution, guaranteed by the company's capital, a loan, to be amortized in 81 years, could immediately be floated. This loan would cost nothing, because the interest and amortization service would be absorbed by the company, which itself would take the bonds and then place them. The govt. would simply draw the 1,500,000 Turk. pds.

It is of course understood that the company must be incorporated in Turkey and that the Jewish immigrants it would bring in must immediately become Turkish subjects, accepting military service under the glorious banners of Y.I.M.

With the 1,500,000 pounds there would be time to study and exploit other sources of income. Y.I.M. deigned to speak to me about matches. Among my friends I have found some who will be able to handle it. In this matter, too, they will make every effort to offer the Imperial Govt. the most advantageous terms, so that the revenue from matches may be used as the basis for a further

loan, while not charging the tax payers too much. The procedure will be the same for exploiting sources of oil and mines and also electric power.

The proposals for these other projects will be worked out in detail and estimated as soon as Y.I.M. commands. The matter of the matches can be settled right away, while the others will need more time for study. And I take the liberty of adding that my disinterested service for all these projects is at the disposition of Y.I.M. even if Your Majesty should not believe it useful here and now to enter upon the plan for the Great Ottoman-Jewish Company for Asia Minor. Above everything I must prove that Y.I.M. has in me a zealous and loyal servant. I work for Y.I.M., asking only the honor and happiness of Your Majesty's exalted trust, because I am convinced that the time will not be long in coming when it will be realized that it is to the interest of the Ottoman Empire to attract the economic resources of the Jews and to protect our unfortunate people. Besides, it is in the highest interest of the Jews to see Turkey strong and flourishing. It is the idea of my life.

The plan for the Ottoman-Jewish Company, as well as giving a signal to the entire Jewish people, would have another advantage, namely, that taxable things—persons and property—would increase in all the provinces where the Company operated. The Company itself would pay more and more taxes with the growth of its business. Jewish capital would flow in from every quarter to establish itself there and to remain in the Empire. At the same time this quiet work, which has been called "removing the lion's thorn," will go on without the knowledge of those who wish harm to the Empire.

There is only a word to be added. If Y.I.M. wishes the arrangement for the 1,500,000 pounds to be made by October, there is no time to lose. We must not lose sight of the fact that businessmen and financiers require definite agreements to pay over the necessary sums. We must count on at least three months before the capital is turned over. If Y.I.M. in your lofty wisdom decides that it is opportune to enter upon these negotiations in order to have the 1,500,000 pounds at your disposal for the month of October, the

concessions for the Grand Company ought to be fixed at the beginning of July. If I receive the order to come to Constantinople, I shall come without delay. In that case, in my humble opinion, it would be desirable to summon at the same time my excellent friend, Professor Vámbéry, who is such a profoundly devoted servant of Y.I.M. and who, with his knowledge of the general situation of the country, could be very useful.

I do not know if I am permitted to mention one other thing. I do it very reluctantly, wishing above all not to displease Y.I.M. in any way. Someone came looking for me to tell me that in Paris there is a writer, M. Ahmed Riza, who has become known by his attacks upon the Imp. Govt. I was told that there is a way to stop these attacks. I simply took note of the statement without committing myself in any way at all, for it is not my business to get mixed up in matters of this kind, so anxious am I to serve Y.M.'s august person on every occasion. I shall do nothing without an order; I shall not even see this man without authorization. But if Y.I.M. believes it useful, I will take up the matter, and it is of course understood that for putting an end to the attacks I will accept no recompense except Y.I.M.'s word of commendation, which is for me the greatest recompense.

I have, Sire, the honor to be

Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant.

June 18, London

Covering letter to Ibrahim.*

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to send you, enclosed herewith, a letter which, I dare to hope, will please H.I.M.

I must remain in London until June 25; I shall go from here to Altaussee to rest for several days with my family.

If H.I.M. has any commands to give me, until June 25 a telegram

* In French in the original.

will reach me at the Hotel Cecil, London, and after June 30 at *Altaussee, Styria, Austria.*

This evening I am to have the pleasure of seeing your son.

Please accept, Your Excellency, my highest regards and gratitude.

Your ever devoted,
Th. H.

June 19

Hechler returned from the Bishop of Ripon with the message that the latter would first have to see me before recommending that the King receive me.

Since I am endeavoring to organize a *round-table conference** with the *big Jews** and to get to the elusive Carnegie, I shall wait here for the Bishop till Monday and then urge him to take me to Sandringham on Tuesday.

June 25, Tuesday

Aboard the Folkestone-Boulogne ferry.

In London I was overtired and irritable, but today there is fair weather again. A calm sea.

Yesterday wasn't bad. I had a conversation of no immediate benefit with Claude Montefiore, the head of our opponents, at Gaster's home. At the moment Gaster is loyal to my empire again. Claude is a stupid ass who affects English correctness. I needled him with chivalrous opposition. He was afraid of me and fled; but he promised to examine any proposals of mine that might come before the I.C.A. without prejudice.

Then I drove to see Dr. Boyd Carpenter, the Bishop of Ripon.

* In English in the original.

He and his intelligent wife were *very nice indeed.** The bishop and I looked deeply into each other's eyes, and we liked each other. He put himself completely at my disposal for interceding with the King. However, an audience couldn't be arranged in 24 hours. But wouldn't it be worth a trip to me at some later date? It certainly would.

In the evening I went to see the banker Seligmann who likewise promised his *bons offices* [good offices] with the *gros légumes* [big-shots] Montagu etc. as soon as I had the Charter. This promise suffices me for the time being. Now the Sultan must give me an answer.

Naturally I didn't expect to be given money on the basis of my vague disclosures. I went to Paris and London to make it appear to the Sultan that I had been in Paris and London. Everything I wrote him from London I could have told him right there in Constantinople.

July 10, Vienna

Letter to Councillor-of-State von Hauer, regarding the Vogel trial:

My dear Sir:

Permit me most kindly to trouble you *privatim* [in private] with the answer which I felt too embarrassed to give you in public yesterday.

As it was, I already had the disagreeable feeling of striking a braggart's pose, although you do know that I had never volunteered to testify. You asked me, honorable Mr. State's Attorney, whether Taubin's very first offer had not given me pause. It did not! For I myself had made great financial sacrifices for the Zionist cause, considering my circumstances, and so had a number of my friends. At bottom, Taubin intended to give his money away without any personal sacrifice, because he couldn't, after all, take

* In English in the original.

it with him. Despite this I thought that I could act no differently, for the Zionist movement, which is and shall remain ethical, must not accept any money of dubious purity. He did not want to give it to his relatives; this is my conviction, although I don't like the avaricious Vogel and have no connection of any sort with him. I am not even a Freemason.

Please don't take this imposition amiss. I have such a high opinion of the office which you exercise earnestly and strictly that I believe myself entitled to send you this contribution to the truth which you are seeking.

With deep respect, I am

Very sincerely yours,
Th. H.

July 20, Alt-Aussee

A charming letter has come from the Grand Duke. (Encl. 1 in the envelope of Summer, 1901).

Grand Duke Constantine *se heurtait à un refus du Czar* [met with a rebuff from the Czar].

On the other hand, Katzenelsohn, who came to Vienna to see me, reports that Ssipyagin regarded the scheme as not impossible. Ssipyagin referred him to the Adjutant-General—von Hess, I believe—who declared he was willing, but desired, through his brother-in-law, a reciprocation, about 10,000 rubles. Since we have no money, I asked that the matter be postponed until autumn. Then I may also get to Edward VII, through Lord Suffield, whom Zangwill has got hold of. At the moment, until I have an answer from the Sultan, I don't want any audiences. Vámbéry consoles me, saying that things are always done that slowly down there. After all, I shall still have time enough to move the lower world. Crespi reports that Calice is intriguing against me, furious at my Grand Cordon; further, that Constans wants to arrange the finances with

the aid of Rouvier, and of this I notified Vámbéry *in usum Angliae* [for use in England].

Letter to the Grand Duke:

July 22

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,
Most Gracious Prince and Lord!

Only today am I able to reply to Your Royal Highness' kind holograph letter, with my most respectful thanks, because I have been out of town. Under the present circumstances, even H.M. the Czar's refusal does not discourage me, because I did not intend to request any definite aid, but only benevolent inactive interest, as I permitted myself to state at Karlsruhe.

I shall faithfully follow Your Royal Highness' advice as soon as the opportunity presents itself. Requesting the continuance of this good will, which I count among the greatest rewards of my modest activity, I remain with the deepest gratitude and my most heart-felt respect

Your Royal Highness' ever-loyal servant,
Dr. Th. H.

To Badenweiler Palace.

July 26, Alt-Aussee

On the 15th Vámbéry wrote me that even before my arrival Ambassador Constans had offered the Sultan four million francs (so little?); but this financial arrangement had been wrecked by intrigues, and he, Vámbéry, had heard in authoritative circles in London that they were in favor of our driving a Jewish wedge between the Franco-Russian machinations. He intends to be with the Sultan again in September and to give things a push.

Wellisch reports that now the financial distress is very acute again.

Crespi reports that the Rothschild representative is agitating against us.

July 28, Alt-Aussee

While in London I planted *jalons* [stakes] to enable me to meet with Cecil Rhodes, who may be able to get me the money I need. His South Africans could privately buy up the bonds of the Turkish debt, and then I would tell the Sultan: here is the liberation from the debt in return for surrendering Palestine—and to the Jews I would say: here you have Palestine in return for x plus y, x being the amount it cost the South Africans to buy up the bonds, y the profit they stipulated.

On instructions from me, Joe Cowen asked Mr. Stead to intercede with Rhodes for a meeting. Today Joe sends me Stead's reply from which I extract the following passage:*

I told him that Herzl would come and see him any day that was convenient; that he wanted to discuss with the one founder of States that modern times had produced. Rhodes said: "If he wants any tip from me, I have only one word to say, and that is: let him put money in his purse"—which was very characteristic of Rhodes.

Rhodes had further expressed the opinion that Asiatic Turkey ought to be turned over to Germany, since England could not rule the whole world and needed a buffer area between herself and Russia. Rhodes is also said to be quite charmed with the German Kaiser.

Thereupon I telegraphed Cowen:**

Tell him my excellent relations to William.

* Original text.
** In English in the original.

August 6, Alt-Aussee

I am now studying Turkish together with Hans.

August 6

Letter to Crespi: *

Dear Sir:

To my great surprise you are not keeping me informed about what goes on.

Every project and proposal interests me. What has happened about the Debt? What is being done?

With kind regards,
Herzl.

In yesterday's evening edition of the *N. Fr. Pr.* it says that the Sultan has come out against the *dette publique*. Perhaps this is already a manoeuvre to force the rates of exchange down.

August 7, Alt-Aussee.

My good *Vámbéry bácsi:*

The newspaper reports about Cohn are getting more and more curious. Particularly the last one, what he has permitted himself to say about the debt, makes a strange impression. It looks as if there was some scoundrel near him who is base enough to steal other people's ideas, but too stupid to carry them out, too. The story about the two housewives who chew the fat on their way home from the market and one of whom has her beef stolen from her shopping basket. The culprit: a dog. She follows the *köpek* [mutt] with her eyes and consoles herself: He could steal it from me all right, but he'll never be able to cook it.

* In French in the original.

But joking aside: the man is riding toward the abyss at full tilt. I believe that as his friend and mine as well you should write him something like the following:

Cohn, you are ill advised. Your attack on the *dette* will have the same result as that on the mails; you will have to come down off your high horse and emerge from the conflict richer by a humiliation, but poorer in power and credit. All these things that you cannot accomplish in this thoughtless way, which is gross and faithless at the same time, you could accomplish, or would have accomplished, if you had made use of the man whom I sent down to see you last May. That man, who didn't ask anything for himself —in contrast with the other creatures who offer you their services—that man would have represented your interests both financially and journalistically. My sending such a completely disinterested and reliable helper your way was one of the greatest services I have rendered you during my long and loyal career. But what do you do? The man starts working on your behalf, takes trips, creates a favorable climate of opinion for you all over the world, begins to organize a campaign of assistance for you, and gives you a report. You don't even give him an answer. Naturally the man is annoyed and almost hurt. He complains to me for having exposed him needlessly. He doesn't want to be made a laughing-stock, and the *sof* [upshot] will be that you won't be able to have him any more when you seriously want him. He has offered to bring you support within three months, with no risk at all to you. You let the time pass, forefeiting a willingness which won't return so advantageously, and after three months you will have the same difficulties you have now, if not greater ones. This is the opinion of your worried old friend and servant Reshid."

You will know better than I how to translate that into Oriental terms *in usum Cohni* [for Cohn's use]. You will concede to me that it is true and correct. But I believe that this should be done without even one day's delay, for things down there are coming to a head surprisingly fast.

Hoping for news from you soon, and with a cordial embrace,

Your devoted nephew by choice,
Dori.

P.S. Perhaps it is advisable not to write directly to Cohn, but to the Chief Eunuch, to have it shown around. As though you had wanted to pour out your heart; and the Eunuch is said to be indiscreet.

August 11, Alt-Aussee

If I weren't going into battle with a wooden sword, I could have given a different turn to the Turkish-French conflict, in which Constans was going to mobilize the French fleet to force his financial plan through. I wanted to slip into the papers—the Paris ones through Alex Marmorek, the Berlin papers through Dr. Friedemann—a notice unmasking the ambassador as the *agent d'affaires* [business agent] that he is. Neither man carried out my assignment. The upshot will be that Cohn will have to eat humble pie and grant the French robber financiers whatever they want.

August 11, to Vámbéry

My good *Vámbéry bácsi:*

At the moment I couldn't even come to Graz to see you, because I am up to my neck in work and must await visitors. But we can communicate with each other by letter.

The French conflict is ending the way it was bound to. I could have helped Cohn; he would have saved himself humiliation and money. You see, I could have got a torpedo destroyer for him; *tant pis pour lui* [so much the worse for him]. But I beg of you, rub it into him, or have somebody else do so.

In fact, it is none too early for you to have the groundwork laid

for your activities with Cohn. The ground must be prepared when you come—that is, as a savior. You know much better than I how you have to do this. Permit me only to remind you that we shall place three hundred thousand guilders at your disposal when you have obtained for us the Charter that we need to settle Palestine.

What people you cut in on this in order to ensure our goal is naturally left to your judgment. But I think you ought to make preparations now, so as to achieve results this very autumn.

With cordial regards,

Your devoted
Herzl.

August 22, Alt-Aussee

The promise of a commission has worked with Vámbéry. He writes me one of the strangest letters. He wants to overthrow Izzet and take his place—or overthrow Abdul Hamid!

I am writing him:

August 21, 1901

My good *Vámbéry bácsi:*

I have read your youthfully courageous letter with great joy. You are truly a divinely favored person. May God keep you!

I am herewith returning to you Draft I, which met with your approval, because I have a copy of it. Translating it into French is pointless, because it probably will not be practicable in this form. In particular, Cohn will not want to leave the administration of Palestine to an English company any more than he would to a company of any other nationality. That would also create frightful diplomatic difficulties with the other Powers. And, after all, we are concerned with completing the project.

That is why we shall have to look for another form. You see that I am not a fantast or a fool; I myself made a proposal more agree-

able to Cohn in my London memorandum, which has remained unanswered. On June 18 I wrote him the following, among other things, from London:

Insertion [pp. 1161ff.]

By *toutes les concessions nécessaires* [all the necessary concessions] I meant the Charter, of course, without, however, going into detail at this first step. You will notice further that I treat the whole thing only as an initial step. 1,500,000 Turkish pounds won't solve Cohn's problems, as I well know, and I am actually in a position to obtain much more for him later, once he has given this first proof of his good intentions.

But how is the plan to be carried out? First of all he must give the Charter, specifically, to the Jewish Colonial Trust for the formation of the *Compagnie Ottomane-Juive pour l'Asie Mineure, la Palestine et la Syrie* [Ottoman-Jewish Company for Asia Minor, Palestine, and Syria]. To give the whole thing a financially sound character, the Jewish Colonial Trust could deposit a security of, say, one million francs as soon as the Charter is delivered to us, and this earnest would be forfeited to the Turkish treasury if the Company was not founded within a certain period of time. But please do not talk about this proposal until a serious guarantee is demanded, because I think down there they like to grab even the smallest securities.

By what guarantees we, for our part, want to have Cohn's serious intentions backed is a matter still to be discussed.

Draft I would therefore have to serve only as a preamble, and you will certainly know yourself the most appropriate manner in which it can be used.

If Cohn agrees to it, I shall start reorganizing Cohn's general situation at the same time that the 5-million company is formed. I shall carry out this reorganization within three years. You can tell him that, and you may add that never again will he find a man who will do this for him under such conditions. It is my profoundest conviction that you are rendering him the greatest service of your life, while at the same time you are putting our people

permanently in your debt. You see, it isn't true that in any business transaction only one party can profit. This would be a salvation for both parties.

But why repeat what has been said so often? I await your good news, particularly the announcement of your departure.

May God help us!

With a hearty embrace,
Your devoted Dori.

Postscript.

August 22

Missed closing of mails yesterday. Today I read about the turn in the French conflict. Perhaps it is already too late and fate will take its course? I have long seen it coming.

August 28, Alt-Aussee

On the 24th, the tramp Crespi was here, having come from Ischl where he is staying with the Turkish "Consul-General." He tried to pump me, but I remained impenetrable and didn't ask any services from him either, although the scoundrel draws a monthly salary of 1,000 francs from us.

* * *

Via London Trust I received a proposal from a certain Bekir Sonhami in Galata to come to the aid of the Sultan. The "*Protovestiaire* [Keeper of the Robes] *S. Bey*" was willing to arrange for me to be sent for, but wanted to make something on it. I discreetly sounded Crespi out about this Protovestiaire and learned that he was the Sultan's foster brother. Thereupon I sent Sonhami's letter to Vámbéry and sent the following wire without signature:*

Bekir Sonhami, Galata.

* In French in the original.

I have received your letter of August 16 via London. I can come to aid, but will come only if he himself calls me.

August 28, Alt-Aussee

Court Secretary Sonnenschein of the Ministry of Railroads was here for an hour on Sunday and made me an offer to start a paper for the industrialists. I didn't refuse, but was very reserved. He wants to speak with Koerber first.

August 30, Alt-Aussee

Telegram to Ibrahim:*

To His Excellency Ibrahim Bey,
Grand Master of Ceremonies.

I beg Your Excellency to place at the foot of the throne my most respectful congratulations on the occasion of H.I.M.'s birthday. I sincerely hope that the clouds of the present hour will soon be dissipated, and I further beg Your Excellency to recall to H.I.M.'s mind the story about the thorn which I told him. It is still true and possible.

Very faithfully yours,
Dr. Th. H.

September 2, Alt-Aussee

Yesterday I received the following wire:*

Doctor Theodor Herzl, Alt-Aussee.

From Yildiz.

I have conveyed your felicitations to His Imperial Majesty, and

* In French in the original.

he has been pleased to instruct me to express to you his exalted gratification.

Ibra.

* * *

Very important; so the thread is not broken. I am immediately writing so to Vámbéry.

At the same time, however, I read in the paper that this Ibrahim's son, Said Ibrahim Bey, who had had dinner with me in London, died at Karlsbad two days ago, at the age of 29!

He was a fine, handsome man.

September 2, Alt-Aussee

To Vámbéry:

First, a copy of the exchange of telegrams on the occasion of the birthday.

Then:

As you see, the story about the thorn seems to be a magic formula. But I feel that we ought to go right on striking the iron. It is a fact that Cohn doesn't have a radish ready for the Ramadan yet. He will need about £200,000; I already know that. At the last moment they will run to the usurers again. I can get the money for him, but would have to get started well in advance. I think, therefore, that on the very day you receive this letter—that is, tomorrow—you should tell him the following in the west-eastern language of figures:

"My friend can bring you, O Cohn, the money that you need for the Ramadan, and—mark my words!—without usurers or pawn-brokers. Moreover, from then on he can continue to take care of your obligations that fall due according to a definite plan, and *il se fait fort* [will act vigorously] to straighten out your entire financial situation within 3 years with the help of his friends. But the prerequisite is that you call him no later than the latter half of September. For he does need some time for these arrangements.

But my friend would want you to summon me along with him, so that I can conduct the negotiations between you and him."

I am now asking myself whether the lack of an answer to your letters isn't the consequence of Cohn's having shown your letters to his Second Secretary. I wouldn't put it past him. And what should be done now?

September 10, Alt-Aussee

Vámbéry advises me to write to Ibrahim.

Letter to Ibrahim:*

Your Excellency:

Together with your telegram in which you did me the honor to express to me H.I.M.'s exalted gratification at my congratulations I have had the heart-rending news of the death of your fine son. I have permitted myself to send you a telegram of condolence.

I met this charming young man in London and we had a long discussion of ideas of the future; I saw in him a hope for your beautiful country, and now—But I do not want to revive your paternal grief. May God comfort you and give you strength.

In grief of this cruel kind it is good for a man to have ceaseless occupation. That makes him forget. Also, after having pitied Your Excellency for having to think of affairs of state during your personal torments, I told myself that work is a form of distraction that will do you good.

The news from your country is truly not comforting to your friends. And yet there would have been ways of taking you out of these financial difficulties which are also having political repercussions. I don't want to insist on the services of this nature that I can render to H.I.M. Let the Sultan only know that I am full of gratitude for the kind sentiments which he has been pleased to express with regard to myself and the Jews in general. Whenever H.I.M. would have recourse to my disinterested services, all he has to do is summon me. Since leaving Constantinople I have spoken

* In French in the original.

with my friends in various countries, and I am not saying too much if I undertake to settle the situation after some time. I am always dumbfounded to read what sacrifices the Imperial government has to make for relatively insignificant sums. Onerous concessions are prolonged, usurious conditions are agreed to, etc. It is as unbelievable as it is futile.

Now I am advised that there will again be requirements for the Ramadan. I should be happy if on this occasion I could show my devotion to H.I.M. by real services. The only requirement would be that I be called on several weeks before the Ramadan in order to be able to make the arrangements if there is an intention of using my humble capabilities.

May I request Your Excellency to let H.I.M. know this.

With the expression of my high regard, I am

Your Excellency's devoted servant
Dr. Th. H.

September 23, Alt-Aussee, Yom Kippur

For weeks I have made all sorts of efforts to put the wire to the Sultan back in operation. Through Ibrahim, Nuri, Vámbéry—in umpteen ways.

During the past few days I have been mulling over a letter to the Sultan, but can never make up my mind to write one, for it is a fact that he owes me a reply.

Today I sat by the lake, which was beautiful. And I thought how it would be if next Spring I could sit by the Lake of Gennesaret like this, and I decided to write.

The figures in my chess game now are Cecil Rhodes (with whom I am to meet after his return from Scotland); Roosevelt, the new President (through Gottheil); the King of England (through the Bishop of Ripon); the Czar (through General von Hesse), etc.

On top of this I am tormented by the chance of getting a newspaper in Vienna, although Court Secretary Sonnenschein, who got me excited about it, hasn't let me hear from him in almost 3

weeks, so that it was probably another dud. But with a big paper I could work wonders.

The Bank's capacity for action, which is supposed to be completed by October, is another thing that worries me.

At the lake it occurred to me how I could bring Gottheil into play as a knight on the chessboard. I shall tell the Sultan that I know a method of getting an ambassador as his permanent friend in the concert of Powers; he should request or accept Gottheil.

Letter to the Sultan:*

Sire:

In again availing myself of the gracious permission to address myself directly to Y.I.M., I wish to call to Y.I.M.'s attention, in a few words, a rather serious situation.

The renowned Sovereign will judge the liberty I take to have been dictated by my devotion.

Sire, grave days are approaching for the Ottoman Empire. I have just learned some rather disagreeable facts. It is not a formal coalition that is being prepared, but a sort of agreement for non-interference. At a given moment a certain power will go ahead. Y.I.M. will get no help from where Y.I.M. expects it. Moreover, help will seem to come from a much more formidable source

Advanced as things are, there is yet a way to remedy them.

I know a way in which discord could be caused between those whose alliance would be disastrous. A man could be obtained who would perform decisive services for Y.I.M., and to remove any false impression I hasten to say that this would cost absolutely nothing and would arouse no suspicion whatever. But the matter is so delicate that I could confide it only orally to Y.I.M. in person and alone.

The first effect of this plan would be to win time. Then sources of income could be created and the resistance of the Imperial govt. strengthened.

If I dare to speak thus, it is because I believe that a devoted man is never useless, especially if it is well established that he asks

* In French in the original.

nothing and expects nothing for himself. I permit myself to explain the motives which cause me to act.

The greatness and power of the Ottoman Empire are the only hope of the Jewish nation, and it is as a faithful Jew that I wish to earn, not for myself but for my brethren, the good will of the great Caliph.

If Y.I.M. wishes to hear me, it would be easy for me to come to Constantinople for several days.

I have, Sire, the honor to be

Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

* * *

Your Excellency:*

I have the honor to send you, enclosed herewith, a very important letter for the Sultan, which it would be to H.I.M.'s interest to take note of at once.

This week I am ending my summer vacation to return to Vienna. To tell the truth, my vacation is only a change of desks, for my work never lets up and I have to work here as I do in the city, but at least here I have had mountain air, which has done me a lot of good.

I am sincerely sorry to learn that Turkey's affairs are not going well.

God protect you!

Be assured, Your Excellency, of my highest consideration.

Th. H.

The man mentioned in the letter to the Sultan as to be obtained is Gottheil.

* In French in the original.

October 8, Vienna

I have been to Pest to see Vámbéry, induced him to write a storm-and-stress letter to the Sultan and then go down there himself.

I am writing to Nuri to make that scoundrel Izzet favorably disposed to us:*

Your Excellency:

Our concerns are not progressing, and neither are those of Turkey.

I believe it would be useful to seek out Izzet Bey and bring him round to a more active attitude. Izzet Bey's remarkable intelligence would be very valuable to us. And since he already knows from you that my gratitude can be relied upon, it seems to me that he will listen to you again with pleasure.

You will need certain sums before Ramadan, won't you?

If you will permit me to give you some advice: go to see Izzet Bey as soon as possible, personally, and speak to him in the way you know so well.

Anticipating the pleasure of hearing from you, I beg Your Excellency to accept this expression of my friendship and high esteem.

H.

P.S. I have seen Professor V. recently. He intends to go to Constantinople, having serious things in the offing in Europe to communicate. The bearer of this letter knows nothing about its contents.

October 8, 1901

October 23, Vienna

Nothing from Constantinople. Only a few financial agents are approaching me with dubious loan offers.

* In French in the original.

The "October Conferences," aimless babble, are over. I was so disgusted that I made no entries in this book at all. With a doleful outcry the Bank was made "capable of action," but it is not supposed to undertake anything. Actually, it is best this way, for we don't have a single capable businessman.

With all these annoyances I am turning back to literature and am now rewriting my *Solon in Lydien* as a drama.

* * *

Yesterday I saw Koerber about permission to accept my Mejidiye. We took the occasion to chat for a brief hour. He again beefed to me about being tired of office. He has to toil away while others are "drawing the big salaries, eating like pigs, drinking like fish, and despairing of the state. That's the best job: Despairer of the State—you really fatten up on it."

He also beefed about Austria's backwardness. All you have to do to see it is to take a train trip. "If I take the Orient Express, it's packed in Germany. The minute you cross the border, life stops. Just look at those station names! One of 'em's called Grieskirchen. Then you come to one called Ried, and there's a dog sleepin'."

In short, his beefing was amusing and typically Austrian. He invited me to visit him often. *A quoi bon?* [What's the good of it]?

He didn't evince too much enthusiasm about giving permission to wear the Mejidiye order, but didn't say anything definite. It was just curious that he already knew that I had been given the Grand Cordon.

To think that he keeps that sort of thing in his head.

* * *

November 1, Vienna

Letter to that dastard Crespi, to whom I am tired of sending 1,000 francs each month: *

Dear Sir:

Despite his incontestably high intelligence, 363 doesn't realize his situation, which is as bad as can be. Otherwise he would have

* In French in the original.

sent for me, because I am *the only one* who can be useful to him. Under these circumstances it is truly not worthwhile to take any further steps, and I assure you that I have a good mind to break off all relations. All the same, and in view of the pleasant relations I have had with you, I wish to send you starting now 500 francs per month for your correspondence. However, I would ask you to write me at least once a week and to bring to my attention anything that may be of interest to me.

I have written to 345 to speak with 125. You and 345 have told me that 125 received a sum at the time of my visit down there, and I don't understand why I haven't had any response.

Kindly remember me to our fine mutual friend. I am sure that he regrets not having been able to do anything.

Very cordially yours,
Herzl.

Letter to the Sultan:*

Sire:

I have the honor to remind Y.I.M. of my respectful letter of September 23, in which I had predicted exactly the painful events which have just occurred during these last few days. This misfortune could have been avoided if Y.I.M. had done me the honor of listening to my loyal advice. Other misfortunes are coming, and the remedy for them lies only in the straightening out of the financial situation.

May I be permitted to say that I am still ready to devote myself to that task.

When it pleases Y.I.M. to appeal to my humble capabilities I shall make haste to organize the necessary measures—be it today, tomorrow, in six months. Y.I.M. may always count on my devotion.

I have, Sire, the honor to be

Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,
Herzl.

* In French in the original.

Covering letter to Ibrahim:*

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to send you, enclosed herewith, a letter to H.I.M. Unfortunately my predictions, based on reliable information, have been realized.

And it is not over. There is only one way of escaping from these difficulties—I have indicated it to H.I.M.

Hoping that you are in good health, I offer Your Excellency my high esteem and devotion.

Dr. Th. H.

November 8

Letter to the Grand Duke of Baden:

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,
Most Gracious Prince and Lord:

When M. Constans was appointed ambassador to Constantinople, I permitted myself to write Your Royal Highness the following, under date of — —: [Insert]

The events have proved me right. Unless I am mistaken, the Near Eastern question is now entering its final stage. The turn of the day, however, is evidently against Germany's interests; and yet the German government will not easily decide to take a stronger stand, because a world conflagration might result. That French financier has rather accurately calculated this.

But the question is whether Germany would not nevertheless, under cover and without committing herself perceptibly, like to prevent a resuscitation of the dormant French protectorate over Syria and Palestine with all its political and economic consequences.

The Zionist movement exists and can be used for this purpose. When quite some time ago I was waved away after an *entrée en*

* In French in the original.

matière [beginning] which had aroused hopes in me, I understood and did not make a sound. It was a heavy blow for us, for the financiers whom our movement—alas!—needs withdraw when no tangible results are forthcoming. Their pledges were then and are now contingent on the achievement of certainties, such as the German protectorate, for instance, would have been.

Later I succeeded in approaching the Sultan directly. He received me well, as I had the honor to report to Your Royal Highness in person at Karlsruhe last May. However, he is timid and irresolute. He needs counsel and a push.

Someone would have to tell him: "Give the Zionists what they need and they will raise the money for you with which you can get rid of the French!"

The Jews, particularly the moneyed Jews, are a practical people. I have them when I have something reliable in my hands.

If German policy is willing to help us with this, it will acquire, together with our gratitude, a right for future times and will exclude the dangerous influence of a power that may become expansionist. On the basis of past actions I may be permitted to point out that I am loyal and discreet and do not disappoint confidence placed in me. It is an old, steadfast thought of mine that, God willing, we shall reach our goal with the aid of the rising Protestant power.

Today it is practically forgotten that H.M. the German Kaiser for a time favored our movement with his most gracious interest. If due caution were exercised, any harmful stir could be avoided. Details could be discussed later—provided that the German government is minded to look further into the matter which I am herewith respectfully submitting to Your Royal Highness. Should I be ordered to go to H.M. the Kaiser, I can so arrange it that absolutely no one will find out about it.

Respectfully commending myself to the oft-proven, most gracious benevolence of Your Royal Highness, I remain, with deepest gratitude and devotion,

Dr. Th. H.

November 9

The picture in the Orient has changed so completely since yesterday that I am not sending off the letter to the Grand Duke. France has received satisfaction all along the line and is withdrawing, something that she had previously pledged the Powers to do. Consequently neither Germany nor England is going to do anything for us. Hence any *démarche* [intervention] is superfluous.

Mais je songe [But I am a dreamer]. Since action on the part of France would have an effect favorable for us because of the *répercussion* it would have, we should in future work toward having French aspirations emerge in Syria and Palestine.

À creuser [To be explored]!

December 19, Vienna

I have written my Congress speech—more of an egg dance than ever before—and must now try to parry in advance the *contrecoup* [counter-stroke] it may elicit from Constantinople. I must demand some concession from the Sultan, so that, if worst comes to worst, he will not grant it to me. Given his character, he isn't likely to follow an amiable letter with a blunt refusal.

(Dated December 20th).

Sire:*

I have the honor to recall myself once more to Y.I.M.'s gracious memory. Since I had the signal honor of being received in audience, I take the liberty of observing respectfully that there might be some use, from a financial as well as a political point of view, in making known to the Jews of all countries the good and generous feelings that Y.I.M. cherishes in his fatherly heart for the persecuted Jewish people. An opportunity to do so is now offered. Toward the end of this month the annual Zionist Congress meets

* In French in the original.

at Basel to deliberate on the fate, alas! so sad, of the Jews of the whole world. I shall preside at the gathering, and I hope to take advantage of this opportunity to remark briefly upon the glorious reigning Caliph's kindness to the Jews. The effect can only be favorable. But how much greater would be the general impression if Y.I.M. deigned to have a telegram of good wishes sent to me as a reply to the telegram of respectful, loyal homage that I shall have the honor to send at the opening of the Congress. This would be the happiest preparation for that day when Y.I.M. in your lofty wisdom shall see fit to call upon the grateful services of the Jews of the whole world.

Sire, I have the honor to be

Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

Covering letter to Ibrahim:*

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to send you, enclosed herewith, a letter for H.I.M. the Sultan.

Permit me, at the same time, to ask your advice.

I wish to make a small gift to H.I.M., a surprise that I hope will please him, for I believe that it doesn't yet exist in Turkey. It is a typewriter with Turkish characters. I have ordered it from America, and a professor of Oriental languages at the University in New York is supervising the accuracy of the production of the type. The manufacture of it is very complicated. They have already been working on it for some time. But according to the latest word the job is approaching completion, and I expect the machine in two or three weeks. The first Oriental typewriter shall be tried out for the first time in Europe at His Excellency Mahmud Nedim Bey's. And after that? Should I send it through the Embassy—or

* In French in the original.

should I bring it to Yildiz Kiosk myself? That is the advice I am asking for.

I beg Y.E. to accept the assurance of my high consideration and sincere devotion.

Th. H.

December 25, on the train, approaching Buchs

Telegram to Ibrahim:*

To His Excellency, etc.

At the opening moment of the Zionist Congress, which today brings together in Basel representatives of the Jewish people from all countries, I beg Y.E. to place at the foot of the Imperial throne this acknowledgment of deep devotion and of the gratitude which all Jews feel for the benevolence always shown them by H.I.M. the Sultan.

With high esteem,

Dr. Th. H.
President of the Zionist Congress, Basel.

January 5, 1902

On the train, past Venice, homeward bound for Vienna.

The fifth Congress.

The change in the years and in my own self is shown by the fact that only today am I writing down my impressions of the Congress.

From the evening of my arrival, on December 25, to the moment of my departure on New Year's Eve, I got into one discussion after another. Sessions from 10 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock the next morning. In the interim, quarrels to be made up, insults to be smoothed over, etc.

On the morning of the first day I sent the wire to the Sultan, and

* In French in the original.

on the evening of the second the answer came. Until then I had been trembling. Up to that time he could still have denied even the beginning of our relationship. *Mais il donnait dedans en plein* [But in it he put that right in plain sight]. With this wire, issued by the Basel telegraph office, my situation is certified and regularized.

Once again, rode across Lake Constance.*

From then on I was calm.

Incidentally, my Congress bunch did not rate the wire at its full value. *Ils ne comprennent rien* [They understand nothing]. They overestimate small things and value big things lightly.

But it's enough that *I* know it.

The official letter of welcome from the Basel city government was worth less politically, but of incomparably greater value morally.

This letter gave me the idea of trying to have the National Fund set up a corporate body in Basel. I sent the good Basel A.C. member Joel Weil to Dr. David, the head of the city government, to inquire if this would be unwelcome to them. No, he had no objections.

The following day I called on him in order to thank him. Dr. David, a fine, serious-minded man, was greatly interested in everything, listened to me for an hour, and said that Zionism was something exalted. He was glad that this great, beautiful idea had found a home in Basel.

In contrast, how shameful and petty was the attitude of the Community Jews of Basel. It is true, this time they had permitted donations to the National Fund, but when Wolffsohn, in accordance with a possibility regarding the Torah reading, wanted to have 30 people called up, Dreyfus, the head of the congregation, refused, saying:

"No special privileges!"

Therefore only myself, Moser, Montefiore, and Wolffsohn were able to make a donation.

How the Fund fared in the Congress is a matter of record. From time to time I was absent; then Tschlenow, egged on by Boden-

* See note on p. 1679.

heimer, messed up the whole thing. They accepted the draft "provisionally." Then who would have made a donation? I came back, listened to the nonsense, annulled the decision, and put the draft through the way we need it.

The most important thing was the organization *pro futuro* [for the future]. I particularly wanted to break the iron rings which are already forming in some countries. The first "leaders" monopolize the national committees, and from this there results a certain disinclination to belong. However, we must keep positions of honor open. I believe the new organization will do its duty and strengthen the Inner A.C.

The Russians Bernstein-Kohan, Ussishkin, etc. immediately sensed what was going on and put up resistance. But they can't make any objections if I want the federation from below, "from the people," as they always say.

I also put a stop, once and for all, to Bernstein-Kohan's mail headquarters.

Difficulties were also made by the gentlemen of the Greater A.C. over the question of the *baksheesh* which I had always had paid out by Wolffsohn, Kremenezky, Kokesch, etc. against a proper receipt.

Why, some of them acted as though I were inducing them to commit fraud. The Bank directors, too, weren't keen on approving what we had spent on behalf of the Bank for the sake of acquiring the Charter (receipt to Wolffsohn from N.) Of course, if I had insisted they would have given their consent; but then it would have been something "secret" and would naturally have been blabbed about promptly. In the face of this cowardice and asininity I had no other choice but to throw the whole thing in the lap of the Congress. For this I used an opposition man, Farbstein, whose resolution I used as the point of departure. See the protocol.

Naturally everything went through *d'emblée* [directly].

The members of the Board of Directors and of the Council didn't understand any of what was going on and then breathed a sigh of relief.

It made the strongest impression on Kokesch, whose alarmingly

empty A.C. treasury I replenished at one stroke. He raises his eyebrows when, e.g., I want to have a propaganda issue printed, and presents me with an accounting of every subvention given to an agent. But now he was impressed by my getting money for propaganda again.

Few details.

Nordau made a speech that was brilliant, but imprudent in places—his best to date.

The warning against early marriages and too much studying is something truly valuable and will bear fruit.

Zangwill spoke wittily; but while Nordau was translating his speech, the idea came to me in a flash not to have the Congress take a vote on the I.C.A.

I believe this was a good thing. Otherwise people would have said the next day that Zionism is only a raid on Hirsch's millions.

In the same spirit I rejected a proposal made me by the Russian *exaltados* [extreme enthusiasts] Syrkin and Buchmil: to put on mass demonstrations against the I.C.A. in the big cities. I had Oskar Marmorek and others take down a memorandum about my rejection.

What else?

I was glad when the Congress was over, and escaped from the demonstrations as soon as possible.

That sort of thing gives me less and less pleasure.

* * *

Oh yes, another thing, something that distressed and vexed me a great deal.

When the Sultan's answering telegram became known through the papers, I received wires from Geneva and Lausanne from meetings of students of all nationalities, particularly Armenians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Russians, Poles, etc., expressing their *mépris* [contempt] and *indignation* on account of my telegram to the *sultan rouge* [blood-stained Sultan].

However, this will probably do me good with the Sultan.

January 9, Vienna

For once that scoundrel Crespi sends me some interesting information: The ambassador at Berlin—my "friend" Ahmed Tewfik —has sent the Sultan an accusing wire about my Basel speech, as well as another telegram asking for authorization to disclaim my words officially.

I hope that my advance notice has done its work with Abdul Hamid and will cause him to ignore the denunciation of his Berlin servant.

The protest demonstration of the Armenian and other wild students may stand me in good stead too.

January 11, Vienna

Cowen informs that he is again making efforts to get a meeting with Cecil Rhodes for me. The robber raider Dr. Jameson is acting as the intermediary on the Rhodes side. However, on account of my bread-givers, who might become angry, I cannot now risk a trip that promises nothing certain. Therefore I wired that I could come only if Rhodes were seriously interested in the matter. In order to initiate this, I am sending the following memorandum to London, to be translated by Zangwill and transmitted by Cowen:

Mr. Cecil Rhodes:

For some months mutual friends have been trying on my behalf to arrange a meeting between us. At the moment, however, I am so inordinately busy that it would hardly be possible for me to come to London, unless I knew in advance that you took a serious interest in the matter. This, to be sure, would be a sufficiently strong reason to travel, for I need you. In fact, all things considered, you are the only man who can help me now. Of course, I am not concealing from myself the fact that you are not likely to do so. The probability is perhaps one in a million, if this can be expressed in figures at all.

But it is a big—some say, too big—thing. To me it does not seem

too big for Cecil Rhodes. This sounds like flattery; however, it does not reside in the words, but in the offer. If you participate, then you are the man. If you don't, then I have simply made a mistake.

You are being invited to help make history. That cannot frighten you, nor will you laugh at it. It is not in your accustomed line; it doesn't involve Africa, but a piece of Asia Minor, not Englishmen, but Jews.

But had this been on your path, you would have done it yourself by now.

How, then, do I happen to turn to you, since this is an out-of-the-way matter for you? How indeed? Because it is something colonial, and because it presupposes understanding of a development which will take twenty or thirty years. There are visionaries who look past greater spaces of time, but they lack a practical sense. Then again there are practical people, like the trust magnates in America, but they lack political imagination. But you, Mr. Rhodes, are a visionary politician or a practical visionary. You have already demonstrated this. And what I want you to do is not to give me or lend me a few guineas, but to put the stamp of your authority on the Zionist plan and to make the following declaration to a few people who swear by you: I, Rhodes, have examined this plan and found it correct and practicable. It is a plan full of culture, excellent for the group of people for whom it is directly designed, not detrimental to the general progress of mankind, and quite good for England, for Greater Britain. If you and your associates supply the requested financial aid for this, you will, in addition to these satisfactions, have the satisfaction of making a good profit. For what is being asked for is money.

What is the plan? To settle Palestine with the homecoming Jewish people.

When I started it 6 years ago, I was brutally derided. I disdained the scoffers and went ahead. In these 6 years the Jews in all parts of the world have been shaken up. At five Congresses there has been effected an organization with thousands of associations all over the world. The Zionists obey a *mot d'ordre* [command] from

Manchuria to Argentina, from Canada to the Cape and New Zealand. The greatest concentration of our adherents is in Eastern Europe. Of the five million Jews in Russia, surely four million swear by our program. We have party organs in all civilized languages. Every single day there are mass meetings of our people in the most diverse places. Yet our demands are so formulated that no government has proceeded against them as yet, not even the Russian government. As early as 1898 I won the German Kaiser himself for the cause. He received me in a lengthy audience at Yildiz Kiosk in Constantinople, in the presence of Bülow. Later he officially received me in Jerusalem with four of my associates, as the representatives of Zionism. I have transmitted a detailed memorandum to the Czar through another ruler, and thereupon the Czar bestowed his benevolent neutrality upon us. Last May I brought the matter before the Sultan in a long conference, and he granted me his grace. In England we have countless Christian friends, in the Church as well as in the press, and in the House of Commons there are 37 (?) members who have promised to support Zionism.

This cursory *aperçu* [survey] of our political situation may suffice.

And this movement, which has had such an unprecedented development in 6 years, vainly cries out for money. Why? Because the big Jewish financiers are against us. They are afraid, they have no imagination, they lend money only on dead pledges.

January 20, Vienna

This letter to Rhodes remains in the ink bottle for the time being, because Cowen reports that Zangwill wants to organize a financial group with the aid of Lord Suffield and is requesting instructions. I am writing to Zangwill and Cowen:

My dear friends Zangwill and Joe:

You ask for a presentation of the financial plan. Here it is. I won't even remind you again how prudently you must scrutinize everyone you talk to. The greatest harm can be caused by indiscre-

tions. I can't give you a list of every fire that you should avoid. All I say to you is: Don't get burned!

And now to the point.

It is a matter of a financial operation which is often talked about in the papers, like the sea serpent. It was last seen in French waters. The former Minister of Finance, Rouvier, is said to be hunting it, or to have hunted it. The operation is known by the name *Unification de la Dette Ottomane* [Consolidation of the Turkish Debt].

You will find enclosed a tabulation of the *dette* as of March, 1901. Since then there have been various changes in the rate of exchange. We will go into this, as into all details, only when the principle has been accepted.

Cohn (in our earlier code, E) has the most ardent desire to get this *dette* into his power. For the *administration de la dette* [administration of the debt] is his greatest sorrow and his main misfortune. The administrative expenses are insanely high, and yet he isn't the master in his house. He promised me *anything I want* if I liberate him from it.

The nominal amount of the *dette* is approximately 85 million pounds sterling. Let us assume the exchange value as about 22 million pounds sterling. These figures may serve as a basis for discussion, although they actually change from day to day. Please point out from the start that the detailed calculations will be supplied by an expert (which, as you know, I am not) as soon as my plan has been accepted in principle by the group which you are to create in London.

I shall name this expert only to you now, my friends. It is M. Benno Reitlinger of Paris, who is himself worth a few million francs, is a good Zionist and completely devoted to me.

For the sake of clarity I will now divide the plan into three parts.

1) the acquisition of the *dette,* 2) the acquisition of the Charter, 3) the renumeration of the group.—

1) The Acquisition of the *Dette.*

This requires the formation of a financially strong group whose credit is good for 22–25 million pounds sterling, but which by no

means needs to put up this amount. The poor two-bit investors usually don't understand the conditions of high finance.

One lets only a *small* amount of money ring on the table—*large* amounts one doesn't pay at all, one only remits them. Of course, one has to have it, i.e., be good for it.

Now you will understand the remarks I made in my earlier letters: that R. (C in our code) can actually handle the matter *sans coup férir et sans bourse délier* [without stirring a finger or paying a penny]. He probably owns part of the *dette* already through the houses affiliated with him (and their clientele). The second part, which is in the hands of an organized group (according to my reports, the Protestant Ottoman Bank group), he can obtain through an option. He can have the third part bought up on the stock-exchanges rather inconspicuously.

Cecil's people could do it, too, although with greater difficulty, i.e., more expensively, more conspicuously, and more slowly.

But the acquisition would be hardest of all for a group such as you plan to organize. The difficulty would be, in the first place, that the larger the group, i.e., the smaller the share of an individual, the more cash would have to be emphasized. Secondly, the trouble would be that with the number of participants, the danger of people being indiscreet and spoiling things would grow in geometrical progression. But if no other way were left to us, we would simply have to follow this one.

According to the estimate of my expert, I figure the group's cash investment at about 10%, that is, 2.2 to 2.5 million pounds sterling. Once this fund exists, purchases can be started. I won't go into the stock-exchange part of this operation now, although I have had it explained to me in detail. I will only mention briefly that it is possible to have the purchased items carried over until the end of the entire operation, so that the group has cash responsibility only for the difference between the proceeds from interest and the contango.* Another important facilitation is the fact that Cohn would support the operation of the group in every way. In fact, I believe

* Translator's Note: Contango: a premium paid by a buyer of stock to the seller to postpone its delivery.

that *he himself* would take a share. It is common knowledge that he has a huge private fortune; and considering the good terms I am on with him, I could probably induce him to do so, once things actually start rolling.

However, the operations of the group would take at least a year, if not longer, because more rapid activity on the stock-exchanges would make rates rise enormously. This is the one reason why even a financial artist like Rouvier cannot easily manage the matter. The second reason follows later.

Let us now span a period of time whose duration depends on the circumstances, the interest rate, the political and financial situation. Let us assume the operation has been carried through, i.e., the *dette* is in the possession of the group, with the exception of a small remainder, *quantité négligeable* [a negligible amount]. What then?

Then we shall enter the second phase.

2) The Acquisition of the Charter.

We shall receive the Charter for the certified announcement that our group is in possession of the *dette*. In saying this I am certainly not basing myself on Cohn's promise alone—I am not that naive—but on his vital interests. He will have to give us the Charter then if he does not want to remain in his present situation, i.e., going to ruin.

The owners of the *dette* will appoint its administrators. Cohn's desire, which he spelled out for me, is to make this administration an authority which will obey *him,* function inexpensively, and take care of the administration of all of his resources. But in that case it must not consist of enemies and foreigners, but of his people. We shall hand the administration over to him (for a specified period) in return for his giving us the Charter. We shall make use of the Charter, and the utilization of the Charter—as Cohn knows beforehand—will serve to liberate him from the *dette* completely, not just for the specified period.

How will the utilization of the Charter which is to be granted to the Jewish Colonial Trust be accomplished? On the basis of the

Charter, the Trust will found a big *Land Company** with a capital of 5 million pounds sterling. I don't want to rely on Seligmann's pledge, who promised to get together Montagu and others for the Land Company with 5 mill. pd. stg. as soon as I have the Charter, any more than I want to rely on the pledge, which I have in writing, from the I.C.A. president Leven who promised us all the resources of the I.C.A. as soon as we have the Charter. I expect the 5 mill. pd. stg. for the Land Company from a public campaign on the basis of the acquired Charter.

The Land Company, for its part will complete the operation of the group. The Land Company will take the *dette* over from the group.

3) The Remuneration of the Group.

You see, the group is not to buy up the *dette* in order to keep it, but in order to re-sell it, and at a profit. But this profit must be fixed beforehand, in an option given to the J.C.T. to take over the bonds at such and such an amount in excess of the average purchase price.

Thus the group arranges for the buyer.

And here is the second reason why Rouvier, who has quite different resources and assistants at his disposal, cannot easily handle the operation. He has no buyer in view. For, once he has the *dette,* who is to take it off his hands? Sure, the Turkish government. But to enable it to buy anything, someone must go security for it. And no one will do so unless it accepts the guardianship of the administration, as up to now. But then the situation of the Turks will be the same as now.

Therefore only a few people around Cohn are interested in such an arrangement; he himself isn't.

But now the question arises for the group whether the Land Company, which doesn't exist yet, will really relieve it of the *dette* again.

Yes! You see, the Land Company will have to have the *dette.* It will need it so badly that it would have to pay any price; and for this reason the group's profit shall be fixed in advance, even though *largement* [generously], in keeping with the tremendous service.

* In English in the original.

The Land Company, with a capital of 5 mill, pd. stg., in possession of the Charter (which will have to include the Crown Lands), and as the entrepreneur of Palestine and Syria, which will rapidly rise in value because of the mass settlement, will be strong enough financially to take over the *dette* from the group. I have worked out the financial plan for this, too, but don't want to put it down here, because this might make the whole plan more complicated than it actually is. It will be evident to everyone that such a Company will be strong enough to take over the *dette*.

But what if the Land Company doesn't materialize in the first place? What then?

Then the Group can either liquidate itself, and with gradual selling the rates of exchange will again be brought to the present level if, as may be expected, it has risen in the course of the operation. In this eventuality, too, the Group will not lose anything, because as a predominant power it will dictate the prices.

At worst, then, it will be a *successful* big stock-exchange operation for the Group.

. . . Or! Or the Group can offer its entire bond holdings to a Great Power for sale. I believe there would then be four buyers: England, France, Germany, and Russia.

Therefore it isn't likely that even a *penny** will be lost. Instead, the Group may make a big profit even in this case.—

This, my friends, is the plan in general outline.

I think that Zangwill should first of all give Lord Suffield the detailed plans and try with his aid to win over R. Possibly Suffield—or the Bishop of Ripon?—ought to induce the King to influence R. For it is undoubtedly in England's interest to gain this important sphere of influence in this way, without a war or expense. R. ought to help not as a Jew, but as an *Englishman!** If, incidentally, he understands the signs of the *British Brothers League,** he must realize that it is high time to come to our aid. Every day lost will take its toll.

* In English in the original.

I must leave it to your careful judgment to what extent it is appropriate to exert an influence on Cecil through James—not through Maxim. Another related question is to what extent Engineer Kessler, our Transvaal member of the A.C., who is in London now, should be brought into action. Kessler has offered to win over the big South Africans, together with Sir Francis Montefiore.

In this case, as well as in the creation of a group including Lipton and others, the very greatest caution is indicated. This plan is to be handled like a photographic plate. It must be worked on only by red light. The red light is the discretion of men of honor. Everyone who is in on the secret and later does not collaborate is a menace. For during the operation he can gamble against the Group on the stock-exchange, or induce others to do so. Therefore, alas!, R. is the best, perhaps the only, key to the situation.

If you succeed in persuading R. or a Group, I shall come to London immediately after receiving word. For R. I won't need a financial expert. For the Group I would bring Reitlinger along.

If you succeed with this project, my dear friends, you will have rendered a great service to our immortal cause.

Your devoted
Benjamin.

Jan. 23, Vienna

In the Paris propaganda sheet *Pro Armenia* Bernard Lazare has published a mean, malicious article against me, on the occasion of the exchange of Congress telegrams with the Sultan.

This is probably far from unwelcome to the I.C.A., whose director, Meyerson, is an intimate friend of his.

Quel intérêt peut-il bien avoir en dehors du beau geste de défendre les Arméniens [What interest can he possibly have, apart from the nice gesture, in defending the Armenians]?

* * *

Jan. 23

The weekly *Die Zeit* is to become a daily in competition with the *N.Fr.Pr.*

Consternation at the *N.Fr.Pr.* I should like to use the occasion to get the *N. Fr. Pr.* into my hands. For several days now I have been discussing the rising danger with Benedikt. However, he is or acts very optimistic. Because of this I can't manage to find an opportunity for a proposition.

Every day I enter his office intending to say to him: Do you want to sell me your shares? He is so plucky that I seem ridiculous to myself in this and am afraid of being curtly rejected.

Yesterday Bacher came into my room. He, in contrast, is dejected. It's just the other way around: I thought that Bacher wouldn't worry about the danger and that Benedikt would, a great deal.

I haven't made up my mind yet how to present my proposal—like the bashful lover in a comedy.

January 24, Vienna

Zionism was the Sabbath of my life.

* * *

I believe my effectiveness as a leader may be attributed to the fact that I, who as a man and a writer have had so many faults, made so many mistakes, and done so many foolish things, have been pure of heart and utterly selfless in the Zionist cause.

* * *

Strange how far my thoughts wander when I sometimes wake up too early in the morning. Then I solve many questions of the day and have a presentiment of some eternal ones.

This morning I reflected on the human body about which we still know so little. The medical men have the professional blindness of hardened practitioners.

What a wonderful machine the human body is! A chemical laboratory, a powerhouse. Every movement, voluntary as well as instinctive, full of riddles and wonders. What gases and liquids are produced here, harmful and useful ones! This is why I believe in the serum theory. Just as it produces toxins, the animal body evidently also produces antidotes which will surely be discovered as time progresses.

January 25, Vienna

Yesterday I read the conclusion of Oppenheimer's "*Jüdische Siedlungen*" ["Jewish Settlements"] in the *Welt*. The final appeal, the comparison of the experiment of a Rahaline with the electric experimental railroad Berlin-Zossen struck me, and I immediately decided to carry out Oppenheimer's experiment. I wrote him so at once, but enjoined him to silence for the time being. First I have to prepare the ground—the A.C. and the Bank; then, too, the I.C.A. with its greater resources would beat me to it. For they would not do it of their own accord, but they *would* do it in order to crush me and eliminate me from competition. As the scene of action I designated Egyptian Palestine to Oppenheimer, on the other side of the "Brook of Egypt," because there I shall be dealing with the English government and thus have no difficulties. Part of the *thema probandum* [proposition to be tested] is the climate, and this Oppenheimer overlooks. I still haven't made up my mind whether I shall make the matter a national affair, i.e., use it for Zionist propaganda purposes—which would have the disadvantage of creating settlers for display, and the advantage *ut aliquid fecisse videamur* [that we would appear to have done something]—or whether I shall get it started in all secrecy.

January 28, Vienna

Yesterday I spoke with Benedikt—but did not reach my goal. It was so hard to make the opening in the conversation. I found it by

quoting Dr. Ehrlich's words: The bad part of it is that no one tells him (Ben.) the truth.

"Tell it to me!" he said.

"But you are about to leave, you're hungry and tired!"

"Doesn't matter!"

And sure enough, the impatient one had the patience to walk up and down with me in the Schwarzenberg Gardens for two hours. At home his soup was getting cold. We walked up and down in the *Cour d'honneur* [grand courtyard] of the Schwarzenberg Palace. Inside the Palace, behind the windows, they must have made fun of the two gesticulating Jews in the courtyard. He saw to it that he was always walking at my right, with the many about-faces. The boss, *quoi* [mind you]! But soon I didn't swing around him—because of the presumed spectators—but turned about my own axis, so that I took turns walking on the right.

And I told him about the danger the *N.Fr.Pr.* was in. However, the whole attack was directed against him personally. Bacher was not as hated as he, Benedikt. He listened to this and other things. At one point he even asked: And how would it be if I resigned? I answered: Then things would be better!

Still, I was too cowardly to draw the final conclusion and make him a proposal. I was afraid of ruining my whole pessimistic argumentation by suddenly standing there as *Monsieur Josse, l'orfèvre.**

To make up for it, I am now writing him:

Dear Friend:

Our conversation yesterday occupied me for a long time afterwards. So you yourself realize the seriousness of the situation. If I compare this with some of your occasional remarks about your fatigue, I am tempted to draw a conclusion. I am doing so in writing, because I don't want to get a *primesautière* [spontaneous] answer.

* Translator's Note: "Mr. Josse, the Goldsmith," a character in Molière's *L'Amour Médecin* (*Love as a Physician*). The phrase has since been used to designate an egotist who pursues his own selfish interests while pretending to give friendly advice to others.

Do you want to fight this battle, too, to the finish, like the earlier ones? Since I am not *Monsieur Josse, l'orfèvre,* I am telling you sincerely that I believe in your success in this case, too. As I put it yesterday: The *Zeit* isn't going to knock the *N. Fr. Pr.* over—at most it will take off a piece of wall. The question is, do you feel like going through such years again?

Should a real need for a rest be stirring within you—Dr. Bacher had such a need a long time ago, as he told me then—all you have to do is tell me so. I am a few years younger and feel equal to the task. As I told you on two previous occasions, I have friends who could make considerable funds available to me. I realize, of course, that the *N. Fr. Pr.* isn't to be had for a song. Last year I already had a substantial sum at my disposal for this purpose. You will remember my father's visit last February.

Is your point of view still to refuse such an offer *a limine* [out of hand], or are you willing to discuss it? After all, I am not a stranger, but surely a part of the *N. Fr. Pr.*

You are not expected to give me an answer today or tomorrow. None whatever is needed if you don't even want to talk about it. After about a week I shall regard the matter as finished.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,
Herzl.

I showed this letter to my parents, and when they thought it good, I sent it to Benedikt's private residence after office hours.

January 30, Vienna

Yesterday I was, despite everything, a bit excited when I got to the office. Of course, this was no longer the palpitation of my struggles in earlier years—when ever so often I felt fear in the big reading room before entering the office of my forbidding adversaries and employers. In those days I had to live in constant fear that they

would break me by way of punishment for my Zionist rebellion and make me a has-been. For it was clear that I would no longer have found employment anywhere else.

But one gets accustomed even to fighting duels. Yesterday I laughed and only took a deep breath before stepping into Bacher's room. Benedikt was with him. My entrance *jetait un froid* [cast a chill]. Bacher stared vacantly and, it seemed to me, irritably in my direction. Benedikt gave me a searching look over the glasses he wears for near-sightedness.

Ils ne voulaient pas en avoir l'air [They wanted to look as though nothing had happened].

We spoke a few words about today's and tomorrow's *feuilletons.* There was a trace of unsteadiness in my voice, and I think I was a bit flushed too. They evidently drew conclusions from my slight embarrassment. I, however, trudged out without a good-bye immediately after our business had been completed.

At any rate, I have sent up my trial balloon. What will come of it I don't know. My impression is that they don't want to sell the *N. Fr. Pr.* or don't credit me with having the money.

This is the key to these two men: they don't easily believe that someone may raise money (in large amounts)—because they worship money.

* * *

Afterwards, while I was in my office catching up on the *feuilleton* material that had come in, I had another attack of brain anemia. I didn't mention it to anyone. My parents would find out and get excited about it. It wouldn't make my wife any more loving either.

Mais ça m'emportera un jour [But that will finish me off some day].

I can picture death: a growing insufficiency of consciousness, the painful part being the very awareness of this fading away.

This morning I thought to myself:

Life—in the most favorable eventuality one leaves mourners.

If I die soon, I shall be mourned most of all by my parents, less

by my children, who will be more consoled by their youth—as well as by the entire Jewish people.

A beautiful *cortège* [funeral procession]: The tragic, the lovely, and the exalted.

February 5, Vienna

Yesterday evening I received the following wire from Yildiz:

Dr. Th. H., etc.

Pour me fournir certaines explications sur vos affaires, je vous prie de venir immédiatement à Constantinople [Kindly come to Constantinople immediately in order to provide me with certain explanations of your projects]. Ibrahim.

I received the telegram just as my wife was taking to bed with a high temperature.

In any event, *immédiatement* [immediately] was out of the question. I sent for Kremenezky, made sure of his readiness to go along, and then telegraphed last night: *

His Exc. Ibrahim Bey, Grand Master etc., Yildiz.

I am at your disposal with the greatest pleasure; but to settle most pressing business before my departure will take three or four days. Therefore I could not leave before Saturday or Sunday. Kindly telegraph whether this suits you. Herzl.

* * *

This morning I wired Wellisch:

Please inquire at Frankl (Ibrahim) factory (Yildiz) immediately whether I shall be dealing with Leopold (Sultan) himself or only with representative. Expecting clear wired reply.

* * *

At the same time I telegraphed Cowen that I have been summoned by Cohn and would like to take him along. This time

* In French in the original.

Cowen would be a more appropriate companion than Kremenezky, because he acts with more assurance and also because as an Englishman he enjoys tighter diplomatic protection.

* * *

The summons does not come at a time agreeable to me,

1) because of the *N. Fr. Pr.* where there will perhaps be a row if I go away again after 4 weeks,

2) because my mind isn't quite at ease on account of the public discussion of the Charter,

3) because we have no money as yet,

4) because my nerves are on edge,

5) because this isn't a good time for traveling,

6) because right now I wouldn't know what to do with the Charter.

But I must go.

Certainly the matter is serious. Perhaps pleasantly serious, perhaps unpleasantly serious.

The tone "*me fournir des explications*" doesn't sound exactly amiable.

On the other hand, surely they can't be so imprudent as to summon me to reproach me.

Nor are they likely to risk a bold stroke.

Accordingly, a favorable interpretation would seem to be indicated.

February 5, Vienna

I must write to Vámbéry:

February 4, at night

My good *Vámbéry bácsi:*

Upon returning home this evening I found an invitation from Cohn's Ibrahim to come down "*pour me fournir certaines explica-*

tions sur vos affaires." The word "*me*" in the sentence refers to Ibrahim, not to Cohn. All that such a vague prospect opens up to me is a perspective of endless hours of waiting and empty talk, which I, as a *matter of fact** man, am not partial to. Nevertheless, I answered that I was at Ibrahim's disposal with pleasure, but that I needed some time to put my most pressing affairs in order. You see, before I leave I should like to get some further details. For I don't want to go riding around to no purpose whatever.

As soon as I hear further from Cohn, I shall let you know; and if I go, I shall naturally stop off to see my *bácsi*.

Be embraced by

Your devoted
Dori.

February 8

With all these things on my mind, with my wife sick, yesterday I had to write a *feuilleton* about Japanese actors.

It reminds me of the time when I was writing *The Jewish State* in Paris and on top of that had to go to the Chamber and report on a session which was justly forgotten the next day.

And the *feuilleton* is even a pretty good one.

* * *

To my regret Cowen, whom I had invited by telegram, has begged off. I have to go with Kremenezky, who is a fine man but an inefficient one.

* * *

Day before yesterday the following wire came from Wellisch (in code):

* In English in the original.

Ibrahim acted on orders from Sultan, also transmitted in my presence your message directed to him.

* * *

Yesterday evening there came this wire from Yildiz: *Veuillez effectuer votre départ* [Kindly arrange your departure]. Ibrahim

* * *

If my wife is better, I shall leave on the Orient Express tonight.

February 10, Vienna

A *contretemps* [mishap].

The rail connection to Constantinople has been cut near Philippopolis by a flood.

Therefore I had to telegraph Dr. Wellisch yesterday to make my excuses to Ibrahim for my non-appearance and tell him that I would leave as soon as the track was clear, on Wednesday at the latest, via Constantsa.

This delay may also make it possible for Cowen to come along; he is quicker and more efficient than Kremenezky, in addition to being a British subject and having an ambassador to protect him.

Cowen's answer, which I requested, has still not come.

* * *

Yesterday I had lunch with Eulenburg, who was charming and did make mention of my trip to Constantinople, but didn't ask me about it.

We spoke only about generalities and about my *Solon in Lydien,* which he thinks fine. He intends to send it to the Kaiser.

Today I am asking him by letter whether it would not be advisable for me to read the play to the Kaiser in Berlin after my return. Who knows, maybe I would have something interesting to tell him, too.

* * *

If I go, I shall squirm my way out of it again at the *N. Fr. Pr. sans crier gare* [without warning]. I shall merely write the publishers a few words: I must leave suddenly for Constantinople and hope to be back again in a few days.

February 11, Vienna

Today I had some pleasantly reassuring news which no longer makes me regard my trip as a risky undertaking. Vámbéry writes he has been informed that the Hejaz Railroad is involved. Wellisch writes Ibrahim has told him that the Imperial summons has been issued in the interest of our affairs as well as those of the government.

Also, yesterday I received a wire saying that Ibrahim considered the delay insignificant.

Tomorrow, then, I shall go via Constantsa. Hope it won't be too black a sea voyage.*

* Translator's Note: *Hoffentlich keine zu schwarze Meerfahrt*—a humorous allusion to Constantsa's location on the Black Sea (*Schwarzes Meer*).

Book Ten

February 13, 1902, on the train, past Verciorova

Fragrant morning landscape on the Danube. Opalescence on the water, a softly shimmering, dull mirror.

Slept badly; nevertheless, now I am traveling toward the mysterious East in an improved morning mood.

Last night I was in Pest with Schlesinger. I went ahead on the noon train and gave my folks instructions for Joe, who was supposed to come in from Ostend at 5:25 in the afternoon.

I suppose Schlesinger wasn't quite sure whether I would call on him now that I no longer need him. I wanted to show him that I can be relied upon implicitly. My coming to see him was worth the effort, too. He gave me some good hints. The chief one: that Cohn needs me badly now.

He also promised to come immediately if I should call him, i.e., if we run onto a sandbank.

Then I went through my nocturnal native city to the station.

My friend Joe arrived on schedule, and after a cordial greeting the two of us continued our trip.

February 15, Constantinople

My fourth time in Constantinople since the days of Newlinski.

It is the same old city: colors, colors, and the barking of dogs—*et tout le reste* [and all the rest].

I drove to the Palace straight from the boat, in company with Dr. Wellisch.

Unfortunately our Rumanian steamer had lost time during the night because of heavy seas, so that we didn't land at Top-Hane until almost three o'clock yesterday, Friday, afternoon. I had already changed my clothes on board, to be sure; but by the time we got to the Palace it was half-past three.

I was taken to Ibrahim's office, by now familiar to me. The two Assistant Masters of Ceremonies, Ghalib and Memduh Bey, kept me company, amiably and silently. The half-hour until the arrival

of Ibrahim, who had immediately been notified of my arrival, passed rather slowly.

Then Ibrahim came, and from the Sultan, who sent me word that the *selamlik* had made him too tired to receive me immediately. I was to come to the Palace tomorrow morning (i.e., today). We arranged that I was to be there at 11 o'clock. Ibrahim remarked that H.M. had "*quelques iradés impériaux et peut-être des propositions à communiquer* [some Imperial decrees and maybe some propositions to communicate] to me.

I bowed silently.

Thereupon Ibrahim further informed me that the Sultan asked me to regard myself as his guest during my entire stay here.

Again I bowed silently.

Then we talked about some trifling things. I mentioned that I had brought some fruit for H.M. Ibrahim and Ghalib raised their eyebrows. No *comestibles* [foodstuffs] may be brought as presents. However, Ibrahim immediately said amiably that as a stranger I need not be acquainted with their customs. Whereupon I asked the gentlemen to be kind enough to accept the fruit from me; we would consume it together.

I left and frittered away the rest of the day in idleness with Joe. Then we met Crespi on the Grande Rue de Péra, and he accompanied me to the hotel. I told him those things in confidence which I wanted him to divulge.

Then, for the first time in days, I slept rather well.

February 15, afternoon

The first round is over.

Result unfavorable.

I got to the Palace at 11 o'clock. I rode with Wellisch, and in the second carriage was Joe with the boxes of fruit and the container with the warming-pan.

A sensation at the Yildiz entrance. We and our conspicuous pieces of luggage were sniffed at. But we were still able to pass easily.

At Ibrahim's office we had to wait a little while for him.

Finally the smiler appeared. I introduced him to Joe, who then withdrew to the ante-chamber with Wellisch.

Ibrahim informed the Sultan by letter of my presence.

Then he nonchalantly started a conversation which I immediately guessed as being pre-arranged.

He asked me about the aims of the Zionist Congress. I explained to him the purely nationalist Judaism of the Zionists which resists absorption by other nations such as is desired by our Jewish opponents.

Ibrahim said a distorted report had come in according to which I had announced that the Sultan had permitted the immigration of the Jews into Palestine for the purpose of establishing a Jewish kingdom, and this had been denied through the Embassy.

(Such a denial was completely unknown to me).

I now gave him the exact wording of my speech. I only said what the Sultan had in May expressly authorized me to say; and even that only after I had informed the Sultan by letter that I was about to do so.

Ibrahim smiled as always.

"We knew that Dr. Herzl couldn't have said anything improper. If that weren't so, the Sultan wouldn't have invited you to be his guest."

Then we talked about all sorts of things, including my presents. Ibrahim had them brought in. I explained the warming-pan whose appearance at first seemed to inspire him with some concern. The fruit required no explanation. The firm name of the foremost Viennese gourmet-food shop made a good impression.

After that the other Masters of Ceremonies came in, and I think the head cook as well. The warming-pan caused the most pleasant stir, after its non-explosive character had been established.

Then we went to lunch and ate Turkish dishes which had been warm once.

During the meal Tahsin Bey came in person, had a confidential talk with Ibrahim, and didn't even shake hands with me.

After we had eaten Ibrahim told me to go to see Izzet Bey. I was

already outside when he called me back again and whispered to me that I should accede to Izzet's wishes who would inform me of his personal interests.

"*Cela va sans dire* [That goes without saying]," I said, not amazed at the fact that Ibrahim himself was telling me this.

I was met by Izzet in the grand courtyard in front of the wing where the Sultan had received me in May. We exchanged a cordial greeting and went back to Ibrahim's office.

The three of us sat down in the same armchairs that we had occupied *respectivement* [respectively] last May, and the conversation was continued from the same point.

Presently Izzet began with *rudesse* [brusquely]:*

"What was the purpose of your visit last May?"

"But I told you at the time. To come to the aid of Turkey if she in turn wants to aid us. We Jews need a strong Turkey, etc., as I have indicated several times in my memoranda to His Imperial Majesty."

"Yes," said Izzet, "it has been understood that there would be moral and material aid on your part, as you people are very influential, both in journalism and in finance. But nothing of the sort has materialized. All you did was to make declarations in London and in Basel."

"It was quite necessary," I replied, "since it was a question of creating a favorable climate of opinion for His Imperial Majesty among the Jews all over the world. And I believe I have succeeded in this, because there has been a great manifestation of sympathy."

"All right, let us establish on both sides what is involved here," said Izzet. "I shall give it to you straight. His Imperial Majesty is prepared to open his Empire to Jewish refugees from all countries, on condition that they agree to become Ottoman subjects with all the duties that this imposes, under our laws and our military service."

"Exactly!" I replied.

He continued: "Before entering our country they must formally resign their previous nationality and become Ottoman subjects. On

* Translator's Note: This conversation was recorded in French.

this condition they may establish themselves in any of our provinces except—at first—Palestine."

I didn't bat an eyelash, also understood at once that this was only the first offer and that they would be open to bargaining.

"In return," Izzet went on, "His Imperial Majesty asks you to form a syndicate for the consolidation of the public debt, which is currently under discussion, and to assume the concession for the exploitation of all the mines in the Empire, those already discovered and those yet to be discovered."

"What mines?" I asked.

"All the mines in existence here, gold mines and silver mines, coal mines and oil wells. Knowing that you are interested in having a strong Turkey we aren't afraid that you will exploit us and are willing to entrust the exploitation to you.

"However, this will have to be an Ottoman company whose administrative council will be composed entirely of Jews and Moslems."

"I should like permission to think this over," I said. "I ask you only to be kind enough to tell His Imperial Majesty from me that one thing is certain in any case—that he can count on my sincere and determined devotion. This is the principle we are going to put first. As for the details, we shall make every effort to discuss them and to reach an understanding about them."

He then asked me to work up a *mémoire* [memorandum] in reply by tomorrow.

Then I gave him his snuff-box which greatly pleased him. He said he was crazy about snuff-boxes.

Before he left he whispered something to Ibrahim. The latter told it to me afterwards. Ibrahim was going to send his *homme de confiance* [confidential agent] to see me at my hotel, about "his personal interests."

"Agreed," I said, and added: "I can do a lot for Turkey—more than people think—but in return I must be given something tangible for my Jews."

That made sense to Ibrahim.

Then I sent someone to Tahsin to ask whether I could see him. No, he replied; he was too busy.

February 16, in bed, before sunrise

I woke up with the reply which I have to give the Sultan.

It is as follows:*

Sire:

The communications which Y.I.M. did me the honor of having sent to me yesterday by His Excellency Izzet Bey showed me a lofty benevolence to which I reply with sincere gratitude and complete devotion.

It is this same devotion which prompts me to present most respectfully the following observations.

The communications of H.E. Izzet Bey fall logically into two different parts:

1) an industrial part,

2) a politico-financial part.

1) Y.I.M. in his lofty wisdom offers to entrust me with the mission of establishing an Ottoman company to exploit all the mines, both those already discovered and those to be discovered, in your Empire.

I can only accept this proposition in principle, for it gives me the opportunity to serve Y.I.M.'s interests, and to serve them loyally.

The details naturally remain still to be decided.

2) In Y.I.M.'s generosity, so often demonstrated to the Jews of the Empire, Y.I.M. is willing to extend paternal protection to the persecuted Jews of the whole world and to receive them as Turkish subjects in Y.I.M.'s states, but on condition that they do not establish themselves in large numbers in a predetermined place. And in return Y.I.M. would desire to see a Jewish syndicate formed for the consolidation of the Debt.

* In French in the original.

In this form the proposal seems to be difficult of realization. To carry it out sufficient publicity is needed; and in this publicity it would have a bad effect, at least a dubious one, if restrictions were added to the generously intended welcome. But beyond this general consideration, there are still practical reasons. It is not the poor colonists who will supply the capital for the great financial operations. It is a matter, then, of finding a link between Jewish colonization and the execution of the consolidation of the Debt. This link, in my very humble opinion, can be found only in a general concession for the formation of a great Ottoman-Jewish company for colonization.

I have, Sire, the honor, etc.

February 17.

Tout est rompu [Everything is ruined] here.

The day had a good beginning and a bad end.

I had completed my letter of reply to the Sultan; then, a bit late, I drove to Yildiz.

I handed my letter to Ibrahim who then translated it into Turkish for the Sultan with the aid of the Deputy Master of Ceremonies, Ghalib Bey. He had instructions to make a literal translation.

After this had been done with fussy delays we chatted about a number of things, particularly Zionism. Ibrahim revealed himself as a warm Zionist and declared himself to be *pour une alliance offensive et défensive entre les Turcs et les Juifs* [in favor of an offensive and defensive alliance between the Turks and the Jews].

From this I concluded—since Ibrahim *toujours abonde dans le sens de son maître* [always echoes his master's opinions]—that the wind has changed in our favor.

Ibrahim also informed me that I had repeatedly been denounced to the Sultan as dangerous and that my Congress speech had been brought to his attention in distorted form. However, the Sultan in his lofty wisdom had seen through the intrigues and only in-

structed his ambassadors to deny that he had made a promise to me.

Then we went to lunch, which was a bit better this time.

To help our digestion—a rather tempestuous digestion—Izzet Bey showed up again. He read through my reply and with his usual penetration demanded an explanation of the *Cie. Ott.-Juive pour la colonisation* [Ottoman-Jewish Colonization Co.] Was it to have a choice of places for settlement, that is, be able to buy areas anywhere at all, and gather the Jews under it?

"Yes!" I replied. "That is indispensable. After all, we are not concerned with *protection individuelle* [individual protection]—which we have in all civilized countries even now—, but with *protection nationale* [national protection]."

What did I mean by that, Their Excellencies asked.

I explained: a great public gesture in our favor, such as an invitation to immigrate *without any restriction.*

Thereupon Izzet took my letter to the Sultan.

While we were waiting, Ibrahim and Ghalib raved about the happy conditions to come: how it would be when the Jews came. They dreamed aloud of the improvement of agriculture and industry, of banks which would not serve foreign interests, etc.

But then Izzet returned with the Sultan's decision, and it was unfavorable. The Sultan is willing to open his Empire to all Jews who become Turkish subjects, but the regions to be settled are to be decided each time by the government, and Palestine is to be excluded. The *Comp. Ott.-Juive* is to be allowed to colonize in Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia, anywhere at all, with the sole exception of Palestine!

A Charter without Palestine! I refused at once.

Ibrahim remarked:* "The two offers are very far apart!"

Izzet said: "What do you expect? Life is like that. First you are a thousand miles apart, and in the end you reach an understanding."

I said: "I'm afraid not. I shall sleep on it again and think it over until tomorrow. But I am very much afraid I won't find a solution."

* Translator's Note: This conversation in French.

Izzet said piously: "*Inshallah* [May Allah grant it]! Let us hope that you will find one."

I: "Alas, it seems unlikely to me. And if I don't find a solution by tomorrow, I shall ask His Imperial Majesty for permission to leave."

This was immediately taken as a threat to break off negotiations: Izzet and Ibrahim exchanged glances, and Izzet said frostily: "*Sans doute* [To be sure]!"

Then, in accordance with the Sultan's orders, a written record was made of this conversation and signed by Izzet and Ibrahim.

I got ready to leave. I asked Ibrahim softly when Izzet's confidential agent Caporal would come to see me. Ibrahim spoke with Izzet and brought me his answer: it was superfluous now. By this I recognized how seriously the negotiations had miscarried. So I whispered in Ibrahim's ear: an idea would be to make a double contract—that is, a public one which protects the Sultan from opposition, and a secret one for me and my friends.

Ibrahim said I should immediately inform Izzet of this expedient. I did. But Izzet said, with a pronounced wink and grimace:

"That isn't possible. The ministers wouldn't be willing. There are some of them whom you could convince. But there are also others who cannot be convinced—at any price."

Now I left *pour de bon* [in earnest].

* * *

I slept on the matter, which I regard as lost for the moment. Now I am writing the following letter to the Sultan:*

Sire:

It is with sincere and profound regret at not being able to be of use to Y.I.M. under the existing conditions that I prepare to take my leave.

I must respectfully bow to the judgment that Y.I.M., in his lofty wisdom, has expressed.

After reflection I have found only one thing that might perhaps smooth the difficulties. I most humbly submit it to Y.I.M.'s judg-

* In French in the original.

ment. If colonization without restriction were accorded us, I would persuade my friends to found a great Turkish bank with its central office at Constantinople and branches in all the important cities of the Empire. This bank, whose governing board would be composed exclusively of Moslems and Jews, would be charged with the modern organization of credit in the Ottoman countries. Thus it would be proved to all that the coming of the Jews would be an advantage, a piece of luck for the interests of the entire country.

If Y.I.M. does not believe it necessary to go into this proposal, I should like to ask permission to leave tomorrow morning, for my many activities make a long absence extremely difficult for me. I should be most happy if I were to have the signal honor of being received again today at a farewell audience in order that I may express my profound gratitude for the delighful reception that has been accorded me.

If Y.I.M. does not have time for me, I beg Your Majesty to do me the favor of accepting two small gifts. One is one of my books which will be delivered the day after tomorrow. It is a collection of philosophic tales. The other is a typewriter with Turkish-Arabic type which I have had made in America for Y.I.M. This typewriter will be at Constantinople in about two weeks.

If today I have not been fortunate enough to find the solution to the question to be solved, perhaps the day will come later. May Y.I.M. only remember his ever completely devoted servant. I shall continue to foster in the great Jewish organization that I represent sentiments of respect and love for the august person of the Caliph, the only great friend we have on earth.

I remain, Sire,

Y.I.M.'s most humble . . .

February 19, on the train, in Rumania,
between Pitesti and ?

I had finished the preceding letter so late the day before yesterday that I could no longer accept Ibrahim's luncheon invitation.

Therefore I sent Wellisch to Yildiz Kiosk with the letter, had lunch with Joe at the Péra Palace instead, afterwards tried to take a brief nap, and then drove out.

I brought along one jewel-studded gold pencil each for Ibrahim and the Second Master of Ceremonies, Ghalib.

I was unable to deliver the snuff-box for Tahsin, so now I am bringing it back again among our valuables.

Ibrahim was sitting lazily over the translation of my letter, and then finished it, moaning and groaning, in my presence.

Then he called the Third Master of Ceremonies, Memduh Bey, who had to calligraph the fair copy for the Sultan.

While Memduh was writing, Turkish style, on his knees, his left hand flat under the sheet of paper, Ibrahim began talking about his deceased son, the poor, charming Said Bey, whom I had met in London in June and who had soon after that died of an unsuccessful operation at Karlsbad.

Ibrahim wept, and this brought him very close to me as a human being.

Memduh's handiwork was then sent to the Sultan, and after awhile I was called to Izzet, who is now my intimate friend. He laughed and winked at me as if I were just as much of a crook as he is.

He repeated the Sultan's propositions to me, and I rejected them just as flatly. I said I could use immigration only without any restriction, or not at all.

The Sultan sent me the message that he could not grant me unlimited immigration under the administration of my Land Company even if he wanted to.

For he had reason to fear that he would not only not win the support of the majority of his people for it, but not even of the minority.

To this Izzet remarked with a grin that it was an error to believe that an absolute monarch could do whatever he wanted.

Izzet now changed over to a confidential tone and gave me the advice of a friend: *

* Translator's Note: This conversation in French.

"Enter this country as financiers, make friends, and later you will do whatever you want to." (This was accompanied by a strong wink, unmistakably intended to say: we do know what you want, and inwardly we have no objections to it, neither the Sultan nor we businessmen in his confidence who just want to make some money around him. But we've got to be careful, otherwise we'll be sent packing.)

He continued:

"Take our finances in hand and you will be the boss. First attend to the mining business, which is superb. There are hundreds, thousands of requests for concessions to which we don't even reply. You are being offered the exploitation of all mines in existence in the Empire, and you don't want to take it?

"After that, attend to the banking business. You will be given all the necessary concessions. It will be done in such a way that the Ottoman Bank will suspect nothing, because those gentlemen would be furious and would go to any lengths against you. And finally, we would see what could be done for your colonization request.

"If you want to take my heart-to-heart advice, this is what you must do: Leave tomorrow, talk to your friends, create that syndicate we need, earmark, through a bank which will keep it at your disposal, a sum of——to be deposited as security when the *firman* [decree] of the concessions is promulgated. And then we shall be able to make a contract with you. For example, for the *firman* covering the mines you will deposit a security of a million francs, and so on."

This idea I immediately thought brilliant, because it will give me an opportunity to flash money in front of the eyes of the greedy and yet involves no outlay on our part. Yet I said very reservedly:

"I see that you speak as a friend, and I shall also do all I can to get my friends to accept your advice. But I have to expect what they will tell me: you are offering us business that we are not looking for and don't bring us what we want, namely, the Colonization Company. All the same, I shall strive to be agreeable to His Imperial Majesty and to acquire friends here at all levels. I under-

stand perfectly what you are trying to say: One has to create interests around one if one wants to succeed. And to this same end I believe that it would be better to issue three different *firmans:* one for the mines, one for the bank, and one for the Colonization Co. That will make it easier for me to interest different groups. There will be some who will benefit by the first *firman,* others by the second, and still others by the third. And there will be friends who will be in on all three. (As I said this I gave him a penetrating and inviting look). Do you understand me?"

He replied with winning simplicity:

"I understand you. That's not bad."

Then I said:

"Ibrahim Bey told me that you would like to send your business agent Mr. Caporal to see me. Why so? Since we are friends, there is no need to have a third party between us. Let us understand each other directly; that is always better."

He looked at me almost with eyes of love—this is how well he liked my frankness—, and said:

"You are right."

Then he did get back to his master's interests: "The government* needs a million pounds now (aha! the Hejaz Railroad, I thought to myself); can you get it for us?"

"Yes!" I said quickly: "Give me unrestricted colonization and you will have the million in very short order. This I can offer you at once, because that's what I have come for. I will have to discuss the other projects with my friends first."

"That isn't possible at the moment," he replied.

"While we have been talking, an idea has occurred to me," I said. "I cannot agree to immigration with a restriction. But if *you* must not fix the number of immigrants, *we* can do it. The Ottoman-Jewish Co. could assume the responsibility to the government for not admitting more than a certain number of colonists."

"How many, for instance?"

* Translator's Note: Herzl notes at this point, regarding Izzet's pronunciation of the word *gouvernement:* "He kept saying *güvernment,* sometimes even *yüvernment.*"

"I haven't given this enough thought. The idea simply popped into my mind. What do you think of it?"

"It may not be bad," he said. "We would see about that later. But first of all, attend to our finances!"

And this is how things were to remain.

Two palace officials or guests come in, sat down amid many *salaams*, drank coffee, and smoked cigarettes. We weren't able to continue, but didn't have any more to say to each other anyway.

He saw me out to the *couloir* [corridor], and asked me in the Sultan's name to come to the Palace again the next morning since I probably wished to say good-bye. The Sultan also wanted to show me *une amabilité d'adieux* [a farewell kindness].

I drove back to the hotel.

In the evening the correspondent of the Havas News Agency, a French Swiss named Sandoz, came to see me with an introduction from Crespi.

Sandoz is a charmingly chattering, rosy old gentleman *qui semble avoir eu des revers de fortune* [who seems to have had hard luck]. He immediately wanted to secure my services for the founding of a big international newspaper, *L'Europe,* to be published in Switzerland. Naturally I wasn't taken in by this, *et pour cause* [and with good reason]. Anyone could have such plans for a newspaper and would have very good use for a man who would lend him the money for it.

But then we chatted *agréablement en confrères* [pleasantly, like colleagues], and I endeavored to make an agreeable impression on him because I might have use for him later.

* * *

Yesterday morning I got up very early in order to drive to the Palace, for the boat was leaving at 10 o'clock. Our trunks had been packed the evening before. I asked Joe to pay the bill—for despite the invitation to regard myself as the guest of the Sultan no one had come from the Palace to advise the hotel. The presumption was more than justified that the orders had been cut off somewhere and that the money had been stolen.

I further asked Joe to go to the boat with all the luggage, but not to embark until I came. I thought it possible—expected it, in fact—that the Sultan would not let me depart. However, things happened differently. With him everything always happens differently from the way one expects it. Some day I shall probably get the Charter, too, at a quite unforeseen moment—if at all. That is, provided we don't get it until after Turkey is divided, from the Powers.

Ibrahim and Izzet had had to rise early on my account. Their Excellencies actually appeared right after my arrival, and Izzet had instructions to make a record, in Turkish and French, of our negotiation.

Therefore I made a memorandum which was to be translated into Turkish afterwards: *

Today, February 18, 1902

Their Excellencies Ibrahim and Izzet Bey have done me the honor of communicating the following propositions to me on behalf of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan:

1) His Imperial Majesty will permit the immigration of Jews into his provinces of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, on condition that the immigrants obtain from their respective governments authorization to become Ottoman subjects. The immigrants must submit to the Ottoman laws in force and participate in military service. Immigration must not take place on a mass basis, nor must there be mass settlement, but in accordance with the decisions made by the Imperial government in the areas that will be indicated to them.

2) In return His Imperial Majesty desires the formation of a Jewish financial syndicate in order to render assistance to the Imperial government in the following matters:

a) The formation of a mining company for the general exploitation of mines in the Empire, whose administrative council will

* In French in the original.

be composed half of Moslem Ottoman subjects, half of Ottoman Jews.

b) The facilitation of the process of consolidating the Ottoman Public Debt, under moderate and advantageous conditions.

c) The loan to the Ottoman government of the sums necessary to carry out its public-works projects, under moderate and advantageous conditions.

* * *

Having respectfully taken cognizance of these Imperial communications, I have been obliged to declare, to my great regret, that the aforementioned conditions seem unacceptable to me. However, I remain at His Imperial Majesty's disposal for further negotiations.

Dr. Th. H.

But when Izzet began to dictate passages that were not to my liking, I said:*

"If you want me to write all that, you will permit me to add at the end that I have declined the proposals that were made to me."

"Exactly!" said His crafty Excellency.

While I was writing somebody came from the Sultan, bringing me, on his instructions, 200 pounds as reimbursement for my travel expenses.

I shrugged my shoulders, with due respect, and smilingly asked the gentlemen:

"But would I be permitted to offer this sum to charitable projects?"

"Accept it and sign for it first," said Izzet with a wily smile, "then you can do what you like with it."

So I wrote out a receipt:

Received from the Imperial treasury the sum of two hundred pounds for traveling expenses. Dr. Th. H.

* Translator's Note: This conversation in French.

While I was making a clean copy of my memorandum, I reflected on whether I ought to leave these £200 with the two Excellencies for distribution among the poor, i.e., make them a gift of it, which they certainly wouldn't have refused—or whether to keep if for our poor A.C. treasury. I decided on the latter, mainly for the reason that while my acknowledgment of the receipt of £200 would then be preserved in the files of the civil administration, there would be no proof that I had immediately given the money away again.

The idea of keeping these 5,000 francs, which by rights are my personal property, inasmuch as they are an honorarium for my efforts, never occurred to me even for a moment.

I said good-bye and farewell to the two Excellencies.

"I leave loaded with gold," I said to them with superior humor, and they bowed low before my nonchalance in the face of such a sum.

"Gentlemen and Your Excellencies," I said, "although officially we haven't reached a result, let me express the hope that we shall meet again! I shall follow your advice, I shall try to find what is good both for your country and for my Jews and that could satisfy the whole world."

"May God hear you," said Izzet piously. "We are your *partisans* [on your side]." Or did he say *participants?*

Ibrahim repeated, with a happy smile and a low bow:

"'Yes, we two are your *partisans!*"

And since I was just holding Izzet's hand with my right hand, I gave Ibrahim my left hand. And we presented a pretty picture, a *baksheesh Rütli** meeting, as it were!

Many hands with palms turned upwards were stretched out to me before I reached the Yildiz gate. Since we are in *Wonderland,*** as I keep explaining to my good Joe, I also have to shower down gold pieces wherever I go, like an Oriental prince.

I believe my reputation for generosity is increased by these

* Cf. note, p. 787.
** In English in the original.

small *baksheeshes* in the overheated fairy-tale atmosphere of *Wonderland.** A sort of gold fever must sweep Yildiz at my appearance. For this rain of gold is seen by many eyes, and most of these eyes belong to spies.

Therefore, if I give so much even to the doormen, how much must the Excellencies be getting with whom I have such long, secret conferences.

All Yildiz probably thinks that, and soon the Porte, the city, the country will too.

These gold pieces which I lose at the gate are among my most fruitful investments.

* * *

I had the horses of my hotel carriage race to the harbor as fast as they could run, and sure enough, I got to the boat five minutes before it sailed.

Aboard *in a hurry.**

I told Joe:

"But now you will hear the funniest thing from *Wonderland.** We leave richer than we came." And I handed him the unopened bag which had been weighting down my back coat-pocket.

I asked him to leave the little bag the way it was and only put it down on the A.C. table at the conclusion of our report. The way I know my gentlemen, they will listen to our report about this incomprehensible and useless trip with raised eyebrows. Then their eyes will pop in their pettiness.

Incidentally, I intend to give the amount we are bringing back in excess of what we took to the National Fund under my initials and to have the rest, too, entered as my donation for Zionist purposes, 1) because the money from the Sultan was not given to Zionism but to me, 2) because in the face of my signed receipt which has remained in Yildiz there must be some document to cover me.

* * *

* In English in the original.

We had a bad trip on the wretched Rumanian boat. The sea was rough, and in the afternoon a thick fog settled.

At such times one gets all sorts of ideas. E.g., if we collided with another boat and went down—then at some future time the receipt for the £200 would be found in Yildiz—perhaps when the Russians or Bulgarians conquer the country? And then I would appear to be a hireling of the blood-stained Sultan, a sort of Newlinski. Of course, Joe Cowen, who would also have gone down, could then not testify in my defense either that I had immediately given the gift away.

Joe told me on the train today that he, too, had thought of shipwreck and the moneybag today. He was determined, first thing as he was going down, to throw the heavy bag away because it could drag him down.

Incidentally, we lay in our cabins almost the whole time.

I did not feel well enough to write, but I did do a lot of thinking.

The plans for the whole immediate future were worked out in my head.

First of all I shall call a meeting of the Board for March 10th in London.

I shall try the mine scheme through Reitlinger. If he fails, through the London South Africans.

The Board must allot the security for the Bank and the Land Company.

Vámbéry must bring the pouting Tahsin round.

Sonnenschein must get permission for me to wear my decoration out of Koerber. For withholding it makes a bad impression in Yildiz.

Finally, Izzet had requested me in the name of the Sultan to ask the management of the *N. Fr. Pr.* what its good will and secretly becoming an unofficial Turkish organ would cost. An amusing assignment which I shall discharge when I have a chance.

Perhaps this will make a Zionist of Benedikt.

* * *

A thought in the cabin on the Black Sea:

La diplomatie, c'est l'art de traiter avec des brigands [Diplomacy is the art of dealing with robbers].

* * *

Letter to Vámbéry:

My good *Vámbéry bácsi*:

I am writing you these lines on the Orient Express on my return journey. You see, I didn't let Cohn detain me and left after four days, although he declared me his guest and had me treated very cordially. I didn't see him in person. I only spoke with his representatives. But precisely the chief one, *your friend,* didn't come near me—in fact, he wasn't even at home to me, although I had him informed of my presence a number of times. How am I to understand this? Will you have the kindness to clear this up, *bácsikam* [my little uncle]? He was downright hostile! I couldn't even hand him the present that I had brought along for him.

To the point: Cohn offers far too little and demands too much.

I am not enough of an Oriental tradesman to fritter away my time over countless cups of coffee. That is why I preferred to leave, even though on the best of terms and keeping myself at his disposal if he should make more reasonable proposals.

One thing, however, I thought I could sense. Those people don't seem to be quite sure whether I can deposit a financial security for a possible signing of a contract. This can be remedied, if that's all it is. On March 10th I shall go to London, and on the 15th I shall have a certificate of security sent to Cohn by two or three banks.

He wants financial aid. I am prepared to get it for him, but *do ut des* [I give so that you will give].

Am I right?

Since I have no more to tell, I won't bother you with a visit tonight or even trouble you to come to the station.

I didn't hand over your letter of introduction, because I was told Cohn might resent my associating with others.

The idea of calling you seemed hopeless from the start, since everything went through your opponent. But perhaps this very thing is advantageous for the future, because now you will be able to work unnoticed on the other side, which seems to be the hostile side at present.

Please gratify me soon with your judgment on all this. As soon as I have time, I shall come to you for a few hours of consultation.

Be embraced by

Your devoted
Dori.

February 19, on the train

Letter to Bennoreit:

Dear Friend:

I am writing you these lines on the Orient Express on the way back from Cohn, upon whose invitation and as whose guest I have just spent a few days in Constantinople.

Once again the most extraordinary things have happened, all strictly confidential.

In about two weeks I shall go to London via Paris. Despite this I am asking you to come to Vienna even before that, because it may be a question of a few useful days. I cannot put this matter in writing, and would have to make quite different arrangements if you don't help out.

You can imagine that I wouldn't dare to rush you to Vienna if it weren't a question of quite extraordinary matters, since I can see you a week or two later in Paris anyway. But you would have to save this very time in order possibly to bring in some people. This time, you see, Cohn wants to put something positive and tremen-

dously beneficial in my hands. It is something that a great number of people will probably go along with.

Therefore I ask you to wire me immediately upon receipt of this letter (address: Haizingergasse 29, Währing, Vienna) whether or not you will arrive here in Vienna on Monday.

But whether you come or not, consider yourself honor-bound not to tell a *soul* of this letter and its contents.

With the kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Dori.

February 21, Vienna

At the Staatsbahnhof I was met by Kremenezky, Kokesch, and Kahn. I gave them a brief report. They would have been satisfied even with the colonization of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia which the Sultan had offered.

When that evening I surprised them with the Sultan's £200, they laughed delightedly at first. But then Kokesch stated that this sum was at the disposal of the A.C., because it had given me the traveling expenses. In essence it is a matter of indifference, since I hadn't thought for a second of keeping the gift for myself. But what is typical is the guardianship which the committee want to exert over me.

For the rest, we agreed that the money should not be donated for Zionist purposes, but, in accordance with my first inspiration, to Turkish charity.

I am inquiring of Vámbéry what cause he recommends. The Hejaz Railroad, maybe?

* * *

A sensation at the *N. Fr. Pr.* at my return. Bacher stared at me with curiosity. Benedikt was self-conscious, but didn't ask any questions. The editors chuckled at the publishers' embarrassment.

Benedikt's slaves and eunuchs no longer laugh at me. It is dawning on them that I am the greater man.

* * *

In the evening a wire came from Greenberg: the London papers are publishing articles to the effect that I have already concluded the Charter.

Worried, I drove to Ambassador Mahmud Nedim Bey in order to send a code telegram through him to Yildiz asking them either to disregard the false rumors or let me deny them. If they issued another denial, it could render my further work impossible.

Mahmud Nedim was in bed and had his servant tell me that I should write out the desired telegram, whereupon he would send it in code.

I wrote it down, but when I had finished I remembered that these wires go to Tahsin, who is now against me.

So I preferred not to leave the telegram there and went away.

I immediately telephoned the correspondents of the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily News* and asked them to deny the rumors in my name, so that this denial may appear in London this morning.

I wired Wellisch to tell Ibrahim immediately that I had already issued a denial. For if the denial comes from Yildiz Kiosk, it will have a much more unfavorable repercussion. We shall see if they will cross me up again.

* * *

When I think of Izzet, he is probably the merriest and most monstrous rascal I have ever met.

For example, when he first made me the mine proposal, he hid his face in his hand, and, bending down over his knees, so that I would not see his roguish laughter, he said:*

"It is because we know that you want something else that we are entrusting this exploitation to you—you won't exploit us."

And he meant ἐν θυμῷ [in his heart]: but *we* will exploit *you*.

*Translator's Note: Quoted in French; wording not identical with the earlier report of this conversation.

Of course, he'll have to get up earlier for that, no matter how big a crook he is.

And to this rogue I have to write this charming letter:*

Your Excellency:

I have given deep thought to your advice which, I should say, was dictated not only by a zealous servant of the Sultan but also by a true friend of the Jews, and I have decided to follow it.

Therefore a deposit of three million francs will be made for the three *firmans* we spoke about (one million per *firman*) in several banks and to my account, ultimately to be paid to the Ottoman government as security as soon as the *firmans* are made public and I give the order to make the payment.

Perhaps it will be necessary to proceed by stages. What H.I.M. has been kind enough to offer me for the colonization is not sufficient, it is true, because there is a restriction, a sort of distrust which our good will surely does not deserve. But let us get to know one other, let us make a start, and let us hope that with the services which we are determined to render confidence will grow and we shall reach complete agreement.

In two or three weeks the above-mentioned deposit of three million francs will be made. You can be as certain of it as if it were already done. On the 15th of March at the latest you will know in what banks this money has been deposited; and I shall produce the vouchers when they are requested.

At the same time as this confidential letter I am sending an official one, addressed as always to His Excellency Ibrahim Bey.

The bearer of this letter knows nothing of its contents, and consequently he cannot be entrusted with an open reply. It would be very helpful to let me have an address for the telegrams which I might have to address confidentially and without an intermediary to Y.E. What I send from here to Yildiz Kiosk by wire is, of course, read before it goes off and before you receive it. And the same goes for what is sent to me from Yildiz. Therefore I ask Y.E. to sign with a code name—for example, *Bachrach*.

* In French in the original.

Begging Your Excellency to believe in my devotion to your country and my unshakable friendship for you, I am

Ever yours,
Th. H.

* * *

Letter to the Sultan:*

Sire:

I have the honor to submit to Y.I.M.'s judgment the following most respectful considerations.

If the entire program of immigration concessions on the part of Y.I.M. and of financial services to be rendered on our side is not realizable all at once—perhaps there would be a way of at least making a start toward its realization.

After mature deliberation I believe I have found an expedient.

According to the official report drawn up at Yildiz Kiosk on February 18th between Their Excellencies Ibrahim Bey and Izzet Bey and myself, Y.I.M. wishes to permit the immigration of Jews into his provinces of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, not on a mass basis, but in small groups. I must say in all sincerity that I do not believe this concession—magnanimous though it may be—sufficient for the creation of that great movement in the entire Israelite world which is necessary to take care of all the financial needs of the Empire. But one could always try and see what the results would be. However, in order not to emphasize too much the restriction which would be contained in this permission, the *firman* would contain the clause that the immigrants must be presented by the committees which I have instituted in the various countries.

In this way it will not be necessary to announce publicly that the immigration is limited. Besides, a system can be set up. The Imperial government would assign the abandoned areas to me, and the immigration could be carried out in good order and in the numbers confidentially determined by the Imp. govt.

* In French in the original.

In return I would form financial syndicates in accordance with Y.I.M.'s wishes.

1) for the exploitation of the mines,

2) for the establishment of a bank for the Ottoman countries.

In order to demonstrate that these propositions do not lack a serious foundation and that it is possible to proceed with the settling of details, I shall have deposits made in several banks by the 15th of March, with directions that they be paid out to the Ottoman govt. upon orders from me. I intend to deposit two or three million francs. These sums would constitute the security for the concluded arrangements. The deposits will remain for this purpose until May 15th, and I shall produce the bank vouchers.

I have the honor, Sire, to remain

Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

Covering letter to Ibrahim:*

Your Excellency:

I have the honor of transmitting herewith a very important letter for H.I.M.

Hoping to be with you again soon at Yildiz Kiosk to accomplish useful work for Turkey and the Jews, I beg Your Excellency to accept this assurance of my high regard and devoted friendship.

Dr. Th. H.

February 22, 1902

February 23

For a change on the Orient Express again, on my way home from Munich where I went yesterday evening to meet Reitlinger from Paris.

* In French in the original.

We met on schedule in Munich at 10:15. I entered his compartment, he traveled on with me as far as Salzburg, and *en deux temps trois mouvements* [in two shakes of a lamb's tail] I had explained the matter to him.

For in case the Board and the Council of the Jewish Colonial Trust regard the Sultan's mine proposal as outside their statutory domain or should find the necessary *baksheeshes* which, according to a remark of Izzet's (that Fuad Pasha had received £100,000 for a single mine) as well as indications from Ibrahim, I must estimate at between 100 and 120,000 pounds—in case, then, that my Board should find this too high, I wanted to keep Reitlinger, who together with his brothers has got rich on mines, in readiness *eventualiter* [just in case].

I soon found out that R. considered the matter too costly, risky, and unsafe. Actually, he recommended having it handled through our Bank, and thought that if it became known that we possessed this general mining concession the shares would greatly rise in value and that we would dispose of the still unsold ones at high rates, while previously we might not have been able to get rid of them at face value.

I thought this idea really first-rate; the only questionable feature about it is that then the Turkish government would face the Jewish Colonial Trust as a contracting party and would be able to fleece it. If we stand for it, they will soon take everything we have away from us. If we resist and defend ourselves, there'll be a mess, and instead of friendship we shall have enmity which under certain circumstances could ruin our whole movement.

In my introductory remarks I had explained to Reitlinger that I would have to receive half of the proceeds, because I wanted to use it for the settlers in Mesopotamia (farm produce cooperative societies).

I also told him that the main reason I had brought him in was that I knew him as a good Zionist who, I expected, would let the poor people profit from such a gain. Otherwise I could easily have done it with my wife's relatives, nearly all of whom are anti-Zionists.

But I soon found out *que la chose ne lui souriait pas* [that the matter did not appeal to him]. *C'est peut-être une de mes nombreuses bévues* [This may be one of my numerous blunders].

The day after tomorrow I shall write him the following letter:

To Reitlinger:

Strictly confidential!

February 25, 1902

Dear Friend:

Many thanks again for your trouble which I value highly as a token of the trust you place in me.

You also gave me such good and candid advice that I now almost reproach myself for having dealt with you too politically in the beginning. The interests I represent must justify this. But now I too want to give you a proof of my confidence by absolute frankness, by giving you a detailed explanation of my action. The proposal I made you comes *second*. I tell you this at the risk of depreciating it, for psychology teaches us that one is no longer keen on a thing that has already been refused by others. But bear in mind that if the Board of the Jewish Colonial Trust refuses to carry out my plan, it may be guided by special considerations which have nothing to do with the real value of the concession that I have in prospect.

In the first place, you see, I will and must try to let the Colonial Trust do the business. Right after my return from Constantinople I convened my Vienna committee and reported to it, as well as calling a meeting of the Bank's Board of Directors for the middle of March. It can't be done any faster, because by-laws and periods in accordance with standing orders must be observed. All this makes the machinery, cumbersome as it is, even more unwieldy.

Therefore I should like to have the possible agreement with you ready, except for the signature, even before then, so as not to lose even more time. This will explain to you why I had to get you into action so quickly.

My Vienna committee believes that I shall not get the support of the 24 to 26 gentlemen of the united councils who are to be consulted for my plans. They are very fine people, but hard to bring under one hat. In this case there is the additional fact that it is a matter of investing more than half of the available company funds, even though this investment promises a big profit. For me, of course, it would be the full gratification of a *décharge* [relief]; I would be covered in every respect and wouldn't have to take care of the secret expeditures myself, but could have it done, in the manner customary with us, by persons appointed for the purpose. You yourself have supplied me with a good argument for the implementation of the plan through our Colonial Trust: from the moment we intend to serve only Cohn's interests, we need not fear that the present *embrassade* [embrace] will later turn into a quarrel and that our organization will become hated.

After all, I have acquired some authority with my friends and can push through a good many things.

However, I must also reckon with the possibility that they will not obey me. This is how matters stand. And now, my most honored friend, declare yourself.

My condition that you must not talk about it with *anyone* outside of your family is unalterable.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
Dori.

February 25, 1902

* * *

To Alex Marmorek:

February 25, Vienna

My good Alex:

The first calmer moment after my return. These lines are strictly confidential, only for you and friend Nordau.

I left Cohn without an agreement, but with an excellent relationship for negotiations. He summoned me by telegram, made me proposals in Yildiz (through his official representatives), we negotiated "from Power to Power," as they say, and I rejected his proposals in a final memorandum, although I added that I remained at his disposal *pour d'autres négociations* [for further negotiations].

He offered: the colonization (on gratis territory) in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, with the exception of Palestine.

He demanded: the founding of financial syndicates which are to take care of all sorts of business for him (bank, loans, mines, etc.)

I had to refuse, because I can make an agreement only on the basis of our program, as long as the Greater A.C. does not authorize me to make such impromptu policy.

However, afterwards I was notified semi-officially that I should have possible security for the various concessions deposited in banks anyway. If they saw this earnest, negotiations would get going again and better. Therefore we have called the Board and the Council to Vienna for the 17th of March.

My local colleagues believe that our Bank people will not be willing. Barbasch and associates are for transactions in Russia, but not in Turkey. Naturally I shall lower the boom on them, for we've got to make a start (of course, with the greatest securities imaginable)—first, to get firm ground under our feet, second, because I believe that the possession of concessions can change the value of the Bank shares from a sentimental to a real value, perhaps even a very great one.

Unfortunately our good Barbasches don't always understand me.

I was going to call the board meeting in London, in order to negotiate with other financiers on the side and bring their possible readiness to bear on our slow-pokes. Unfortunately I can't get away now. The colossal pity is that I am a serf of the *N. Fr. Pr.* and mustn't risk my livelihood. Therefore, only if the Board is ab-

solutely unwilling shall I try to get a leave of absence later and approach the London financiers.

If it works out, this will be a thorny affair. You see, in default of the Bank I would have to make the transactions in my own name, and even though it were known to the inner circle that I am not making the deals for myself, i.e., that I turn over all the financial benefits falling to my share to the colonization and the party treasury in advance, on the outside I would still be a *G'schaftelhuber** and would be quite painfully nailed to the cross for it. *C'est un engrenage—quand on y a mis le doigt* [It's a cog-wheel—once you've put in a finger] . . .

Perhaps we shall find another way out; maybe one of our faithful, of whom we are absolutely sure, can be put in as a straw-man concessionaire—Wolffsohn, Kremenezky, or someone like that—although the question there is whether Cohn will accept anyone but me. For Cohn has confidence in me! His proposals are directed to me personally.

The coming weeks must mature this. You and Nordau should write me your views. You, dear Alex, need not come to Vienna for the Council meeting. Send your proxy to Oskar and stay at your work. What my violence can't fix, you wouldn't accomplish either.

With cordial regards,

Your careworn
Benjamin.

March 4, Vienna

Crespi reports that Babington Smith, as Chairman of the *Commission de la Dette Publique* has protested against any consolidation that may be attempted without first asking the Commission for official permission.

* Translator's Note: Austrian slang term; the approximate American equivalent would be "big-time operator."

Tellement on me prend au sérieux [This is how seriously I am being taken]!

I.e., unless Crespi is lying.

To Reitlinger:

Strictly confidential.

Dear Friend:

Thanks for your good letter of February 28. However, I don't fully share your views.

1) There can't be any question of compensation, because we have no claim as yet and he need not "pay off" either the movement or myself.

2) I am of the opinion that we *have* to consider Cohn's proposals, although I officially rejected them at first. We must go into them, because this much was confidentially indicated to me and because it would be an enormous mistake to reject the confidence that he places in me.

It is true, today it is a only a personal success which I and not the movement have achieved, but I must not reject this success, for I am accepting it for the future of the cause.

The only difficulty is how to effect this transfer. I am sure of my own self. Not so much of the others, i.e., of their political and financial acumen. (Of course, this, like everything else, will remain strictly between ourselves!)

After more mature deliberation I have not summoned my various committees to London, but here for March 17, because here I have the support of my Vienna colleagues who have been of one mind with me from the beginning, namely, that the J.C.T. ought to accept the concessions that have been offered to me.

If we don't manage this, then I shall be faced with the thornier task of carrying the matter out myself, i.e., in my name. I have no doubt that I shall succeed with this in London, for the head of a foremost house* with whom I was at variance politically for a

* (*Pro futuro*) Sir Samuel Montagu, according to a letter from Colonel Goldsmid. [Herzl's Note.]

time, has swung our way since I spoke with you and declared his financial readiness as soon as we have something positive in our hands.

It is not Altmann!

Should the matter take this form, I would probably first be sharply attacked by the press, because outsiders might believe that I was making business deals on my own account. But I mustn't be sensitive. Incidentally, I may be able, with the consent of my Actions Committee, to consign the role that Cohn intended for me to one of our faithful and reliable people—provided he accepts another man in my place.

This other man would, of course, have to make the same secret commitments as I would: that any profits he might make would go to the settlement and the treasury of our movement. What do you say to this?*

This is how the matter stands at the moment. I assume that I am not wrong if I presuppose on your part a continuing interest and readiness to work for the cause to the extent of your ability. For this reason I shall inform you of developments that may interest you or in which you can help. But please don't do anything now.

With cordial regards,

Your trusting and devoted
Dori.

March 5, 1902

March 5, Vienna

Went to see Mahmud Nedim yesterday, who thought that the £200 would be accepted for the Hejaz Railroad. So I asked him to write Tahsin that if this was not regarded as an *inconvénient* [inconvenience] I was donating the £200 to the Hejaz Railroad, otherwise to the *Asile des pauvres* [Poor-House].

* Reitlinger will think that I mean him. In this way I make sure of his silence in case he is not honest. [Herzl's Note.]

Mahmud Nedim discussed politics in his fashion, i.e., like a small child.

The Spanish ambassador had been with him before I was. Naturally he associates with all guiders of states, and he seems to hold his own, he doesn't cut too bad a figure! What a circle!

March 6

To Izzet:*

Your Excellency:

I have the honor of enclosing herewith two newspaper clippings which were sent to me from London.

On March 15th three million francs will be deposited to my account in various banks, in accordance with my letter of February 22.

I have given instructions to keep these sums at my disposal in banks in Paris, Berlin, and London. They will probably be the Crédit Lyonnais (Paris), the Dresdener Bank (Berlin), and Lloyds Bank (London), one million francs in each.

I shall permit myself to give you definite information in a week.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the assurance of my high regard,

Very devotedly yours,
Th. Herzl.

March 7

A touching letter from Nordau which releases me from many a feeling against him. He writes: The limitless knavery of our opponents increases my admiration for your sacrifices. You are stronger and better than I am....

* In French in the original.

March 9, on the train between Pest and Vienna

I have been to see Vámbéry. A completely pointless visit, as I knew in advance—since I had just as little news for him as he had for me.

But I had to take the trouble to see him; otherwise he would have believed that I have turned disloyal and ungrateful.

A quite useless sacrifice. *Ut aliquid fecisse videamur* [So that we might appear to have done something] it was decided that he should first write to Tahsin and not until April—if I haven't received a fresh invitation by then—to the Sultan.

Incidentally, Vámbéry now thinks that I shall reach my goal!

Last May he said the opposite.

I believe him now. But when?

March 11, Vienna

From Wellisch I received this absolutely mysterious telegram today, dated yesterday: "Wait for letter first."

I take it to be a senseless act of self-importance on the part of a *faiseur de zèle* [one who puts on a show of zeal], since there is absolutely nothing else on hand from Constantinople.

The only explanation would be that Izzet said something to him when he transmitted my letter of the 6th.

* * *

My idea of the shape of things to come is as follows:

First of all the Sultan and his *entourage* [circle] will make capital of my security vouchers at the Ottoman Bank and other institutions, perhaps even governments. *Il se prévaudra de ma puissance financière* [He will boast with my financial strength]. This will help him on a few occasions, too. The financiers who have served him up to now will be afraid of my competition and will advance him money. In each case it will be a matter of £150 to 200,000. After some time this *truc* [trick] will be worn out and the financiers will no longer be taken in by the fabulous Dr. Herzl,

whom they don't rate too highly anyway, as a dreamer and a man *backed** by too small funds. *But I shall be backed more and more.**

After being rushed to Constantinople in vain two or three times, I shall pretend to lose my patience and say that I won't take another step until I am given the Charter.

At that moment I shall perhaps get it.

* * *

Vámbéry told me on Saturday how the Sultan got rid of a Minister once. I forget the name of this Minister; I believe it was a Minister of Education. He and the Grand Vizier came to the Sultan for an audience. First the Grand Vizier made a report. Then it was to be the Minister's turn. He stepped forward and reached into his breast pocket to pull out some document. At that moment the Sultan loudly screamed for help: "He wants to murder me, he is pulling a gun."

From all sides people hurled themselves on the astounded man and found a gun in his breast pocket where there had been none before.

Naturally the man was quickly executed.—

This is the man I am negotiating with.

Incidentally, this just goes to show my intuition: last May I didn't put the notes I had prepared for him in my breast or vest pocket, but into my glove. Because I thought that he might mistake my reaching into my breast pocket for reaching for a gun.

* * *

For the meeting of the Board and the Council which will take place here on the 17th inst. I am this time preparing an introductory explanation which I want to keep free of distortions and omissions for the future.

I shall read the following declaration:

Gentlemen of the Council and Board of Directors of the Jewish Colonial Trust:

This time we have important, crucial matters to present as the

* In English in the original.

result of my last trip to Constantinople which I undertook in company with Mr. Cowen, a governor.

I was invited by a telegram from the Sultan to visit him. It seems that he has gained confidence in me, and he had certain propositions made to me.

However, at this important moment, and much as I regret it, I cannot conceal from you the fact that I have achieved only a personal and not a material success.

The Sultan is not willing to make us any concessions in Palestine for the time being. Instead, he has offered to grant me colonization in his other provinces of Asia Minor, particularly in Mesopotamia, on gratis territory. In return he demands various financial services: procuring loans, consolidation of the national debt, and industrial-technical arrangements for raising the general welfare in his Empire.

I have rejected these proposals with due courtesy, because above all they lacked the one foundation on which I can stand in the spirit of our Basel program. I made my refusal in a final memorandum which became part of the permanent files of Yildiz Kiosk.

To be sure, I would have had to decline the proposals for another reason as well—because, according to a surely incontrovertible remark made in Constantinople by my colleague Cowen, our financial strength is not equal to it, and I would therefore have to turn to financiers outside our circle first.

However, after this official conclusion of these negotiations it was indicated to me semi-officially that I should not regard the relations as broken off after all. Rather, I should accept the financial concessions offered to me, because that way I would be able, in the course of events, to convince the Sultan of my good will and also acquire useful friendships in the country and in the government. If I decided to do so, I was to manifest this readiness by furnishing proof of security of 2 or 3 million francs. Then fresh negotiations would probably start.

I said that I hadn't come as a businessman and couldn't take on even the most profitable concessions without consulting my friends first. After that I departed.

Although I did reject the Sultan's offers at first, I am of the opinion that they should be accepted. My colleagues of the Committee of Five of the Council also subscribe to my view. We must get firm ground under our feet and must try to achieve a lasting relationship with the Turkish government.

The concessions which the Sultan offers me probably have some financial value—perhaps even very great value. This will be seen when we go into the details. Although the concessions were offered to me personally and not to our Bank or to the Zionist movement, I shall turn them over to our financial organization, the J.C. Trust, as soon as possible; therefore I am inclined to demand the *firmans* for myself and my assigns.

Afterwards our Bank will take over the rights I have acquired—and we shall have gained a firm footing in Turkey.

Gentlemen, I cannot urge you earnestly enough to accept my proposals. At the first moment it might seem as if we were deviating from our goal. But actually we shall approach it in this way, though it is a roundabout way. We Zionists didn't create the J.C. Trust to make money somewhere, to have an ordinary bank for credit transactions with the Jewish public in Russia and elsewhere. The Bank is only the instrument of our movement.

It is my hope—and my local colleagues join me in this hope—that we shall in the course of our deliberations convince you of the expediency of our propositions. Otherwise I should have no other choice but to take the concessions anyway and carry them through with ordinary business people. That would not be good for our movement, for many reasons.

I won't even bother to mention the fear that my efforts could then be misinterpreted by the public—although this, too, is a rather serious scruple.

It might be possible to circumvent this difficulty by having one of our reliable people figure nominally as the concessionaire—that is, provided the Sultan would be willing to give the concessions to a person other than myself, in whom he has placed his trust. At the moment I don't know this, for, since I was rejecting everything, I wasn't able to go into such a detail.

But there are still greater difficulties. If we leave the exploitation of the concessions to ordinary businessmen, they may have differences of opinion with the Turkish government, and then our movement would suffer from the adverse reaction.

Finally, however, the businessmen would of course demand a share of the profits, and at least one-half. Even though I or the nominal concessionaire would donate my or his half to the colonization project, that is, to the party treasury or to the National Fund, it would still be a pity to give up the other half. Perhaps major amounts will be involved. These would then substantially increase the value of our shares if our Bank owned the concessions. Perhaps on the basis of such prospective profits a syndicate might be organized or found which would take at a higher rate all or some of the shares that are still unsold.

For these reasons, which are still to be elaborated on in the discussion, I urgently recommend to you, gentlemen, to make the resources of our Bank available in an appropriate manner and to decide that the J.C.T. will take over and carry through the concessions to be acquired by me.

March 13, Vienna

Bad news from Constantinople.

Wellisch's wire has been explained. He writes under the date of the 9th that after he had delivered my letter to Izzet he was called by messenger to Ibrahim, who had instructed him to write me "*de ne rien entreprendre jusqu'à nouvel avis* [to do nothing until further notice]."

This means: Waved off!

Je m'y connais [I knew it would happen].

There is a variety of explanations. I am in a fog again.

Did Russia or some other Power wish that nothing be done with me?

Did competing financiers appear?

What counter-intrigues or deals have prevailed?

Before my court council-of-war assembles on the 17th the battle will be lost.

* * *

I am writing to Wellisch for information, and the following to Crespi:*

Dear Sir:

Kindly send me accurate information on all the affairs that are currently occupying 363 and his group.

From Paris I am informed of things I cannot believe—that is how ridiculous and fantastic they seem to me.

Cordially yours,
Herzl.

March 13, Vienna

To Nordau:

Dear Friend:

Under the date of the 9th you write me nothing that isn't already contained in my letter to you and Alex.

(Then I explain to him my hope that the Board and the Council, meeting here where I myself, my 4 Viennese, Wolffsohn, Katzenelsohn, are supporting my project of having the Bank acquire the concessions, will decide in accordance with my wishes.)

Continuing:

Therefore I hope that the worst eventuality—my having to take on the concessions myself—won't even arise.

But if it does, then I and you, my closest friends, must have elephant hides.

It should not be overlooked

1) that I would *de plein droit* [with every right] be the owner of these concessions which have been offered to me and to me alone, not to the Bank or the movement. Naturally, I have my

* In French in the original.

own code of behavior and act in accordance with it. But neither the Bank nor the movement has any legal or moral claim. Cohn regards *me* as the man to whom he can entrust his interests, not the Congress, not the Bank's Board of Directors, etc. However, I don't differentiate my character as a public figure from my character as a private individual. That is simply my special code of behavior;

2) that from the outset I am giving our inner circle explanations that bind me. Our unwieldy, deficient, desperately badly functioning apparatus at least offers me the advantage of being covered by it if I cannot make everything public. What do I then care about being suspected and abused? In an extremity there finally *will* be a public gesture which will save my honor.

Therefore I need not be so worried as to become inactive. Then, too, I have already spun initial threads to Paris and London. To be sure, these are quite difficult matters in which one must keep a cool head. So don't put my head in a whirl, my dear friends. I mustn't start being afraid.

(Then I tell him how it had occurred to me in the fog on the Black Sea that if we went down, some day when Constantinople was taken by storm my receipt for £200 would be found in Yildiz and no one would know that I had given the money to Cowen.)

But this is not how things are in the business transactions which I shall outline in advance in official memoranda of the Council, the Board of Directors, etc.

March 13

Now I am tormented by the thought that Reitlinger might, *bona* or *mala fide* [in good or in bad faith], have committed an indiscretion which has led to other groups competing for the concessions now.

* * *

Perhaps the current waving off is a confirmation of my entry of two days ago on p. 1249f. The Sultan is now using my proposals to get money from others.

Or he is giving the concessions to Rouvier, who is said to be there now, in return for "him"* carrying out the consolidation of the *dette* for him.

March 14, Vienna

The wind has shifted. We are deep in the fog again.

Aequam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem [Remember to keep a level head in adverse circumstances].**

Yesterday evening's edition of the *N. Fr. Pr.* contained two news items *qui me disent long* [which speak volumes to me].

1) The day before yesterday the Sultan gave a dinner in honor of Constans and received him in special audience afterwards. Once a *scoundrel,**** always a *scoundrel.****

The same Constans who caused him the Mytilene affair on account of the measly Lorando-Tubini debt.

2) The Sultan approved the Rouvier project for the consolidation of the *dette.*

The two items appear to be connected and to have something to do with my coming and going.

Evidently the Sultan has made capital of my presence. I was the Jew who was sent for in order to make the other competitors more pliable. It has been acomplished.

The pity was and is that because of my editorial post—that is, my livelihood—I wasn't able to stay down there for a few weeks. *On aurait trouvé* [They would have found out]!

This also explains the waving off. *Tout est rompu* [Everything has gone to smash].

The only satisfaction I have is that the Turks will get the trimming of their lives from the French crooks.

* Translator's Note: . . . *"gegen dem"*—humorously ungrammatical.
** Translator's Note: Quotation from Horace, *Odes*, II, 3.
*** In English in the original.

March 14

Wrote to Eulenburg today to put in a good word for the performance of my *Solon* at the *Königliches Schauspielhaus* [Royal Theatre] (among the repertory plays some time).

And I added:

I have been to Constantinople. That is always a Wonderland. At the moment the French are riding high. And how! And what Frenchmen!

* * *

March 15, Vienna

Yesterday, on Kärntnerstrasse, I ran into Ambassador Mahmud Nedim and told him that I would call on him on Monday or Tuesday morning. I intend to show him the letters of credit for three million which Levontin has provided in the meantime.

* * *

I shall present the following document to the Board of Directors:

Gentlemen:

As a supplement to the announcements read in the joint session of the Council and the Board I give you the following additional information:

Even though the Sultan has offered the concessions to *me*, at the same time I was given to understand by intermediaries that there are certain private interests which must be met on this occasion. In all, an amount of 110,000 pounds is involved.

This amount would have to be raised by the Board; and since it would not do to use such a sum from the present assets of the Bank, we would have to try to pay it from the profits of the syndicate. If the syndicate that is to be formed took over one-half of the still unsold shares at 3 pounds, this would provide an adequate fund.

In this connection I state expressly that I would under no con-

dition handle the distribution of this sum myself, but that other agents would have to be appointed by the Board for this purpose. For in the interest of our movement, in the future as in the past no monies must go through my hands.

Read in closed executive session of the Board, on ———,

co-signed by ———

* * *

Letter to the Sultan, to be sent off on March 18th:*

Sire:

I have the honor to give Y.I.M. an accounting of the steps I have taken since my most respectful letter of February 23, 1902.

Having got my friends together for consultation, I informed them of Y.I.M.'s generous disposition toward the Jews. They were deeply touched by this. However, they believe as I do that a restriction on the permission to settle our unfortunates in Turkey would produce a disagreeable effect on public opinion.

But from our deliberations there has emerged a different conclusion from the one expressed in my aforementioned letter.

The conclusion is this: we demand nothing! Since it is a matter above all of convincing Y.I.M. and the Ottoman people of our sincere good-will, we wish to take the first step on the road to confidence which must become mutual.

For the moment, then, we do not demand any concession of general colonization—and we offer our financial services just the same.

That is to say, we believe that once Y.I.M. has got to know us through the services we render, he will later grant us of his own accord what seems to present difficulties today.

March 16, Vienna

Yesterday coal-Gutmann inquired of me whether I would accept an invitation to the meeting of the *Allianz*.

* In French in the original.

I immediately went over to see him and told him in the slovenly tone which is indicated with such uneducated people:

"The discussion is nothing but hogwash.

"You want to forestall the new Rumanian emigration? (But perhaps you're just afraid of the campaign of Dr. Elias of Mulhouse against the entire *Allianz*)."

In short, I acted as though I believed him. "I see only two ways," I said. "Either you get the local Rothschild and two or three other people like that for a secret conference at which I shall explain everything.

"Or you get the I.C.A. directors together for a discussion with me."

The latter course was decided on after a lengthy conversation in which he told me some pretty details about the Hirsch money. E.g., that in Galicia the major part of the funds was embezzled by the officials of the Foundation. Further, that Narcisse Leven is himself only an official—with 50,000 francs per annum. And that for Galicianizing the Hirsch Foundation (appointment of four Gentile trustees, etc.) Dr. Rappoport, who once made a fortune at the Länderbank, was—raised to the nobility!

And the misery in Galicia remains the way it was.

We agreed that I was to compose the letters of invitation to the I.C.A. directors for him.

This is the draft that I am sending him today:

Dear Sir:

Again we have bad reports from Rumania. The legal and administrative chicanery give rise to fears of an even much worse emigration this coming Spring than the one of two years ago.

In the face of this very serious situation the Vienna *Israelitische Allianz* plans to organize a quite confidential conference on Easter Sunday. It is to take place at Frankfurt a.M., and the invited participants are to be only the presidents of the Alliances, the directors of the I.C.A., and Dr. Herzl.

The terrible state of distress in Rumania would probably be enough of an appeal to induce you to attend. But you will surely

not hesitate when I tell you that the possibility seems to be opening up of finding a lasting remedy for all these calamities.

For me the trip is truly difficult enough, since there is illness and worry in my family. Therefore, the fact that I have decided to make the trip and have asked Dr. Herzl to go along will speak more loudly than all words. I most urgently request you not to be absent from Frankfurt on Easter Sunday.

With respectful regards,
D. von Gutmann.

March 18, Vienna

In the meantime Gutmann had begged off. He said he didn't want to invite the I.C.A. people because they wouldn't come.

Despite this I went to yesterday's meeting of the *Isr. Allianz* at Gutmann's place of business.

En deux temps trois mouvements [In two shakes of a lamb's tail] I explained to the assembled *cour de miracles* [court of miracles] the only possible plan for an aid campaign for Rumania:

First, convening a conference of the Alliances and the I.C.A. at Frankfurt.

There, establishment of the will and the readiness to help. To what extent?

When this headquarters has been established and is ready, I will inform it of my achievements, show it where the emigration is to be led.

Then I shall at one stroke organize 2–300 local committees needed in Rumania. These committees will nominate the emigrants. The others will be told: Stay! Hold out for another six months or a year. Your turn will come, too.

The emigrants will be settled in farm-produce cooperatives. By combining mortgage and personal credit there will be a possibility of giving the settlers not the hitherto existing *shnorr* help, but work help.

I made an impression—and I think they all thought as one: we'll steal this plan from him.

With this I left them sitting there and went out.

* * *

In the Board and the Council yesterday I pushed through everything I wanted.

Naturally a number of them didn't understand me. Ussishkin got angry and said he would have nothing more to do with anything. I had to fight to channel into the Bank the possible emoluments that would otherwise fall to my share.

Curious bank of Jews!

Today I am taking the 3 letters of credit to Mahmud Nedim.

* * *

To Izzet, March 18, 1902:*

Your Excellency:

Yesterday I showed His Excellency Mahmud Nedim the letters of credit for the sum of three million francs which, following your advice, I have had deposited in three banks (in Berlin, Paris, and London). I have asked H.E. to report my step to H.I.M.

From Easter on I shall be at your disposal if you need me.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the assurance of my high regard,

Yours devotedly,
Th. H.

March 19, Vienna

Letter to Ibrahim:*

Your Excellency:

Yesterday I paid a call on His Excellency Mahmud Nedim Bey and showed him the letters of credit for three million francs in

* In French in the original.

banks at Paris, London, and Berlin, in accordance with my letter of February 23.

These letters of credit are valid until May 15th, and starting at Easter I shall keep myself at the disposal of H.I.M. in case he wishes to summon me again to agree upon arrangements. Until then I beg Y.E. to be good enough to transmit my *Philosophical Tales* to H.I.M.; maybe they will give him some pleasure.

Wishing to send 200 Turkish pounds to one of your good causes, I have directed this sum to the Committee for the Hejaz Railroad.

With the expression of my high regard and devotion,

Th. H.

March 24, Vienna

This letter to Ibrahim wasn't sent off, because at the same time I received word that the long-sought typewriter is now here.

It was the fault of an inefficient shipping department with a wrong address.

Now I intend to send it down by the factory representative in Vienna. When I telephoned the Embassy yesterday and the day before about the necessary transport papers, Mahmud Nedim was not at home to me.

Was that supposed to be a sign that he was warned off associating with me?

One good thing about despotisms is that one can immediately sense from the lowest doorkeeper whether one is in favor or disfavor. Every blow spreads electrically.

* * *

The Mainz *Israelit* and the *Jewish Chronicle* have published an identical slander—evidently by that ragamuffin Willy Bambus of Berlin—against our Bank. This is my Purim joy. The libel is so palpable that I can haul them into the Mainz and London courts

and demonstrate the perfectly honorable way in which our Bank is run.

* * *

For two days I have been haunted by an idea which may be a splendid one:

I want to try to come to an understanding with Rouvier. He shall make the consolidation for us. The go-between I plan to use for this is Crespi.

Today I am writing Wellisch to suggest to Crespi as his (W.'s) idea that he offer me to mediate between Rouvier and myself.

March 24

Letter to Ibrahim:*

Your Excellency:

Permit me to inform you of the arrival of that typewriter with Arabic type, the first of its kind, the modest present which H.I.M. has done me the honor of accepting.

I am sending it by an employee of the company by which I had this machine made. In order to avoid any mistake, I permit myself to add that the bearer is not entitled to any compensation. The machine has naturally been paid for in America, and the man who is bringing it in order to explain its use has had his traveling expenses etc. paid by myself.

May I ask Y.E. also to transmit to H.I.M. my book, which will perhaps give him some pleasure.

A week ago I took to H.E. Mahmud Nedim Bey my letters of credit for 3 mill. francs, valid until May 15th (at banks in Paris, London, and Berlin), in conformance with my letter of February 22nd.

Wishing to send 200 Turkish pounds to one of your good causes, I have directed this sum to the Committee for the Hejaz Railroad.

* In French in the original.

Begging Y.E. to accept the expression of my high regard and devotion,

Th. H.

March 26, Vienna

Last night Mahmud Nedim sent his servant to me: he must definitely speak with me today.

This morning I went to see him. He had received a surprising telegram from Tahsin Bey in reply to my showing of the three-million letters of credit.

In the wire Tahsin asked—who I was, what my occupation was, and for what purpose I had made the deposits.

Mahmud Nedim himself apologized for this behavior. "*Entre nous je dois confesser que chez nous l'ordre laisse à désirer* [Between ourselves, I must confess that the order in our country leaves something to be desired]," he said.

I immediately understood the meaning of Tahsin's inquiry. It could mean only two things: Either he knew nothing about the agreements I had made in Yildiz and wanted to find out from Mahmud Nedim for his own benefit. Or it was an inquiry on instructions from the Sultan.

A combination of the two possibilities was conceivable, too. The Sultan, who doesn't show his hand to his secretaries, has kept from Tahsin what he is doing through Izzet. Then, when Tahsin came with Mahmud Nedim's report about the three million, the Sultan acted in front of Tahsin as though the information came unexpectedly, and said: Find out who the man is.

In any case, I did well not to trust anyone in this den of lies and to test Izzet's counsels for their genuineness via Mahmud Nedim-Tahsin.

To be sure, it wasn't conceivable that Ibrahim's invitation and the entire negotiations in February should have happened without the Sultan's orders. But it *was* conceivable that Ibrahim had suppressed my subsequent letters. Moreover, since the two did have

orders from the Sultan, they could have conducted the negotiations with me in such a way that I had to refuse—if, that is, they were acting in the service or interest of the Constans-Rouvier syndicate.

I had started a check on the delivery of my letters through Ibrahim by having the ambassador write to Tahsin.

Now I advised him to wire Tahsin as follows:

Since I was invited by Ibrahim upon orders from the Sultan and negotiated about the proposals in Yildiz, I was given to understand that I must not inform anyone of the substance of the negotiations. The whole story was contained in my letter of February 22, and I would turn over this letter to the ambassador if I were instructed to do so.

I left it to his discretion to give any information about me personally that he thought proper.

Then he showed me what he intended to wire this very day: that I was a respected man in Vienna, a writer by profession, with a certain influence in Jewish financial circles, so that I could effect financial operations.

If he really sends this off, it'll be fine. I believe Tahsin wanted an unfavorable report from Mahmud. The latter fears, however, that I may have secret good relations with the Sultan and do him harm. Therefore, he will give a colorless but not unfavorable report.

March 27, Vienna

Cecil Rhodes is dead. For a time I had him in mind as a fund raiser. I didn't manage to get together with him. My helpers in England proved a failure in this instance.

March 30, Vienna

Last night a disagreeable letter came from Wellisch in Constantinople. On the same day on which Mahmud Nedim evidently was forced to come to Vienna (on the 25th inst.), Wellisch was summoned to the Palace.

(Wellisch's letter:)

Constantinople, March 26, 1902

My Dear Doctor Herzl:

At 6 o'clock this morning a messenger came to tell me to come to the factory (Yildiz) at noon to see Frankl (Ibrahim).

I was there at the appointed time and met Frankl who told me the following: Cohn (Sultan) has been informed through the branch (Embassy) in your city that you, doctor, have made bank deposits for a certain matter.

Cohn questioned him about this, whereupon he answered that he knew nothing whatever of the matter. He had received a letter containing an enclosure for Cohn, and he had delivered it, but there had been no answer to it. At the same time, Pollak (Izzet) had also received a letter in which Doctor Herzl had written about the matter. *At Pollak's request* he (Frankl) had sent word to the doctor (my most humble message of the 9th) not to do anything until *nouvel avis* [further notice]. Frankl spoke with visible excitement, repeating a number of points. Finally he said more calmly that he requested Doctor Herzl to do nothing of the sort. After which he asked me to go to see Pollak and to come back after I had spoken with him.

Pollak was leaning out the window on the ground-floor of the wing where his office is located, stopped me as I passed by, and after I had told him that I had seen Frankl, he told me the following: "Write the doctor to withdraw the money; when the time comes we shall let him know how to proceed."

Then I went back to Frankl, and to his questioning I replied what Pollak had said; after that he instructed me to convey his most amicable regards to you.

With the expression of my deep respect, I am, my dear doctor Herzl,

Very faithfully yours,
Weber.

March 30

At the first moment this letter produced an unpleasant effect on me. Having slept on it, I don't find it so bad. Accordingly Izzet seems to be on my side, but Tahsin against me.

I plan to call Vámbéry to account for this.

(Letter from Crespi pasted in:)*

Péra, March 30, 1902

Dear Sir:

I should like to direct your special attention to the following circumstance:

The day before yesterday, while I was calling upon 48 [Tahsin], after talking about indifferent matters, he called upon me, in the most bantering way, to tell him the truth about what you did with 125 [Izzet] and the Grand Master of Ceremonies. I answered that you had not discussed the subject with me and that I was completely ignorant of what you had done with them, but that in any case, if anything was brewing it could *never* be without him, 48.

He broke into a smile that spoke volumes. I believed I could infer that he was satisfied that the other two had not succeeded and that he was perhaps not wholly innocent of their defeat. Perhaps I am wrong, but is it still necessary for you to indicate to me how I ought to behave toward him the next time I see him. I attach an interest to this that should, no doubt, not escape you; and if he has an unpleasant impression, I must exercise my wits to overcome it. These are secretive personalities who cherish spite over the least thing.

363 is furious with Rouvier. I have the information from the German Embassy. 363 had M. Rouet, First Dragoman of the French Embassy, summoned to ask him what M. Rouvier meant by imposing new conditions, such as the exclusion of Priority loans, Customs, and Fisheries from the consolidation and unification

* In French in the original.

project. 363 expressed the desire to receive M. Constans, who had been received in audience yesterday.

I haven't had time to collect the least information. If I learn anything whatever, I shall hasten to inform you of it.

With my sincere greetings,
Crespi.

April 1, Vienna

My good Vámbéry bácsi:

I have learned from several sources and absolutely reliably that Cohn's 1st Secretary is working against me. I am telling you this, because it will certainly interest you to know how your man is behaving. I believe it would be indicated to open his eyes to the fact that I urgently desire his friendship.

With cordial regards,

Your devoted
Dori.

April 3

Yesterday evening this pneumatic-tube letter came from the Turkish ambassador:

Dear Doctor Herzl:

I have just received the expected answer.

Yours truly,
Mahmud Nedim

I presume that Tahsin has instructed him to worm things out of me. Since he trembles before Tahsin, he will do anything, and I will help the man, because that way I shall be excused with Izzet if, misled by the ambassador, I have let Tahsin in on it as well.

Un peu le jeu de bascule [A bit of a see-saw game]. Perhaps this will make Izzet angry in his turn?

* * *

Yesterday Benedikt asked me to request the Grand Duke of Baden to send us a few chapters from his memoirs which are to appear on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his reign. I am writing:

April 3, 1902

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,
Most Gracious Prince and Lord:

On the anniversary of Your Royal Highness's accession I should like to offer today my most respectful congratulations which come from a grateful heart. Once the *defilé* [procession] of potentates and peoples starts, such a modest well-wisher will not be noticed. And yet I feel impelled to express in a few words what a favor of fate I have considered it that it has been granted to me to receive on the hard road of the idea of my life occasional support and instruction from the kindest and wisest prince of my time.

The jubilee will be celebrated in Austria, too, for Grand Duke Friedrich of Baden has erected himself a realm that transcends boundaries, in people's hearts. On this occasion I should very much like to publish a chapter from Y.R.H.'s memoirs in the *N. Fr. Pr.,* of whose literary section I am in charge. If this idea does not strike Y.R.H. as too distasteful, I would request that a secretary or the publisher be instructed to send me the galley-proofs soon.

With the most heart-felt respect and the most profound gratitude, I remain

Your Royal Highness's very obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

April 4, Vienna

Yesterday Mahmud Nedim showed me and translated for me a letter from Tahsin Bey: my deposit of 3 millions was based on a *malentendu* [misunderstanding]. *Je le savais bien, parbleu* [Well, I knew that], I just wanted to show them the color of some money—so they shouldn't forget me.—Thus closes this book of my political novel.

Contents

Volume IV

Book Eleven

April 9, Vienna

I came to draft the following letter to Lord Rothschild in a peculiar way. Today I saw the new work of an obviously gifted writer whom I had hitherto refused to read because some time ago he had tried to get into the *N. Fr. Pr.* through the back door and by repulsive machinations, and to wangle my support by making friends with my late brother-in-law. This doesn't mean that he has no talent, and maybe I am unfair to his work, even though I am just toward him. So I presented the question to myself how the man would have had to proceed in order to win me, who have helped and am helping so many young people without pull. He would have had to entrust himself to my loyalty in an open and aboveboard manner.

And suddenly, by a leap of thought, it came to my mind that perhaps I, too, blundered by having Lady Battersea and others intervene between Lord Rothschild and myself.

Therefore I am writing him, but, by way of precaution, a dreadful letter which would defame him if he should choose to make use of it against me.

Milord:

My name is probably familiar to you from the Zionist movement to which the newspapers have given sufficient attention. I am writing you in German, because I don't express myself so fluently in English and have reason to assume that you understand German well.

It would be useful if I had a conference with you, and I beg you to give me an opportunity for one in London. I am prepared to come there for this purpose. I won't deny that this request for a conference is hard for me, because I have been frequently and grossly attacked by people who are on your side. But if I consider how many poor women's and children's tears could be dried, to how many unfortunates of our people some relief could be brought, I will gladly humble myself.

Your position, Milord, is a peculiar, in fact, a virtually unique one. I confess that I did not know this before. I took you only for a

rich man. But in the course of the years I have come to know your power. I believe that outside of yourself only few people have such a knowledge of your power as I have.

April 13, Vienna

Mahmud Nedim telephoned me to say that he had to speak with me.

Yesterday evening I went to see him, and he read me a letter from Tahsin ordering, on the Sultan's instructions, that the £200 I had donated to the Hejaz Railroad be returned to me.

I explained the matter to Mahmud Nedim, saying that this was the £200 which the Sultan had given to me and which I didn't want to keep. However, the Sultan obviously wanted me to keep it. Now I would give it to the poor.

Tomorrow Mahmud Nedim will come to my home and bring me the money. I shall donate it to our causes.

* * *

Today I am writing Vámbéry about it, complaining about *his* Tahsin.

April 30, Vienna

Today I finished my novel *Altneuland*.

May 3, Vienna

Letter to the Sultan:*

Sire:

I have the honor to submit the following proposal to Y.I.M.'s lofty wisdom.

I thought I foresaw a certain difficulty for the government in the fact that the young people of Turkey who go abroad for their

* In French in the original.

higher education are sometimes led astray by bad example and unresistingly accept revolutionary ideas.

The dilemma seems to present itself like this: either not to furnish them advanced scientific training—or expose them to all the dangers of political seduction.

Nevertheless, a way out can be found, and I humbly permit myself to submit it to Y.I.M.'s judgment.

We Jews play a certain role in university life all over the world. The universities of all countries number Jews among their professors, and we have great scholars in all fields of learning.

We could create a Jewish University in Y.I.M.'s Empire, for example in Jerusalem.

The Ottoman students would no longer need to go abroad. They would stay in the country and would obtain the most advanced scientific training without ceasing to be under the laws of their country.

The Jewish University should bring together all the scholarly qualities of the best universities, technical schools, and schools of agriculture. The institution will offer nothing unless it is of the very first rank. Only then can it render real service to scholarship, to the students, and to the country.

I am not going into detail about this plan as long as I don't know whether Y.I.M. is pleased to take an interest in it.

I hope that this proposal will in no way give offense and that it will at least demonstrate my sincere devotion.

I am Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,

Dr. Th. H.

May 3, Vienna

Covering letter to Ibrahim: *

Your Excellency:

The enclosed letter will, I believe, once again show H.I.M. my desire to be of service to him.

* In French in the original.

The execution of the project would require no financial sacrifices on the part of the Imperial govt.

If H.I.M. wishes to hear my explanation, I can come to Constantinople around Pentecost.

Hoping you are in good health, I beg Your Excellency to accept the assurances of my high esteem.

Dr. Th. H.

May 3, 1902

* * *

Letter to Izzet:*

Your Excellency:

I fear that I have been a bit worked against and a bit forgotten.

But I believe that I have found a method of replying to those who may present me in an unfavorable light. The method is simply to offer a great service to H.I.M. This is to eradicate the unhealthy spirit.

In a word: to create a Jewish university, embracing all the branches of scholarship in their highest and most modern form—to create this model university in your country! The expenses will present no difficulties.

What do you think of it? If H.I.M. wishes to summon me, we could at the same time chat about one thing and another.

Kindly accept the assurances of my high esteem.

Dr. Th. H.

May 3, 1902

I am also writing Vámbéry the substance of the letter.

May 4, on the train between Dresden and Berlin

Letter to Court-Marshal Eulenburg or the Adjutant-General on duty:

* In French in the original.

Your Excellency:

May I be permitted to recall myself to mind from Constantinople and Jerusalem (1898)? I arrived here today and will stay at the Palace Hotel until Tuesday or Wednesday.

H.M. the Kaiser may also still remember me and the Zionist movement in which he was interested at that time.

A few weeks ago I was in Constantinople again on invitation of H.M. the Sultan.

I would be very happy if I might have the honor of being received in audience by H.M. the Kaiser in order to give an oral report on some things that could be of value to German politics as well.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect and devotion,

Dr. Th. H.

May 14, Vienna

The Kaiser sent me word through Court-Marshal Eulenburg that he was sorry, but he had to go to Strassburg.

Bülow sent his card to my hotel.

I spoke with a director of the Deutsche Bank through which we should like to buy the Deutsche Palästinabank. We are beginning to get into more solid financial circles, but are still a bit comical.

I made the acquaintance of First Lieutenant, ret., Said Ruete, a grandson of the Sultan of Zanzibar, currently an official of the Deutsche Bank. I liked his project of planting cotton in Mesopotamia. I shall hire him.

I also met Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, the cooperative colonies man, and liked him very well too.

Greenberg telephoned me at Berlin to say that the *Alien Commission** of Parliament was going to summon me as a witness. However, by today, a week later, nothing has come.

* In English in the original.

I think that Rothschild and the Anglo-Jewish people have worked against it with might and main.

* * *

Wellisch reports under the date of the 10th that Izzet has told him of a letter to me. They might want to request a proposal for the consolidation of the debt from me.

Aspettiamo [Let us wait]! I think it is a delusion.

They will send for me a few more times so as to play me off against other proponents.

May 18, Vienna

Through Wellisch I received today the following *inénarrable* [unspeakable] letter:*

Constantinople, May 12, 1902

Dear Sir:

Your letter concerning a request for the creation of an Israilite University in Jerusalem has been submitted at the foot of the Throne.

The loyalty and the devotion of the Israilites toward His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, my August Master, and their sympathy for his Empire are an incontestable truth. As the Imperial Government is at this moment occupied with several projects aiming at the amelioration of the financial situation of the Treasury and of procuring new resources for it, the help of the Israilite financiers may be useful for facilitating the Treasury's task. For the purpose of being able usefully to solicit benefits for the Imperial Government, I request you, on Sovereign orders, to submit at the foot of

* Translator's Note: In reproducing this letter in the original French, Herzl notes that he is retaining its faulty orthography.

the Throne a list of the services the financiers in question can render in this connection for the benefit of the State.

Kindly accept the assurance of my complete regard.

A. Izzet.

May 18, Vienna

Letter to Izzet: *

Your Excellency:

I have received the letter which you have done me the honor of addressing to me on Imperial orders.

First of all, I beg you to be kind enough to place at the foot of the Throne the acknowledgment of my unalterable devotion which prompts me to act and to seek projects useful to your august master.

But all these matters—the university as well as the financial affairs—can be treated well only orally.

If, then, H.I.M. the Sultan desires to hear my projects, I am ready to come to Constantinople next week. This date is suggested because I have to go to London in the month of June.

The project of a university at Jerusalem could serve as a screen for other matters, for H.M.'s enemies would impose shackles on the execution of any known project for the amelioration of the present situation.

I shall therefore expect word by telegram.

It will, in any case, take me three or four days to put my affairs in order prior to my departure.

Kindly accept the assurance of my high esteem.

Dr. Th. H.

P.S. If I were not invited to come now, it would be almost impossible for me to come before the autumn.

* In French in the original.

Your Excellency:

The enclosed letter is intended to be laid at the foot of the throne.

I have good things to tell, but I shall not come unless I am invited. I have been a bit offended by the fact that my modest present (the Arabic typewriter) has not been accepted.

If I am not called now, I believe that I would not be able to come before autumn, and that would be more time lost which could be used to render you services.

However, H.M. is the master, and as he decides so it will be.

Assuring Your Excellency of my sincere devotion,

Herzl.

May 18

Constantinople, May 23, 1902

My Dear Doctor Herzl:

Pollak sent me word yesterday that I should call on him today. Today's message from Pollak, sent on orders, is that with consideration for the effort and expenses of the trip C. wants you to write him what is to be done.

He repeated the phrase I have underlined (which is incomprehensible to me, but must refer to a passage in your letter), and added that you should write and tell me all the things you can do; he particularly remarked that you should stress your ability to carry out the consolidation better than Rouvier.

If I may permit myself a comment on Pollak's communication, I feel obliged to remark that its nature is really meant to say that C. is still undecided and therefore is willing to have detailed proposals made to him. Moreover, I think I can tell from the instructions for you to write about all the things you can do that they want to give you to understand that you must make efforts to cause a summons to be issued.

The remark concerning the consolidation is probably meant to indicate that the main importance is attached to this.

Kindly permit me, dear doctor, the expression of my deepest respect.

Ever faithfully yours,
Weber.

My telegraphic reply of May 27, Vienna:

Tell Pollak that I spare no pains on Cohn's matter and that trifling traveling expenses, for which I shall accept no reimbursement, aren't worth talking about. I consider writing pointless. Therefore, if I am not called to factory by end of week, I shall go to London for prolonged stay.

* * *

Today (May 28, Vienna) I am wiring:

As supplement to yesterday's telegram please note that I intend to carry out the particularly desired transaction in a different way, one much more favorable for Cohn.

However, If I do not visit factory now, there is no point in writing at the moment, because then I cannot visit factory until autumn, and by then the market situation may be different, so that all proposals will take a different form.

Seff.

Constantinople, May 28, 1902

My Dear Doctor Herzl:

After I had shown him your telegram which arrived today, Pollak told me to write you the following:*

"Accede to Leopold's desire and write that you are ready to make the consolidation under most advantageous conditions for the government, that you are ready to form a native syndicate for the

* In French in the original.

exploitation of the mines, that you are ready to form a syndicate for the creation of a bank that could render great services to the government, and you will have an open door for entering."

He told me the foregoing after I had translated the telegram, whereupon I requested his permission to take down what he had told me in the adjoining room (there were three people with him). He agreed and I did so.

When I returned and read him what I had written, he approved of it and asked me if we had a telegraphic code. I answered that we had only few code words, which was why I was writing, but that I would announce the letter by telegram. Today, Pollak spoke incisively and with more warmth than usual; I had the impression that he would like to see you here now.

However, as we know, it's hard to tell when he is speaking sincerely.

Kindly permit me, dear doctor, the expression of my deepest respect.

Ever faithfully yours,
Weber.

June 4, Paris

Again in Paris.

Now I am an aging and famous man.

The days of my youth, despite their spells of melancholy, were preferable.

* * *

The success of inferior men is acceptable to the man of worth so long as he himself passes through the crowd unnoticed. But he feels offended by the success of the inferior if he himself has recognition. Fortunately, the latter case occurs infinitely seldom, or only in old age (Schopenhauer, Ibsen).

Sometimes it happens that a man of worth is active in various

fields. Then he is certain to be recognized only in the field that is not at the real center of his personality.

Thus, for example, I am in a field where I have accomplished next to nothing intellectually, but have merely displayed average political skill, such as is attainable by any horse-dealer, in a matter which is crystal-clear to anyone but a blockhead—in the Jewish Question I have become world-famous as a propagandist.

As a writer, particularly as a playwright, I am held to be nothing, less than nothing. People call me only a good journalist.

And yet I feel, I know, that I am or was a writer of great ability, one who simply didn't give his full measure because he became disgusted and discouraged.

June 4, Paris

Here I received the invitation of the *Royal Commission for Alien Immigration,** before whom I am to give *evidence** as a *witness.**

It means an encounter—fight or reconciliation—with Lord Rothschild, and is therefore of tremendous importance. I am instructing my faithful Greenberg and Cowen to arrange a meeting with R. for me prior to my examination.

June 6, Paris

Letter to Izzet:**

Your Excellency:

Confirming my last telegram from Vienna, dated May 28 and addressed to the bearer of this letter, I have the honor of informing you that I am ready to devote myself to the question of the consolidation of the debt in accordance with the desire expressed by

* In English in the original.
** In French in the original.

H.I.M. the Sultan that the most advantageous conditions for the Imp. govt. be obtained. I am also prepared to have my friends set up a syndicate for the exploitation of the mines and the establishment of a new bank in Turkey, the administrative board of which will be composed in part of natives.

The services which we shall render and which H.I.M. in his lofty wisdom will appreciate will have to be the measure of the favors which he in his generosity will accord to the Jewish people.

From here I shall go to London in order to settle the terms of the project with my friends. I shall stay there till about the 25th of June, after which I hope to take a vacation. In the meantime, letters or telegrams may be addressed as follows:

Dr. Th. H.
c/o Sir Francis Montefiore, Bart.,
42 Upper Grosvenor St.
London W.

Begging Y.E. to accept the assurance of my high esteem,

Yours devotedly,
Dr. Th. H.

June 9, London

What I need now is the condensation of my vaporous organization—the liquefaction, as it were, of that mass of air called the Zionist Movement.

To that end I am pursuing the following paths:

1) By giving *evidence** before the Royal Commission whose *perplexity** caused by the horns of a dilemma I want to bring out: either a break with the glorious principle of free asylum, or leaving the native working class unprotected. My way out—if they ask for it—is the creation of a *Chartered Company** in Cyprus.

At the same time I shall make a semi-official attempt to establish

* In English in the original.

contact with Lord R. He is furious with me—and this may be the psychological moment to make peace. When he was asked in the Commission why he boggled at my being called, he said that I was a demagogue, a *windbag.**

2) By trying to form a mining concern for the exploitation of the Turkish mines. I have already spoken with Zangwill and Cowen, and this evening I shall meet the *stockbroker** Myers at Zangwill's.

London

The night of the 9th to the 10th of June. At 3:00 a. m.

When I returned to the hotel after the theatre this evening, I found this wire from my wife:

Dad seriously ill. Come Vienna immediately.

That means death. I realized this from the very first moment.

What with inquiring about the next train, telegraphing and packing, two hours went by. The rest of the night will be harder to pass.

This book will have to bear the brunt of it. I believe that at all times I have been a devoted, grateful, and respectful son to my father, who has done infinitely much for me.

Having educated and supported me for such a long time, how much he went through with me, how he supported me and comforted me!

The travels on which I learned so much I owe to him, all of them.

Now, when he is closing his eyes, I am not at home.

I always hastened to tell my parents all agreeable news while it was still hot. How right I was in this; many things come too late.

* In English in the original.

My dear one did not get to read the conclusion of my novel *Altneuland.*

How greatly I remain in his debt, although I have not been a bad son.

What a support he was to me all the time, what a counsellor!

He stood by my side like a tree. Now the tree is gone.

In view of what I have lost it is foolish for me to feel sorry that he hadn't learned that the day after tomorrow I was to have had a talk with Lord Rothschild that might have turned out to be decisive for Zionism.

Of course, that talk, as well as the testimony before the Royal Commission, is off now.

I don't believe in the "serious illness." They would have concealed that from me. Julie's telegram means death!

June 10, Hans' birthday

On the boat between Dover and Ostend.

Before my departure from London I received the doctor's telegram:

Father passed away after a stroke, suddenly and without pain.

I had secretly nursed a glimmer of hope that it was just an attack of pneumonia.

Now I gradually remember things about him, my dear one, golden one, good one.

I think that when you have an arm shot away, you don't feel it at first, then it hurts terribly, and then you forget.

June 11, on the Ostend Express, nearing Vienna

Now I shall soon be in Vienna where I shall have the pleasure of burying my father. Wolffsohn wanted to get on at Cologne and accompany me. I didn't let him. For he can't help me.

During these 29 hours I have been licking my paws like a run-over dog.

Have also made a decision. If my mother is willing, I shall move to London. What is there left for me in Vienna?

June 20, Alt-Aussee

Everything passes. I am sitting once more at my writing desk of last summer, and all I have left of my father is his picture which stands in front of me. He is completely gone from my life. Only this picture tells me how he looked, he whom I shall never see again.

* * *

Letter to the Sultan:*

Sire:

I have the honor to inform Y.I.M. of my father's death. It is this sad event that recalled me from London where I was in the process of having my friends create a financial syndicate for the familiar projects.

Now I see by the papers that M. Rouvier's project has been accepted. Surely the matter of the consolidation ought to be kept separate from the projects. There remains only the exploitation of the mines and the creation of a new bank for the Ottoman countries. But I do not know if Y.I.M. still wishes my friends to attend to this.

Therefore I humbly request Y.I.M. to let me know your exalted decision. On the 30th of June I leave here for London where I hope to stay for about two weeks. Having already prepared the ground, it will be easy for me to accomplish something in a short time if I have something tangible in my hands.

I have the honor, Sire, to remain

Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,
Dr. Th. H.

* In French in the original.

June 20, 1902

Covering letter to Ibrahim.*

Your Excellency:

I have had the great sorrow of losing my dear father. This sad event has brought me back from London suddenly. I must return there on June 30th. H.I.M.'s orders will find me until June 30th here at Alt-Aussee, Styria (Austria), and until July 15th in care of Sir Francis Montefiore, Bart., 42 Upper Grosvenor Street, London W.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the assurances of my high regard,

Very devotedly yours,
Herzl.

June 20, 1902.
Letter to Izzet:*

Your Excellency:

I have had a great sorrow. My good father is dead. I had to return from London hastily. Alas, too late.

I am now resuming the things I have started, and shall return to London at the end of this month.

I learn from the papers that the consolidation according to M. Rouvier's plan is a definite matter. Therefore it is a question of separating this from the projects which you indicated to me on Imperial orders under date of May 12.

But in order to be clear about this and not take any unnecessary steps, I must receive precise information.

Therefore I am permitting myself to recall to mind our point of departure.

In my most respectful letter to H.I.M. the Sultan, dated May

* In French in the original.

5th, I proposed the establishment of a Jewish University in Jerusalem. In your written reply, as well as in an oral message, you received this proposition favorably and demanded in exchange the formation of a syndicate for the exploitation of the mines and the creation of a new bank for the Ottoman countries.

Now, in order to advance seriously the negotiations with my financier friends, I need a sort of provisional *irade* which would state in principle the disposition to reach an agreement under the aforementioned conditions. A clear formula regarding the exploitation of the mines is particularly needed.

Today I wrote H.I.M. in the same vein, but without going into the details.

I believe that with the aid of my friends I can serve your interests well, but it is indispensable first of all to establish a definite basis for the negotiations.

Your reply will find me here at Alt-Aussee, Styria (Austria) until June 30th, and until the 15th of July at London, c/o Sir Fr. Montefiore, 42 Upper Grosvenor Street, W.

Kindly accept, Y.E., the assurances of my high regard and of my devotion.

Herzl.

June 22, Alt-Aussee

* * *

Wire from Crespi:

188 (Mahmud Nedim) invitera priant remettre projet. Refusez, exigez être appelé venir ici traiter directement. [188 (Mahmud Nedim) will write you to reopen project. Refuse, insist on being called here to negotiate directly.]

June 24, Alt-Aussee

Wellisch and Crespi report that the Turkish ambassadors at London and Vienna have received instructions to come to an un-

derstanding with me. Both have reported back that I had left. I am wiring Kremenezky to go to see Mahmud Nedim and tell him that I am ready to go to the Sultan before departing for London.

July 3

Aboard the "Pas de Calais," between Calais and Dover.

I am on my way back to England again. Greenberg has *managed** my appointment with Rothschild for tomorrow, and for the 7th inst. my hearing before the Parl. Commission.

One might almost assume that I shall now enjoy success, since my father is no longer around to rejoice at it.

It has taken me seven years to be able to say to R. what I will say to him tomorrow.

During the 30 hours of my journey thus far I have naturally hatched everything I will say to him and to the Commission. Also, what will have to be done in case of a Yes or a No.

Of course, I can also see myself returning to my *feuilletons* without having achieved my purpose.

July 5, London

When I left this city, I had one of the blackest nights of my life. When I returned yesterday, I had one of the most successful days.

Levontin came to see me at noon: an attaché of the Turkish Embassy was looking for me and waiting at the Trust.

I immediately went to the City with L. on the electric *underground.**

The attaché informed me that the ambassador had instructions from the Sultan, which he was to communicate to me at once. I asked him to come back in the afternoon, because I had *appointments** now.

At 12:45 I set out for New Court to see Rothschild. The traffic

* In English in the original.

jam around the Mansion House suited me nicely, for I didn't want to arrive too early. At one o'clock sharp I passed through the gate, had myself announced to the Lord of Banking Hosts,* and was shown into a room that had a pronounced commercial look. Boxes of sample merchandise in the corners, etc.

I hadn't waited even a minute when *His Lordship*** came in, a good-looking, old Anglo-Jewish *gentleman*.**

We seated ourselves comfortably at a table, facing each other, and he began to unpack his bag of nonsense.

He has very attractive, large Jewish eyes, and he is very hard of hearing.

It would be dancing on a tight-rope if I were to record all the silly stuff that he rattled off with great assurance. He said that two jackasses sit on the Alien Commission: Evans Gordon, and I don't know who else. He called Arnold White a jackass, too. There would never be anti-Semitism in England, etc. In France it had been another story, etc.

He did not believe in *Zionism*.** (After a few introductory words in English, we spoke in German.)

He said he was no Zionist. We would never get Palestine, etc. He was an Englishman and wanted to remain one. He "desired" that I should say this and that to the Alien Commission, and not say this and the other.

This was more than I could take. I had already broken in with remarks a few times. But now I began to shout him down so loudly that he held his tongue, astounded and dazed.

"I will tell the Commission what I think proper and what I am convinced of. That has always been my custom, and I shall stick to it this time, too.

"It is not true that the Powers are against our going to Palestine. Actually, I have made Germany and Russia favorably disposed toward our cause. England would have no objection, I think. With the Sultan I am *persona grata* [an acceptable person]."

* Translator's Note: Herzl's pun on the Biblical term for God—Lord of Hosts.
** In English in the original.

"Yes," he interjected, "of course the Sultan is friendly toward you because you are Dr. Herzl of the *Neue Freie Presse.*"

"Wrong," I cried. "The *Neue Freie Presse* doesn't have a thing to do with it. Its publishers are mortal enemies of my Jewish plan. The word Zionism has not been printed in the *Neue Freie Presse* to this day. My negotiations with the Sultan had nothing whatever to do with the *Neue Freie Presse.*"

At that point the idiot wanted to embarrass me, and said:

"What will you reply if Gordon or someone else asks you whether you know anything about the Anglophobic attitude of the continental press, which is in the hands of the Jews and which received £800,000 from the Boers through Leyds?"

I answered rudely: "I assume that this Commission is not a gossiping society and that such nonsense won't be brought up. But if it is, I shall give a sharp answer. I would request that a list of those who have received money be made public. With respect to myself, you probably know that I am not a journalist who can be bought."

"Yes, I know that," he said, more reasonably, for his sole purpose in bringing up this rubbish was to probe for my sore spot. Surely no one would dream of asking me that idiotic question about a venal press.

He further said that Arnold White and Evans Gordon had called me in as a crown witness in order to use me for support by saying: "Dr. Herzl is certainly the exemplary Jew, and he declares that a Jew can never become an Englishman."

"It would be stupid arrogance on my part if I were to give this Commission a lecture on the characteristics of a real Englishman. I shall simply tell them what frightful misery exists in the East, and that the people must either die or get out. We have known about the Rumanian distress since '97; the Congress petitions haven't received any attention anywhere. In Galicia things may be even worse. There are more than 700,000 destitute people there. They, too, will start to move."

Milord said: "I do not wish you to tell the Commission that. Otherwise there will be restrictive legislation."

At that point I unlimbered the heavy artillery: "Certainly I shall say it! Most certainly! You can depend on that."

Whereupon his jaw dropped, he rang a bell, and sent for his brother Leopold.

To him I repeated what had been said, adding that *Jewish charity** had become a machine for stifling the cries of distress.

Milord wailed: "And that is what he wants to tell the Commission!"

"I would be a mean creature if I said only things that could lead to a restriction of immigration. But I would be one of those mean creatures to whom the English Jews ought to erect a monument out of gratitude, because I saved them from an influx of East European Jews and thus perhaps from anti-Semitism. However, I have a plan for remedying the situation, and I want to tell it to the Commission."

Here Milord interrupted and asked if I wanted to have lunch with them.

"With pleasure."

And we went over to the dining room, where I met Lord Rosebery's son and, later, Alfred, the third Rothschild, another such genius.

Fatuous talk during the meal. Pointing to a portrait of the Elector of Hesse, Leopold told me proudly that his great-grandfather had returned some money that had been entrusted to him —"otherwise we wouldn't all be sitting here."

Afterwards, in Milord's office, Alfred told me about his high Austrian and Prussian decorations: "High, what? Royal Orders, first class!" The same Alfred asked me what I wanted to do for the Jews. Colonization, fine! But why in Palestine? "Palestine sounds too Jewish!"

Go negotiate with this pack of idiots!

Yet Milord is the most intelligent of them.

After coffee I went over to his desk and asked:

"Would you like to hear my *scheme** now?"

* In English in the original.

"Yes."

I moved my chair close to his better ear and said:

"I want to ask the British government for a Colonization Charter."

"Don't say *charter.** The word has a bad sound right now."

"We can call it whatever you like. I want to found a Jewish colony in a British possession."

"Take Uganda!"

"No. I can only use this. . . ." And because there were other people in the room, I wrote on a slip of paper which I am pasting in here as a souvenir: "Sinai Peninsula, Egyptian Palestine, Cyprus." And I added: "Are you for it?"

He thought it over with a smirk, and said:

"Very much so."

That was the victory. I further wrote on the piece of paper: "Prevent the Sultan from getting money!" (Rouvier).

He said:

"I prevented Rumania from getting money. But this I can't do, for the Powers desire it. They want to have the railroads built."

I said: "The Sultan offered me Mesopotamia."

He (astounded): "And you refused?"

"Yes."

With this I concluded. *Nous sommes gens de revue* [We are showmen].** While I was talking with Milord, Leopold sent me an invitation to his *garden-party** on Monday. The premiers from all the colonies would be there.

"Is Chamberlain coming?" I asked. "He is the only one I'm interested in."

Leopold didn't know.

I said: "If I'm through at the Commission, I'll come."

And I left.

* * *

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: Herzl means that as a dramatist he knows when to end a scene.

To the Turkish ambassador, who informed me that the Sultan had asked by telegram that I come to Constantinople immediately, I stated: impossible before Tuesday, because I have the Commission.

I said I was prepared to start out on Wednesday, but would prefer to get his instructions by wire because I might be able to arrange things here in advance. Then, too, the plague had broken out, and the quarantine would impede my movements.

The ambassador promised to telegraph to this effect.

July 9, London

Two days ago I had an off day at the Royal Commission. *Je n'étais pas dans mon assiette* [I was out of sorts], spoke and understood English badly, and made a number of mistakes due to caution.

After the Commission I drove out to Gunnersbury to the Rothschild *garden-party,** where I was seen and perhaps did Zionism more good among the *upper Jews** by *that* than by all my previous speeches and actions.

Dear old Lady Battersea also introduced me to Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll. The princess conversed with me for a while.

* * *

Yesterday I repaired the bad impression which I felt I had made at the Commission hearing on Lord James, its chairman, by calling on him and telling him frankly everything that I had cloaked with reserve at the session.

He thought that I could carry out the Sinai-El Arish-Cyprus plan only with the aid of Lord Rothschild. The Rothschilds would have to become my agents in this country (England). They were highly respected here, where there was no anti-Semitism.

We must not expect any money from the British government for

* In English in the original.

the project colony. The funds for it would have to be supplied by the Jews.

I didn't go into details regarding the possible constitution of the Jewish colony. I merely said that it ought to be made *attractive** so that not only beggars would come there.

I believe Lord James liked the matter better than he cared to show me.

At noon today I shall be at Lord R.'s again.

July 10, London

After we had had lunch yesterday, I went into a private room with Lord Rothschild—to the astonishment of the bank clerks who will now probably discover, one and all, their Zionist hearts.

I pledged him to secrecy and then showed him Eulenburg's letter from Rominten, as well as that of the Grand Duke written in 1898.

"I am doing this, Milord, so that you may see how much of an injustice people have done me. Secondly, so that you may tell the British government: It's all right to deal with this man, he doesn't compromise his friend."

After that I explained to him the plan for a *Jewish Company** for Sinai, Egyptian Palestine, and Cyprus. Lord James, I told him, had said that the matter depended on his (R.'s) cooperation.

"Call together the leading figures in the City, organize the *Jewish Company,** and you will be rendering a patriotic service to England. But above all no philanthropy—it must be *business.**

"Put that in writing!" he said. "I shall discuss it with Chamberlain on Friday. But under no circumstances do I want to make a big experiment. Just a small one, 25,000 settlers at the most."

I said:

"I shall do it on a big scale or not at all."

* In English in the original.

Bref [in short], after various exchanges we agreed that I should make a memorandum for him.

* * *

Letter to Lord R.:

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Yesterday the gentleman down there again urgently telegraphed for me. I had to answer him that I shall leave for there the day after tomorrow, Saturday.

I have only hours left in London. It is uncertain when I can return, for there is the plague down there and I shall probably get detained by the quarantine. A conference with Chamberlain —even if only for half an hour—seems to me of the highest value. He can even receive me in his slippers. Tell him that it could, in any case, be of value to England if he sees me before my departure, because I am *persona gratissima* [a most acceptable person] and can bring up directly whatever I want, including English interests.

If you let him know this today, he will give me an appointment for tomorrow. Naturally it would be grand if you were present.

As for the promised plan for the creation of a Jewish colony, I shall prepare it today. It will be short and clear. The political part, for Chamberlain, in English; the financial aspects of its implementation, for you, in German. You will receive both documents tomorrow morning.

I am, My Lord,

Yours very faithfully,
Herzl.

July 10

Yesterday I saw the Ambassador, Costaki Anthopulos Pasha, who read me the stupid state telegram. I am pasting it on the next page.

I had him wire that I am leaving on Saturday.

Oral communication from Costaki Anthopulos Pasha on July 9 in London:*

H.M. the S. says that Dr. H. has expressed the desire to render loyal and faithful services in regard to the consolidation of the debt. You are instructed to see him at once and to remind him—since divulging the matter could be harmful to the Imp. govt.—that in this affair the most absolute discretion is required. If he is sure that he can make arrangements for the consolidation of the debt that are more advantageous to the Imp. govt. than those proposed by M. Rouvier—since in continuing a correspondence time would have been lost and the aim would not have been understood the way it needs to be—and on the condition that these communications would not involve any obligations to the govt., if he were sure that he could come to an understanding with one of the Israelite banks, and without revealing the purpose of his trip to Constantinople, you are instructed to tell him that if he rendered services to increase the benefits to the Ministry of Finance and that the efforts made by him met with Imperial satisfaction—you will tell him that in accordance with the Imp. govt.'s old tradition concerning the good of its subjects, it is obvious that H.M. the S. will also give the Israelites proofs of sympathy and protection. By Imp. orders you are instructed to communicate the preceding to Dr. H., and we await your reply as soon as possible.

July 12, London

I wasn't able to complete the letter and the Jewish Company plan for Lord Rothschild yesterday, because Costaki Anthopulos Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, came to see me, took a lot of my time, and read to me the wire pasted in here:*

It does not appear from your report that Mr. H. has reached an understanding with the banks and that he has laid any groundwork. Since the govt. has just made a decision to consolidate the

* In French in the original.

debt with a bond issue of 32 mill. and since it is logical that the govt. will not change this decision as long as it is not assured of a more advantageous arrangement, in this case there is no reason for Mr. H. to come to Constantinople. For this same reason he had been told to return from Paris (?) to London, and at that time he was notified of this arrangement.

It at this time Mr. H. can give assurances of an advantageous, solid, strong, and definitive arrangement, with a bond issue of 30 mill., he is invited to submit it without delay.

* * *

That's the way His Imperial Majesty the Caliph is; may Allah keep him for us in any case, because he is a friend of the Jews and a friend of mine.

When I wanted to know in advance what it was all about, he ordered me to take the trip. When I was ready to go, he cancelled the order and told me about it.

Costaki Anthopulos had sent his agent Sherian Effendi to my hotel to tell me to come to the Embassy, because he was leaving for Bath at 11 o'clock. I immediately saw an opportunity to force him to come to me, and sent him word that I couldn't come before noon. An ambassador doesn't like to miss the week-end train to Bath.

So he came.

I put on a serious face and told him the story of my three-million deposit which I had had to withdraw again. My friends wouldn't want to expose themselves to another occurrence of a similar nature.

Also, there was general talk that the deal with Rouvier had been completed. A man might appear as an indelicate competitor if in such a case he came with a lower offer—which might again be used only to obtain more favorable conditions.

Nevertheless, I would do my utmost. I would give him my answer on Tuesday.

He was highly pleased at my not giving him a long wire to

send—he himself, evidently because of his trip to Bath, suggested Tuesday to me as the *jour de réponse* [day for an answer]—and left for Bath.

* * *

Then I finished the letter and the plan for Rothschild, but my wise and good friends Greenberg and Cowen voiced misgivings, so that I am not sending Rothschild the letter I had drafted first (I am including it here for future memoirs), but am writing another one.

During the day Rothschild had sent me the following letter.

[Not pasted in here].

In the evening I sent him this reply:

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Today the Turkish Ambassador paid me such a long visit that I didn't get a chance to work out the plan I had promised you.

However, this interruption also had the advantage that I don't have to leave tomorrow and shall probably stay here until Wednesday.

I shall send you the document tomorrow afternoon.

Very faithfully yours,
Herzl.

* * *

Financial draft for Rothschild:

*The Jewish (Eastern) Company, Limited.**

Lord Rothschild convenes 5 or 6 financiers, whom he plans to take on the Board, for a conference.

The land concessions to be granted by the English government as well as the influx of working people promise a quite respectable profit.

* In English in the original.

The working capital is at present ten million pounds, 10 to 20% of it on deposit. Money will be called in only *au fur et à mesure* [in proportion to] the actual need.

The shares are not to be kept by the syndicate, but placed.

The calculation should not depend on the category of those who will take shares for the sake of the good cause. There will be such people, of course. But there will be more of the second category, those who will place their financial confidence in a Company headed by Lord Rothschild.

Most numerous of all will be the third category, those immigrants who are not impecunious.

Everybody appreciates the fact that land is made valuable by settlers.

The immigration will be directed and organized according to plan.

The organization will be carried out according to uniform directions by the Local Groups at the places of origin.

In this way control of the immigration will be kept in hand and will be regulated year by year, even week by week, on the basis of the existing conditions. One can start as small as one likes—*but need not publicly announce the moment at which one becomes bigger.* This is because of Russia and perhaps other Powers as well who would otherwise bother us.

* * *

The political draft for Chamberlain (in Greenberg's translation) is as follows:

[Missing].

* * *

Letter to Rothschild:

*Private and confidential.**

* In English in the original.

July 12, 1902

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Please find enclosed the general outlines of the plan (the political aspects in English, the financial part in German) for the settlement of the destitute Jews on the Sinai Peninsula, in Egyptian Palestine, and on Cyprus.

To obviate any misunderstanding, now or in the future, may I point out that I have drawn up this plan for you because you declared yourself opposed to Palestine. You are the greatest effective force that our people has had since its dispersion, and I consider myself in duty bound to place my humble advice at your disposal, provided you want to do something effective for our unfortunates at all. I must not be a stickler for principles and reject any immediate help for the poorest of our poor, no matter what form it may take. More than that: I must give my advice to the best of my knowledge.

In addition to this human interest, I have a political motive in this as well. A great Jewish settlement east of the Mediterranean will strengthen our prospects for Palestine. The Jews in the English colony of the Jewish Eastern Company will be as loyal Zionists as Hirsch's remote colonists in Argentina.

Whether I can personally assist in the execution of the project, i.e., whether I can make our Zionist organizations available for it, depends upon the decision of my party. I would call a confidential conference of the committee members from all countries and submit the question to them.

In addition, however, I have a second plan for you, which can be carried out simultaneously with the first one, *but also separately*.

This plan is *quite secret*.

It refers to Mesopotamia.

I told you that the Sultan has offered me settlement in Mesopotamia. (In February of this year, when I went to Constantinople at his invitation.) I declined the offer, because it excluded Palestine. I can get back to it tomorrow, since my relations have remained excellent.

In return we would handle certain financial affairs for him. This job is being solicited by someone whose name I can give you orally. The Sultan would prefer to hand it over to me, because he knows that I personally am not pursuing any financial advantage. Naturally he also wants somewhat more favorable terms. But even if he were granted more favorable terms, about two million pounds could be made on the deal.

This profit would go to the Jewish Company, so that it would start its life with a *certain* profit of two million pounds. I believe that this would facilitate the realization of the plan.

I don't know whether you are sufficiently informed about me, but I believe that I ought to emphasize clearly that in this scheme, too, I have no financial interest whatsoever. I am not a financial agent, and my only desire at most would be that the Jewish National Fund be assigned an appropriate amount if this profitable transaction is carried through. I am not making a *condicio sine qua non* [an indispensable condition] out of it.

I would prefer the first plan, because in Mesopotamia there are fewer political assurances for the future. Only if the Jewish colony cannot be established *in the British possessions,** because the English government refuses or there is no willingness on the part of the financiers, will I give you this second plan.

I shall give you the financial details of the Mesopotamian plan in person, if you wish. Preferably tomorrow, Sunday; and I am prepared to come out to the country or anywhere else to see you. I am at your disposal on Monday, too. I hope that I can finally depart on Tuesday or Wednesday.

Very faithfully yours,
Herzl.

July 15, London

No answer from Rothschild. Yesterday came an ultimatum from the Sultan: I must submit the detailed proposal by this morning (evidently a chess move of the Rouvier people).

* In English in the original.

I answered through Costaki Anthopulos: We are ready in principle to open discussions on the transaction, but things couldn't be done that fast.

* * *

In the meantime, other schemes: I will try to get to Rosebery through Lord Battersea, and through the former to the English government; in the interest of regaining its influence in the Orient, the government should induce the English Jews to collaborate with me. P.S. Lady Battersea wrote to Lord Rosebery, who regretted *immensely,* but he had to leave town.*

Copy of the "ultimatum," a photostat of which I am depositing in my safe-deposit box at the Trust.

*Confidential.**

Teleg. of the 12th (resumé):**

His reply can only be waited for until *Tuesday morning* at the latest. For we cannot postpone the course we have decided upon any longer than that. Besides, it is obvious that nothing can be done in this important financial matter without the assistance of the Israelite banks.

Therefore a definitive reply, containing all the necessary details, is expected without fail. No communication can be accepted until Tuesday morning.

* * *

Thereupon I wrote down the following at the ambassador's place and read it to him.**

Mr. Herzl tells me:

Despite the incident of the deposit which took place last Spring I have succeeded in making my friends favorably inclined. I permit myself to recall the facts. Following my return from Constanti-

* In English in the original.
** In French in the original.

nople and upon semi-official advice, I had a deposit of 3 million francs made in three banks in Paris, London, and Berlin, to serve as security for important proposals. But as soon as I had produced these letters of credit before H. Exc. Mahmud Nedim Bey at Vienna, I received orders to withdraw these deposits. My friends were mildly offended by this incident. Nevertheless, I have been able to convince them now, and they are ready in principle to go into the proposed question. However, as for giving all the necessary details by tomorrow morning, that is an impossibility. A matter of this importance cannot be slapped together in a few hours.

I permit myself to observe that on Wednesday the 9th of July H. Exc. Costaki Anthopulos Pasha again communicated to me the Imperial order to leave for Constantinople without informing anybody of the reason for my departure. I was going to leave on Saturday. Only on Friday the 18th of July* did I receive Imperial orders not to leave and to sound out my friends.

Under these conditions it is impossible properly to carry out an operation for which M. Rouvier had more months than I have days.

H.Imp.M. will recognize my devotion just the same.

I have now given all the necessary instructions to my friends. On Wednesday I shall leave for *Alt-Aussee, Austria.* H. Exc. Mahmud Nedim can easily send me H.Imp.M.'s orders, either by an embassy employee or by my confidential representative in Vienna whom H.Exc. knows. I could, moreover, continue negotiations with my London friends by coded telegram.

July 16

Yesterday there came a letter from Rothschild which is not without interest. He says that there is not enough money to do the thing on a big scale. The matter requires previous study, anyway. He intends to look more closely into the Sinai project, etc. Rubbish.

* * *

* Translator's Note: Apparently a slip; it was the 12th (cf. p. 1298).

In the evening I went to see the German baron Eckartstein, Embassy Councillor, former *chargé d'affaires* during Hatzfeld's illness. A magnificent human specimen of giant dimensions, a Newfoundland breed with the most devoted eyes. He has big ideas for the future and the most beautiful wife I have ever seen. Née Maple *(fille de tapissier* [an upholsterer's daughter]).

Talked with Eckartstein on his balcony garden in Grosvenor Square late into the night, about world politics, the Orient, and Germany.

He wants to form a great party against landed proprietors and revolutionaries. I recommended land reform and cooperative societies to him.

July 16, London

Costaki Anthopulos summoned me today. He had a wire saying that the matter had gone back to the Porte (apparently approved by Yildiz).

Letter to the Sultan:*

Sire:

I have the honor to confirm the telegram that I asked His Exc. Costaki Anthopulos Pasha to transmit to Y.I.M. Since I had only a few days at my disposal and had only received on Friday last, July 11, authorization to speak to my friends about this matter, this is the earliest I have been able to complete my arrangements, the results of which I am presenting.

It is possible to make a saving of two million pounds in issuing the bonds. His Majesty has only to declare to the group currently managing the matter his formal and absolute resolution only to agree to the consolidation for an expenditure of 30 millions instead of 32 millions, and that without any change in the other conditions.

The group has gone too far to be able to withdraw. According to my information, the group, having already acquired a certain amount of bonds, finds itself *in a greater need to bring the matter*

* In French in the original.

to a conclusion than the Imp. govt. does. The Imp. govt. is not getting very good terms, and the advantages are entirely on the side of the financiers and the foreign powers. Under these conditions the govt. loses nothing by putting off an arrangement that is not advantageous.

The group, having a number of bonds on its hands, must now accept what is offered it.

That for reasons easy to see. The group's principal profit must consist in the difference between the Exchange prices.

If the proposed plan goes awry, perhaps they would lose a great deal. That is the advantage from which I should be happy to make Y.I.M. profit.

There are two possible outcomes.

1) The group will have to accept the loss of two millions of debts so as not to lose other benefits.

2) The group will withdraw from the affair. Then Y.I.M.'s govt. will have avoided getting bad terms. After a period of time another group formed by my friends will present itself to reopen the matter.

It would be of no help and *even harmful* to let the current group know that there is another plan in the works, because then, *knowing there would be a demand* for the bonds already in their possession, they would not give up.

If H.M. simply says: either you make the consolidation with 30 mill. of debts, or I will not proceed with such an undertaking at all—then they will have to give up.

But if H.M. says to them: I have another arrangement, then they will wait to sell their acquired bonds more dearly.

I hope H.M. in his lofty wisdom will perceive with what complete disinterest I am serving his interests.

If the current group yields to the conditions indicated above, I would have the satisfaction of having given good advice.

If they withdraw, so much the better for Y.I.M.'s interests, and the project will be carried out by sincerely devoted friends. But it will be necessary to let several weeks go by before they present themselves.

It seems to me superfluous to give here the details of our proposals which have as their basis the payment of only 30 millions of debts. For if the other proposal is accepted, then ours is no longer of any interest. And if Y.I.M. does me the honor of following my advice, the complete plan will be submitted directly and by word of mouth to Y.I.M. within a few weeks.

I am leaving here tomorrow morning for Alt-Aussee in Styria (Austria). Telegraphic communications can be sent me through Mahmud Nedim Bey who will turn them over to my confidential agent in Vienna. Letters can be addressed to me directly by post.

I remain Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant

Dr. Th. H.

July 17, on the train, between Calais and Paris

*Private and confidential.**

Dated July 21, Alt-Aussee

Dear Lord Rothschild:

In the rush of my departure I didn't answer your letter of the 15th inst. in London, because you say yourself that my colonization proposal requires prolonged study.

That is quite all right with me. It was also my thought that a settlement can be started only in early Spring—February or March—at the time of Summer planting, because that is the shortest period until the first harvest. The land would of course have to be secured in the Autumn, and the Winter would have to be used for preparations, the details of which I worked out long ago.

I would be so glad if I didn't have to take your reply as a refusal. Who can help our poor people if not you?

You are a fine man—today, having got to know you, I am convinced of it. Be a great man, too.

The campaign will contain a guarantee of success only if it is

* In English in the original.

carried on with sufficient resources and is made *capable of expansion.*

For a *penny tube** from Piccadilly to Cornhill one easily figures on 16 mill. pounds. Combines of 10 mill. pounds for some industrial enterprise are nothing fabulous in this American era.

And should a Land Company which will finally remove the tormenting Jewish Question from the face of the earth be unable to raise that much money under Lord Rothschild's guidance?

I do know what the confusing thing about it is: the proposal seems to have too philanthropic a character for people to be able to tackle it and present it in a business way.

But this would be precisely the accomplishment for which you could acquire everlasting credit for yourself.

As I understand you, Milord, you wouldn't make much of a fuss if you were expected to donate 10 or 20,000 pds. for some big aid campaign. I have been told that you give away over 100,000 pds. annually.

But here you are to give no money at all, not a penny—you are only asked to lend your authority, your influence, your power to an enterprise that is likely to yield you a profit.

Do you think so little of the prestige of your house that you consider raising 10 mill. pds. among the Jews all over the world as doubtful for even a minute, if you place yourself at the head of the project?

Your cousins in Paris could no longer carry on such a campaign today. They are being governed indirectly by Mr. Drumont, and woe to them if they don't show themselves as French patriots in dealing with the financial embarrassments of the Russian government, which makes pariahs of our people.

Your situation, Milord, is quite different—today, at any rate, before anti-Semitism has prevailed in England.

Today you still have elbow room. In fact, you may claim high credit from your government if you strengthen English influence east of the Mediterranean by a great colonization of our people at a nodal point of Egyptian and Indo-Persian interests.

* In English in the original.

How long do you suppose that the benefits to be reaped there will remain unnoticed, anyway? Then we Jews, we sharp but always hoodwinked Jews, will again be left holding the bag. The thing can be done; quickly and on a large scale, through the Land and Trade Company whose outline I have sketched for you. Hirsch's enterprise was a game, a show, and not expanded. A commonwealth does not consist only of agriculture. That part of these millions which has not yet been squandered by mismanagement will necessarily have to go toward an all-encompassing settlement. But I wouldn't want a calculation to be based on this, any more than on other "philanthropists."

The land company can succeed only if it is based not on *rachmones* [pity], but on economic interests. Perhaps I shall manage to obtain financially valuable concessions. Then you will hear from me again.

Tomorrow morning I am going to Constantinople. I don't know yet how long I shall stay there. Should you have any message for me, please use the good offices of Mr. Greenberg, 80 Chancery Lane, who always has my address.

Very faithfully yours,
Herzl.

July 21, Alt-Aussee

Stormy exchange of telegrams during the last two days.

The Sultan wants me urgently.

I am leaving for there with Wolffsohn tomorrow.

Vederemo [We shall see]!

Book Twelve

Begun on July 25, 1902
in Constantinople

July 25, Therapia

Again there have been two days of quaking and shaking, the twilight existence of modern gypsydom in the Grand Express, sleeping, daydreaming, eating—and countries flying past.

Constantinople is the way it was.

Dirt, dust, noise, red fezzes, blue waters; and the square white tree guards on the road up to Yildiz have elegant cut-out crescents.

The *baksheesh* snatchers at the Yildiz entrance already greet me with a familiar grin. They know the golden rain of my exit.

Cultivated friendship with Ibrahim. The last time he had told me about his son's death. This time, alas, I told him about the death of my father.

Again the unnerving waiting period; then I again had the Sultan reminded of my presence.

Shortly after that there appeared, with a friendly air—Tahsin.

He told Ibrahim, who reproduced it for me, that I was the guest of the Sultan and had a court equipage at my disposal.

Then he asked me for a memorandum of my propositions. I pleaded exhaustion from my trip, but—*la volonté du maître* [the Master's wish]! Tahsin made a doubtful face and left to report it.

Meanwhile I did sit down, moaning and groaning, and started in with a muzzy head. But I felt relieved when Tahsin returned and brought word that I could write the memorandum at Therapia. A servant would come for it. So I went by steamer from Beshiktash as far as Yeniköi, then by carriage here to Therapia, arrived at half past eight, sat down with a stuffy head, and sat up till 11:30 at night making two copies (a first draft and a clean copy) of the memorandum which I am pasting in below.

Then Ibrahim's servant left with it. If Ibrahim worked hard, he finished the translation during the night. The Sultan may be reading it this very moment. If it meets with his approval, perhaps he will receive me after the *selamlik*.

Anyway, the Bosporus is blue!

* * *

Sire:*

I have the honor to submit the following considerations to Y.I.M.

First a word on the political aspect of the Rouvier plan. M. Rouvier's current position as Minister of Finance does not make the situation more difficult, but actually makes it easier.

If his proposal is not accepted by Y.I.M., the French ministry cannot be unpleasant to the Ottoman govt., because the opponents of the French cabinet would have every opportunity to declare that the Republic has to serve the interests of a financial group. On the other hand, if the Rouvier plan is adopted, M.R. would have to be careful not to be politically obliging to Turkey, because he would be attacked on the grounds that he had been won over by financial considerations.

Besides, in my humble opinion, there is no hurry about making a decision one way or the other.

At this moment the situation is such that M. Rouvier's group must wish, much more than the Imp. govt., for the matter to be brought to a conclusion. The longer the group waits, the easier it will be to deal with.

In fact, the group is already in possession of a rather large part of the debt to be consolidated. If the plan is rejected, the group will suffer, by the certain drop in price, a loss that will probably cause it to ponder before withdrawing.

No danger, then, from this direction, and even if Y.I.M. should not believe it necessary to adopt our proposals, the temporary rejection of the Rouvier plan could only have advantageous consequences. The conditions would become easier. But only in case it is kept an *absolute secret* that another plan exists.

If the Rouvier group learns that there are others willing to carry out the consolidation, it will be uncompromising, because the bonds that the Rouvier group already has will be needed.

The first condition of a new arrangement is, then, the pure and simple rejection of the Rouvier scheme.

After that Y.I.M. will be able to come to new terms either with

* In French in the original.

the Rouvier group now become less demanding, or with my friends who will not come forward until the rejection of the Rouvier plan. This, first, out of consideration for financiers' ethics, because they believe they should not make official proposals as long as the Imp. govt. is in the midst of negotiations so far along, if not almost concluded, with another group; second, for considerations of prudence. If it is known here and now that my friends are to take over the matter, the prices will be raised to such an extent that not only my friends' enterprise but any other attempt at consolidation will become impossible for a very long time.

But if Y.I.M. declared that he had given up any idea of consolidating the Debt because the advantages for the Empire are not sufficiently evident (which is the truth), then the ground will be cleared before long, the prices will fall, and we shall be able to go ahead with a chance of success.

My friends are ready to carry out the consolidation along the general lines of the Rouvier plan, which in the future gives the Imperial govt. a certain latitude for increasing the revenues from the Debt in its own interest. My friends would perform this operation on the basis of an expenditure of 30 millions of new obligations. That is to say, if consolidation required—once the Rouvier plan is known and expected by the public—more than 30 millions and up to 32 millions of new obligations, my friends would provide the Imp. govt. with ready money at a discount of 80 per cent for the issuance of new bonds in excess of 30 millions.

In exchange, the Imp. govt. would grant us a charter or concession for Jewish colonization in Mesopotamia, as Y.I.M. deigned to offer me last February, adding the territory of Haifa and its environs in Palestine.

If Y.I.M. does not yet deem it proper to accept my views on the usefulness of Jewish colonization to the Empire, I am nevertheless at his disposal as a devoted and completely disinterested servant. Under the existing conditions there is a very advantageous transaction to be made.

Y.I.M.'s privy purse can buy at a low price a certain number of

bonds which will go on the market as soon as the Rouvier plan has been disposed of.

This stock can later (and at a much higher price) go toward the consolidation which will necessarily take place some day. I pledge myself to see that this operation is carried out with absolute discretion and as advantageously as possible.

It is true that the consolidation itself is only a step in the improvement of the finances. The operation will be slow and complicated in whatever manner it is performed. Its results will not be immediate. The new revenues will consist only of an increase in the taxpayers' burden. If I may be permitted to express my humble opinion, I would judge it more useful to establish at once new sources of revenue, to let the consolidation project drag along for some time yet, to let it be neglected in order to accomplish it with greater profit later, and above all to go ahead with the establishment of new sources of revenue.

These sources of revenue would be, among other things, the exploitation of the mines, the forests, and perhaps of electric power. My friends are disposed to undertake the task and to serve Y.I.M. faithfully.

With the country enriched by industries, the strengthened taxpayers will then be able to bear more easily the increase of taxes, which will come only after the Debt is consolidated.

I beg Y.I.M. to forgive the hasty form of these observations which I have jotted down while still a little tired from my trip. I still hope to be able to talk with Y.I.M. personally about my ideas, which are those of a sincere friend of this beautiful country which can become a rich and prosperous one.

I have the honor to be Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant.

July 26, between Therapia and Yildiz

Aboard my *mouche* [river steamer].

Yesterday, Friday, was once again a typical, familiar, hot, dreary, dull, demoralizing day of waiting in Ibrahim's office.

I arrived at Yildiz at noon, before the *selamlik*, after a ride in the court carriage on the dustiest, most neglected road [*Hoffahrt muss leiden*].*

The Sultan saw me as I rode past, and the foreign diplomats also gave me suspicious, curious, and venomous looks. The German *chargé d'affaires* in particular, Wangenheim, watched me venomously and peevishly.

Ibrahim told me later that the German dragoman had asked him whether the banker Herzl would be received by the Sultan today. Ibrahim said correctly that he didn't know any banker by that name, but only a writer.

Tahsin came from time to time and brought Ibrahim minor messages for me from the Sultan. After lunch I was excused for four hours, because the Sultan thought he needed that much time to study my memorandum. But I was supposed to keep myself at the Sultan's disposal from 6 o'clock on at the Pera Palace, not at Therapia.

So I looked for Wolffsohn at the quay, found him and the steamer, and went to Therapia to fetch my night things. But during the hour-and-a-half of my Bosporus trip, the Sultan had called me again. At Therapia I already found a telegram asking me to return to the palace immediately.

This I did, provided with luggage for a possible overnight stay at Pera.

When I arrived at Yildiz at a quarter past six, I was introduced to aged Karatheodory Pasha (Alexander), called the great Karatheodory, the co-author of the Berlin treaty. He has instructions from the Sultan to translate my strictly confidential memorandum. I had sent it to Ibrahim in an unsealed envelope the night before. Ibrahim told me very shrewdly that he hadn't even read it so he could tell everyone that he hadn't read it. I don't believe that.

Poor old Karatheodory sweated audibly until 12:15 a.m. over

* Translator's Note: Literally, "one has to suffer on a trip to the court." Herzl may have intended a play on the word *Hoffart* which means "arrogance." In that case, the meaning would be similar to the proverb "Pride cometh before a fall."

the translation which I had to co-sign and put in an envelope addressed to the Sultan and bearing my seal. At 12:15 Tahsin was called, and I turned the envelope over to him. I was given an appointment for this morning.

Then we went to Therapia by steamer through a wonderful moon-lit night.

I was too worn out to enjoy this trip.

* * *

In the afternoon Izzet joined me in Ibrahim's office for a moment. I squeezed his hand.

July 27, Therapia

Addendum.

When we were on our way to Yildiz two days ago, Friday evening, we met the carriages of all the Ministers, with the Ministers in them, going down the hill.

Later I found out that a Cabinet meeting had been called to receive my proposition. But since Karatheodory hadn't finished his translation, they had to leave again after waiting for some time.

* * *

Yesterday an idle day.

I was at Ibrahim's office punctually at 10 o'clock, but he and Karatheodory were late.

Time is not money here.

Karatheodory, whom I had taken for an old buffoon on the day before, opened his eyes during the conversation when I got him to talk about Bismarck and Disraeli. He is really a great fellow, this *grand Karatheodory*.

He said some really terrific things. E.g., he described Bismarck as a brutal man, but a *grand charmeur* [great charmer]. Bismarck had completely dominated the Berlin Congress, but he had had his favorites, e.g., Karatheodory himself, whom he had once handed a bouquet of roses at the conference table.

"*A tout propos il savait des anecdotes. Tout lui était arrivé* [He had anecdotes for any occasion. Everything had happened to him]."

I consider this "*tout lui était arrivé*" a masterful character sketch in four words.

Then we spoke about England, about the last war in South Africa, from which Greater England had emerged strengthened, because it had brought out the national unity of the colonies. This was my opinion—to be sure, there were Englishmen who maintained the contrary.

At this Alexander Pasha said:

"*Il y a toujours des Anglais qui disent le contraire* [There are always Englishmen who maintain the contrary]."

Also very neat.

* * *

I had originally concluded from the patent-leather boots in which Karatheodory had appeared that we would go to the Sultan —he as interpreter in place of Ibrahim whom the Sultan has evidently relieved of the assignment.

But the lunch hour came round, we went to eat, and rose from the table again.

Nothing came.

Not until after lunch did Tahsin come with a message. The Sultan had wished to consult with the Grand Vizier about my memorandum. But the Grand Vizier had a cold as well as an abscessed tooth. I could withdraw, I was not likely to be called before tomorrow (this) evening.

* * *

I believe that during this waiting period my offer is being used to exact more favorable conditions from Rouvier.

It would be very unwise and inept if the Grand Vizier did this. For as long as he owns a lot of *titres* [bonds], Rouvier need not be afraid of another consolidation. On the contrary, he could then

sit back and watch it. But the whole consolidation will be jeopardized by the appearance of competition.

* * *

In the meantime, I feel that I am being observed from all sides. A financially rehabilitated Turkey will be of no use to the Powers.

Hence I am convinced that all sorts of steps are now being taken against me in the darkness of diplomatic intrigues.

What?

July 28, Therapia

I shall give a report later on yesterday, a wondrous day, like everything else.

Letter to the Sultan:*

Sire:

I have the honor to submit to Y.I.M. the report of the conversation that I had yesterday with His Highness the Grand Vizier.

I explained our proposals fully to His Highness. First, I recalled the fact that it was only on July 11 that I received from His Excellency the ambassador at London notification of the conditions desired by Y.I.M. The invitation to come to Constantinople, which I had received the preceding week, was accompanied by instructions not to speak to anyone about the purpose of my trip. Between July 11 and 15, that is to say, in four days, I was to give a precise answer to the question whether it was possible to carry out the operation on a basis of 30 millions of new bonds. I replied in the affirmative on July 16. There was not time to work out a new plan, which, besides, would probably have taken weeks for the Imp. govt. to study.

Under these conditions we simply took the Rouvier plan, thus keeping the advantages that the Imp. govt. sees in it, and we topped it by offering to pay for the new obligations in excess of 30 million

* In French in the original.

pounds up to 32 millions at the rate of 80 percent. Thus Y.I.M.'s wish was carried out, and the burden of debt which would devolve upon the Imp. govt. in place of the existing debt would in effect be no more than 30 millions even if a nominal issue of 32 millions became necessary. For the surplus of obligations required to buy up the old bonds could not be considered a debt, being balanced by a payment in the process of issuance.

We asked in return for a charter or concession for a colonization company in Mesopotamia and in a small part of Palestine. This company would naturally pay a fee which could be calculated according to families of colonists.

His Highness asked me if these colonists would accept Ottoman citizenship and military service.

I replied in the affirmative.

His Highness then asked me if the two operations—consolidation of the Debt and colonization—could not be separated, since basically they have no apparent connection.

I conceded the fairness of this remark.

But I added that in such a short time it was impossible to work out other worthwhile plans and I had to take the one I was certain of being able to carry out at once, having obtained my friends' consent.

His Highness asked of whom the syndicate was composed.

I replied in accordance with my respectful letter of July 24 to Y.I.M. that for the moment it is a question of financial ethics. My friends cannot officially make themselves known because the Rouvier plan is almost completed, an existing *mazbata* [decree].

His Highness had the goodness to recognize that in these circumstances respectable financiers cannot act otherwise.

After this I permitted myself a few words about our request for a charter for colonization. If it is a compensation for our effort, it is surely not a burdensome one. For the element of population that we wish to introduce into Y.I.M.'s Empire is not to be feared; it is neither dangerous nor troublesome. It is a sober, industrious, loyal element, bound to the Moslems by racial kinship and religious affinity. One of Y.I.M.'s glorious ancestors invited the un-

fortunate Jews into his dominions at the time of the persecutions in the fifteenth century. They came in great numbers. Have the Sultans of Turkey ever had cause to complain of their Jewish subjects?

I added that if, for example, on the occasion of his next birthday Y.I.M. should deign to make a declaration in favor of the Jewish people, in our days of the telegraph and rapid communication that would have an almost instantaneous repercussion throughout the entire world. It would be the great signal to attract intelligence, capital, industry, and enterprises of every kind, and it would be not only the territory of Mesopotamia and Haifa with its little bit of hinterland that would profit by it, but the whole Ottoman Empire.

On my return to Yildiz Kiosk, H.E. Aarif Bey reported to me that Y.I.M. did not want a concentration of immigrants in any one part of the territory. I will not be so bold as to insist, but to my mind colonization need not take the form of unhealthy concentration. If a large company with sufficient capital manages the colonization, it could reach an agreement with the government on the areas to be colonized, and the establishment of the colonists could be systematically controlled and guided, following a previously determined plan.

Y.I.M. will decide in His lofty wisdom.

It is perhaps a matter of confidence, and Y.I.M. may wish to enlarge his knowledge of my devotion and financial integrity of my friends. We are at your disposal even if we do not, for the moment, reach an agreement on the proposed matter.

First, to prove that my devotion is not an empty word, I am at Y.I.M.'s orders to help him with my humble ability in the consolidation project. I am convinced that greater advantages for the Imperial Treasury could be obtained even from M. Rouvier's group. But it would be necessary to go about it very adroitly and, above all, to assure the most absolute secrecy for the decisions finally arrived at by Y.I.M. It would succeed only if the secrecy were complete.

My presence in Constantinople has not gone unnoticed, and some advantages can be gained even from this fact. But if I may

respectfully offer a piece of advice, it would be to do nothing and especially not to let anything leak out before I have the honor of being received in a private audience by Y.I.M. The last time I did not have this signal honor, but I hope not to be deprived of it this time.

I should be happy if I could be of use to Y.I.M. in any way whatever and thus show myself worthy of the kindness that Y.I.M. has shown me.

My services are equally at your disposal for any other aspect of the country's financial reorganization.

I have the honor to be Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,

Dr. Th. H.

July 28, 1902

July 29, aboard the little "Konstantinos"

Yesterday, with its idle excitements, did not permit me to enter the events of Sunday.

On Sunday afternoon (two days ago) I received a telegram from Ibrahim saying that I should come to the Palace at once.

I changed my clothes and went to Beshiktash on our hired yacht.

At the palace, Ibrahim, Tahsin, and Aarif Bey, the Sultan's chamberlain, were already waiting for me. The Sultan had given orders that I be taken to the Grand Vizier. Ibrahim and Aarif were to accompany me.

To the great astonishment of the *baksheesh* caryatids at the Yildiz entrance I appeared flanked by these two *gros légumes* [big-shots] and followed by three discreet servants.

In the West this would probably have been taken for the *cortège* [procession] of an execution.

To His Highness, Said Pasha!

I went ahead in Ibrahim's carriage, the two gentlemen followed behind me in a second carriage.

At the Grand Vizier's there was more tedious, unnerving waiting.

First my two cavaliers disappeared into His Highness's office.

After a very long while the door opened; a short, fattish, faded old gentleman in a sick man's dressing gown appeared and asked me to come in.

That was Said Pasha.

He asked me for details of my memorandum that I had submitted to the Sultan.

In my letter of yesterday addressed to the Sultan I have reproduced in fairly accurate detail the substance of our conversation, which was attended by Ibrahim and Aarif as silent seconds, their hands respectfully folded over their bellies. It should be added only that Said, who looks very intelligent and was very amiable, declared my campaign to aid the Jews was something very humanitarian and commendable. But particular note should be taken of the long sideways glance at the two witnesses with which he accompanied the question as to what persons the syndicate was composed of. For this sidelong glance, that is, the ostensible cleverness expressed in it, he is Grand Vizier.

For the rest, he finished by saying that he was pleased to have made my acquaintance, and amidst *salaams* First Class with Oak Leaves he dismissed me.

I had anticipated this conversation with roughly the same expectations as the one with Chlodwig Hohenlohe four years ago at Potsdam. His Highness Said Pasha, too, *a fait son petit Hohenlohe* [pulled a little Hohenlohe]. Chilling despite all his amiability.

We drove back to Yildiz, again I in advance in Ibrahim's carriage and the two cavaliers bringing up the rear.

Aarif went to see the Sultan and brought me word that I should give a report about my conference with the Grand Vizier. This is the Sultan's way of controlling the accuracy of what is submitted to him. The system is undoubtedly clever, but it requires a brilliant ruler. Governing in public, at any rate, means greater freedom from care for the ruler.

I promised my report for yesterday morning, but didn't finish it until noon.

After the chilling amiability of the Grand Vizier (who is suffering from a chill and an abscessed tooth) and Aarif's even much worse message, the night had brought me peace again. When I was finishing my letter, I had the feeling of having made a good move in the chess game.

In accordance with the Sultan's wish, I put my letter in a sealed envelope and sent it to the palace by Wellisch, while I stayed on our *mouche* with Wolffsohn, on the blue waters before Beshiktash. I at least wanted to spend those horrible hours of waiting in the fresh air instead of Ibrahim's office, the pattern of whose carpet I already know by heart. I wanted to cruise outside Beshiktash for an hour, then go to Pera and await the orders in the palace there.

During that hour nothing came; I went to Pera; but hardly had I gulped down my lunch when Wellisch came rattling along and called me into the palace.

However, I went to Galata and from there took the yacht to Beshiktash.

In Yildiz, the capital of Wonderland, a surprise awaited me.

I was awaited by Ibrahim, Tahsin, and Aarif. The last-named gave me back the letter which I had addressed to the Sultan, its seal still unbroken. The Sultan, he said, wanted me to have the letter translated by my own confidential agent and then send it to him directly and sealed. The Sultan had named Wellisch for this; but the latter declared he was incapable of doing it, because he could not read or write Turkish.

I had to promise to turn in the translation by evening. But where was I to get a trustworthy translator that fast? Nevertheless I promised the somewhat embarrassed gentlemen to do my utmost. After all, it was a vote of no confidence that the Master was giving them.

Then another astounding thing happened. Tahsin told me by way of Ibrahim that the Sultan desired me to stop payment on the checks I had sent him. I didn't immediately understand what was meant by this. He couldn't possibly mean the £200 which I had returned to him for charitable purposes. Did he mean the three

letters of credit of one million each? Yes, that's what it was. He had mistaken these for checks, that is, he had thought that I had sent them in for purposes of bribery or pilfered them in some way. Naturally I wrote out the desired declaration that I had cancelled the three-million deposit again.

Then I went out in search of a reliable translator. Wellisch hesitantly recommended to me a young trainee in the consular service, Badi by name, a Sephardic Jew. Ibrahim had recommended to Wellisch the Turkish ministry official Bachor Effendi. I despatched Wellisch in a carriage to see Badi. Wolffsohn, whom I had asked to wait in our *mouche,* had gone for a sail. Rather nervously I stood on the dock of Beshiktash and looked for the *mouche.* Finally I took a barque with two pirates in order to go in search of my *mouche.* They rowed me almost up to the Leander tower, and then I espied my *mouche.* In my black frock-coat and top hat I stood up straight in the barque, in the hottest blaze of the sun, and made semaphor signals. But my Greek captain didn't notice me until he was back before Beshiktash.

Then I drove to the Golden Horn. In the streets of Pera we met young Badi, a handsome, intelligent, ragged-looking young man. Without telling him what I wanted of him I interrogated him—among other things, as to whether he was religious. Then I would have had him swear on a Bible that he would keep the secret. To my regret, however, he was not religious. So I had to settle for his word of honor. He made a good impression. I also took a look at his brother's little cotton-goods store, so as to get a picture of his family. I trusted him and took him along to the Hotel Pera Palace. And at that point it occurred to me that despite all the remarkable experiences I am having here, something much more fabulous is happening to this young man. His adventure is really out of the Arabian Nights. For him I am the foreign magician whom he meets unexpectedly and who brings him into contact with the Caliph.

But this unsuspecting young man took it with Oriental calm when at the Pera Palace I took his oath and pledge and let him in on the secret.

Then I let him work, with Wolffsohn watching over him. At about 9 o'clock I saw that he would not finish that night, and telegraphed Ibrahim that I wouldn't be coming.

It was midnight before Badi finished the translation of my letter, the first one perhaps that will get into the Sultan's hands unadulterated.

Following Wolffsohn's good advice I had the good youth translate his work back into French for me, and as he did so I noticed that he was sacrificing accuracy to an elegant Turkish. That had to be corrected, but could not be done that night.

We went to Therapia and got into thick fog until 2 a.m. That was another fairy-tale, like so many of the things we encounter here, but this time a sinister one.

These milky-white vapors that enveloped us prevented us even from recognizing the near-by coast. The uncomfortable trip took a very long time. Finally our yacht almost ploughed into the English stationary vessel—and we were in Therapia.

July 30, on board the "Konstantinos"

Early yesterday morning I continued working with the Sephardi Badi. I had him re-Frenchify his translation for me, and corrected his Oriental stylistic beauties, insisting on preserving my uglier clarity.

At the end, however, I had him append what might be the most important sentence: namely, if the Sultan desired me to reorganize his finances, I intended to start Turkish lessons immediately and hoped that after three months I would reach the point of being able to converse with him directly. That sentence I would not have entrusted to his translators.

Then Badi transcribed a fair copy of his translation with the utmost slowness.

It was late when he finished. I telegraphed my departure to Ibrahim. When I got there, he was already sitting at table with Aarif Bey and the Minister of the Civil List. They most amiably

made room for me. Good Ibrahim was *aux petits soins* [all attention] to me.

After lunch I handed my letter to Aarif Bey.

He and Ibrahim informed me in this connection that my explanation regarding the three million did not suffice His Majesty. The Sultan wished personally to tear up the "three checks in his possession." (?) Furthermore, I would have to make another written declaration that I had withdrawn the deposits, that no one could receive payment on them, and that I had no claim of any kind on anyone on the basis of the title to these three millions.

I wrote out the desired declaration once more, and in the very detailed wording that Ibrahim dictated to me.

Despite this, however, Aarif made a mistrustful face. He probably assumed I had decided simply to forgo the three million.

When he left to go to the Sultan, Ibrahim gave him—only now!—my *Philosophische Erzählungen* which I had asked to be presented to the Sultan in a sumptuous Turkish binding as long ago as last February.

When Aarif had gone, Ibrahim told me that the declaration I had written out would produce a good effect. *"Elle servira d'arme contre des adversaires* [It will serve as ammunition against the opposition]."

These mysterious words can only mean that Izzet and perhaps Ibrahim as well have been accused of having received some money from me, and that now their innocence has come to light.

Aarif went, came back again soon, and gave me an appointment for today.

Ibrahim had asked Wellisch what traveling expenses I had had. I most gratefully declined this semi-official presumption. I won't let myself be reimbursed for any expenses. I said I would accept only the hotel bill, because it was a distinction to stay here as the guest of His Majesty.

Then we spent the sunny afternoon cruising on the blue Bosporus as far as the Leander tower, splashed past Scutari, then into the Golden Horn, and in the evening returned to Therapia.

* * *

Today it is pouring rain. The yacht, my *pirate bus,** as Greenberg would say, is unpleasant in bad weather.

Il faut avoir de la chance à Byzance, ou ne pas y être [In Byzantium one must have luck, or not be there at all].

July 31, Therapia.

The unnerving negotiations continue. The ceremonial never changes.

At noon I drive in the state carriage from Beshiktash to Yildiz, where the blind beggars at the gate already know my *baksheesh.*

I go past servants, whose itching hands are folded on their bellies, to the ever-amiable Ibrahim on whom, nevertheless, I must be a great burden by now. Usually he goes to his office once a week, now he must come every day and stay into the night.

A fine Turkish luncheon of many courses is served. Then I die of boredom on the leather couch opposite Ibrahim.

It is a miracle that we still have something to talk about. Yesterday he told me about the *musée* [museum] salon at Yildiz which contained valuable porcelain things of many centuries; on Abdul Hamid's orders an inventory had been made, and in such a way that nothing can be stolen.

Then we talked about Jerusalem. Had I been to the Omar Mosque? No! He said he knew that the Jews did not set foot in it unless they were forced to do so. The next time I went there I ought to let myself be forced, he said with a smile.

Then he spoke about the wailing wall of the Jews——

At that moment Aarif Bey came back from the Sultan, with instructions to accompany me to the Grand Vizier.

The preliminary stages of any negotiation are terribly complicated and tire me far more than the negotiation itself.

The Grand Vizier seems to be a kind, good old person, although he is very shrewd.

He began by saying that the Sultan had been very satisfied with my two memoranda.

* In English in the original.

(In the carriage the very likable Aarif Bey had told me that the Sultan had given orders to have my entire book translated immediately.)

Further, the Grand Vizier said he had been instructed to inform me that the Sultan was in principle inclined to go ahead with my propositions.

I made a low bow.

Then we got into a hazy, blurry, cigarette-smoke-enveloped coffee confab, which was supposed to constitute negotiations.

The whole thing was so nebulous that I have retained no definite points.

I mentioned the destitution of the Jews in Eastern Europe. In discussing the situation in Rumania the good Grand Vizier said ironically:

"That certainly shouldn't happen in civilized countries."

At this I remarked that this untenable situation—since I had no word from the Sultan—had caused me to establish contact with the English government through a Cabinet member and ask them whether they were willing to grant us colonization in Africa.

And yet, although we wouldn't need to pay England anything for it and, in fact, would probably receive great special privileges, we would prefer the expensive little area of Palestine. It constituted a symbol. The hearts of our people clung to it. This was a bit of sentimentality from which Turkey could derive great benefit.

The Grand Vizier remarked timidly that this might lead to difficulties with the Powers.

"I rely on your skill, Your Highness. Then, too, we ourselves have some influence here and there. Incidentally, in our present proposition we have left aside Jerusalem and all Holy Places. The land has temporal and spiritual character. Where it is spiritualized, we won't touch it. But why shouldn't the ordinary land be made arable in the ordinary way?"

"But Haifa," said His Highness, "also has strategic value."

"The strength that we shall bring into the country has strategic value, too."

"Yes, but actually you offer us very few benefits—1.6 mill. pounds, and for that we should make enemies of the Rouvier group which includes all the *gros bonnets* [big-wigs] of finance?

"Since the Rouvier project remains unchanged even in your plan, perhaps the two operations could be separated, after all."

Only now did I understand what he had meant by separating the operations the first time. He wants to carry out the consolidation with Rouvier (*moyennant écus* [for a financial consideration]). After all, the advantage to the Turkish government was only £1.6 mill. at the most with me, too.

This is how we remained after some intricate talk back and forth.

La nuit m'a porté conseil [The night brought me counsel].

I excused myself from luncheon with Ibrahim and am sending the following letter to the Sultan:*

July 31, 1902

Sire:

I have the honor to submit the following considerations to Y.I.M.

The benevolence with which I am treated by Y.I.M. has touched me deeply. I see that I am no longer regarded as a foreign negotiator but as a devoted man in whom confidence is placed.

It would be on my conscience if I did not reply with complete frankness. I am, then, going to submit to Y.I.M. without the slightest reservation all that I am able and willing to do with the cooperation of my friends.

Here is an even better proposal than the one I had formulated at Y.I.M.'s desire.

We are ready to allow the Imp. govt. to share in the financial profits that might be derived from the consolidation project. The proposal would be as follows.

We accept in full the conditions already accepted by M. Rouvier's group.

* In French in the original.

The Imp. govt. will put 32 millions of new obligations at our disposal to carry out the consolidation, in exchange for the old bonds.

We will pay the Imp. Treasury the sum of 1,600,000 pounds.

From the profit we make in the course of the whole transaction there will first be deducted the sum of 1,600,000 pounds. The remainder will be divided equally between the Imp. Treasury and us.

If, by the opposition of M. Rouvier's group or by other unforeseen circumstances, the consolidation becomes impossible with the maximum sacrifice on our part of 1,600,000, we are free to withdraw from the undertaking.

But in that case we shall carry out the colonization project by itself, while putting the sum of 1,600,000 pounds at the disposal of the Imp. Treasury.

It is understood that we should need the Imp. govt.'s assistance for the consolidation to the extent that it would declare to M. Rouvier's group that it would be willing to carry out the consolidation only through our agency or not at all.

I have, Sire, the honor to be Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,

Dr. Th. H.

July 31, evening

On my brigantine "Konstantinos," outside Beshiktash, cruising in the wonderful hues of evening.

Today came the decision, short and sharp like a last shot.

When I arrived outside Beshiktash at noon, I immediately sent Wellisch up with my letter to the Sultan.

He had not been gone long and I was just about to have our "Konstantinos" steam off and to lie down for an afternoon nap when I caught sight of Ibrahim's servant on the gangway. Wellisch, too, came back, saying that I should come to the Palace immediately.

Cursing, I changed my clothes in the cabin in the depths, and again drove up the Imperial Mountain in my heavy black frock-coat, overcoat, and top hat.

Ibrahim greeted me sweetly, saying that presumably I hadn't liked the food. But I referred him to the letter that I had written for H.M. in my *cabinet de travail flottant* [floating study].

Ibrahim immediately sent someone after Aarif Bey and had my letter forwarded to H.M.

I hadn't had to sweat an excessive length of time and stare like a prisoner at the little piece of heaven, the bit of foliage, and the corner of white Kiosk out there when Aarif came back from H.M. with a somewhat cruelly rigid expression. He brought back my letter, torn open and with the seal melted off.

H.M. had had the Grand Vizier give him a report and said that I should come round tomorrow morning after the *selamlik* and say good-bye, after which I could leave tomorrow evening.

After yesterday's dulcet tones this almost sounded like a fall from favor. It wasn't clear whether H.M. would grant me a farewell audience. Apparently not; for Aarif further said that I should send the translation of my letter this very day, for after tomorrow's *selamlik* Constans, who had returned, and other ambassadors were to be received.

So Constans is back. That is it, in a nut-shell.* I can imagine how the Rouvier machinery has been functioning against me during this week of my much-noticed presence.

I took the blow in good part, made some friendly remarks to the two executioners, and thought I saw a little gleam of joy in Ibrahim's eyes.

Earlier, while I was waiting, he had spoken about my activities. Zionism seemed to be the most important thing to me?

Yes indeed, I said.

"*C'est très noble* [That's very noble]!" he said.

In Byzantium you never know.

* Translator's Note: . . . *des Pudels Kern* (the poodle's core), from Goethe's *Faust*, Part I.

I left for Beshiktash, and Badi sat down in the cabin of our brigatine and translated.

While he was doing this and then calligraphed a clean copy, my *pirate bus** was dallying around in the magnificent harbor. At 6 o'clock I was outside Beshiktash again and sent Wellisch up; but he had to wait for almost an hour, for Ibrahim had gone out.

Accidentally? Intentionally? In any case, it will be hard for H.M. to devote himself to such work this very day. And tomorrow I leave, and the field will be clear again for Rouvier.

* * *

Yet I am not dissatisfied with this turn of events.

This is the way I understand it: they are going to make the consolidation with R., and later they will get back to my 1.6, when they need money again or want to use me to scare someone.

I think that H.M. has now found out for the first time what I want, and he declared himself as not quite disinclined.

But his decisions are a thousand years old.

Therapia, the same evening

My sensing that the Grand Vizier would now all the more urge the acceptance of the Rouvier project was correct, and my letter of this morning parried the blow—too late.

* * *

Two moods may be recorded as ever-recurring ones.

The anxiety at Yildiz, which increases in the hours of waiting.

Then, the feeling while speaking with them that they aren't really serious about it after all. They are like sea foam. Only their expressions are serious, not their intentions.

And it kept occurring to me suddenly while deep in conversation: Why, all of that is just talk. They want nothing in reality.

* In English in the original.

August 1, on board the little "Konstantinos"

Last voyage from Therapia to Beshiktash.

Probably the most beautiful morning since we've been here. Never before have the magic hues of the Bosporus been so sweet and soft.

Je m'en vais bredouille [I'm leaving empty-handed].

The idlers of the diplomatic corps will rejoice, for I have been a thorn in their flesh.

Last night I heard from my balcony what they were saying on the terrace.

The fat Spanish ambassador asked:

"*Qui est donc ce monsieur à la grande barbe noire* [Who is that man with the big black beard, anyway]?"

Soft whispering. I stepped back from the edge of the balcony. Later I overheard the Belgian ambassador saying, evidently still as part of this conversation:

"*Je n'aime pas les X, les inconnus* [I don't like the X's, the unknowns]."

And he explained to his intelligent audience "what an X in mathematics is." Several among them might have heard it for the first time.

Today I am probably one of the 500 best-known men in the world. *Ce qui n'empêche pas* [Which doesn't prevent] the Belgian ambassador from regarding me as an *inconnu*.

In the eyes of diplomatic Therapia, the tennis players, gluttons, and lazybones, I am an adventurer of some sort.

And what if one were to ask: "*Qu'est ce que c'est que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne* [What is the Spanish ambassador]?"

In 300 years a Spanish ambassador hasn't even had the very slightest function here. He hasn't even been needed for birthday congratulations.

A Belgian ambassador has never had any *raison d'être* [reason for existence] whatever.

Such a man eats up the tax money of poor people from the Borinage in paradise-like Therapia, hangs around, tells stories

and listens to them. And such a bloated frog looks down his nose at the bearer of a cause which means relief to millions of people, an increase in culture, and progress of a high order.

This morning, packed, pressed *baksheeshes* in the fabulously countless hands, checked the hotel bill (which, by the manager's admission, had been greatly jacked up)—and off!

Adieu, beautiful Bosporus!

* * *

The question remains why H.M. made me come.

Could it be because of that declaration about the 3 million francs?

Or did he at the last moment get scared of the returning frightful *forban* [freebooter] Constans?

August 2, aboard my *pirate bus**

Once again, the last trip from Therapia to Beshiktash.

I couldn't get away yesterday.

Punctually yesterday morning I entered Ibrahim's office. He hadn't arrived yet. At 11 o'clock he came. He sent for Aarif. I used these minutes to give him a beautiful pair of studs as a souvenir.

Then Aarif appeared, and him I gave a pearl stick-pin as a farewell present. Both received their presents graciously.

While Aarif was on his way to the Caliph, I carried on the pleasantries of parting with Ibrahim. I was scheduled to leave on the Orient Express at 1:50.

Ibrahim said he didn't want to be indiscreet, but he understood that I had not met with success.

I said that I was not yet acquainted with H.M.'s decision.

At this Ibrahim said that I mustn't doubt H.M.'s good intentions, even if he didn't come to an agreement with me. It was true that he was an absolute ruler, but he could by no means do whatever he wanted.

* In English in the original.

"I do understand," I said, "that there is such a thing as the interest of the state which must be observed above all."

"Yes," confirmed Ibrahim, "and for you personally H.M. has a great deal of respect and sympathy. What you want to do for your people is very noble. *Le sionnisme est très noble* [Zionism is very noble]."

I thanked him and said that I would always remain a friend of Turkey and an adherent of this pro-Jewish Sultan. But the misery of our people in Eastern Europe did not permit us to wait any longer. I said I had already established contact with the English government and submitted to a Cabinet member, Lord James of Hereford, my proposals for the establishment of a Jewish colony in Africa. England required no financial sacrifices whatever from us and was more likely even to smooth our path in every way.

Ibrahim found this understandable and thought that if the Sultan saw the success of our colonization in Africa, he would be more inclined to do something with us too.

I demurred that it might be too late then, when we had already made big investments in another place.

The conversation then turned to philo-Semitic remarks. Ibrahim told me about a Christian play called *Marchand de Venise* [The Merchant of Venice]. Maybe I knew it. In it there was a Jewish usurer who wanted to cut a piece of flesh out of a Christian's chest. This had been played at the Yildiz theatre, with an Italian actor—whatever was his name?

"Salvini-Rossi?" I helped him along.

"Rossi!" said Ibrahim, pleased, and added: "You see, we don't have any of that in our country. We have no theatre. Therefore no such inflammatory play can be presented here either."

Meanwhile a mysterious servant appeared. The Sultan asked me whether I could delay my departure until evening.

Certainly, if H.M. desired it.

Then Aarif came, with an inscrutable expression, and asked me to extend my stay by a whole day, i.e., till *this* evening.

I promised to do so. But the two gentlemen no longer looked as happy as they had up to then. Why?

At the exit I whispered to Wolffsohn to make a sad face.

Izzet was just driving up; I didn't see him until he greeted me. He did so with a most amicable grin—evidently anticipating my departure.

At Beshiktash Constans was landing from his yacht when I left my state carriage. From his quick, penetrating glance I could tell that he guessed who I was. His air was that of a victor. He saw me depart before the *selamlik,* he still didn't know that H.M. had asked me to stay.

* * *

But what is all this supposed to mean?

Could it be that my letter of two days ago hit the bull's-eye?

* * *

Wolffsohn had said that it would be better to make the colonization separately and without the consolidation. This is not my view. For this way I may be able to do without the help of those wretches who let me languish for seven years.

* * *

In the evening I found waiting for me at Therapia the code telegram from Greenberg which had come to an accommodation address; he informed me that he had a sealed private letter from Lord Rothschild for me.

I immediately despatched Wellisch for Constantinople on the *mouche* with this telegram:

*Open and wire.**

* * *

August 3

On a slow train known as the "Conventionnel," somewhere in Bulgaria, outside Phillipopolis.

* * *

* In English in the original.

So here I am, escaped again from the murderers' den and the robbers' country.

Yesterday had the usual beginning.

When I arrived outside Beshiktash, Wellisch had no reply from Greenberg as yet. Nor did it come during the day. Who knows whether the waters would have flowed differently if I had had it?

I changed my clothes again on the brigantine "Konstantinos" and drove up to Yildiz.

At Ibrahim's I had to wait only one hour before Tahsin came. I recognized at once that during the night the Yildiz gremlins had been here again and destroyed my work.

Again the old childish claptrap about the *sujétion ottomane* [Ottoman citizenship] and the *service militaire* and the *établissement des israelites "d'une manière dispersée"* [the settling of the Israelites "in scattered form"]—as Ibrahim, the *Drogman du Divan Impérial* [Dragoman of the Imperial Divan], puts it—was warmed up.

My counter-proposal regarding consolidation was hardly brought up. The Yildiz gang must have received a tremendous amount of money there.

Actually, Wellisch had already given me the news of the day on the *mouche:* Big boom in Turkish securities. A certain Zander, director of the Anatolian railroads, is said to have purchased 300,000 *consolidés* [consols]!

I gathered from the way Tahsin and Ibrahim acted that the Sultan's *irade,* in confirmation of the government's *mazbata,* had already been issued.

Constans therefore had good reason to be triumphant.

I raised the question with Tahsin of who would take care of installing the immigrants. Would the government? Or would the creation of a colonization company be permitted?

He was going to let the Sultan decide that.

He left and we went to lunch.

Another loathsome meal with those innumerable barbaric dishes which, according to the Oriental custom, have to be forced down with exclamations of delight. Veritable snake food. All these

days while Their Excellencies were eating everything with the same cutlery from one plate, I have permitted myself the fun of putting my knife and fork on my plate after each course, whereupon the servants promptly changed my setting. Ten or twelve times in all. This might have instilled even more respect in the menials and their masters than my royal gratuities.

Tahsin returned. The Sultan assured me of his friendship and asked me, first, to accept a subvention for the *N. Fr. Pr.*, second, to let him know what my expenses had been.

Re One I refused outright. That was absolutely out of the question.

Re Two I begged him not to be offended if I did not accept. I regarded myself as sufficiently played host to, since he was paying my hotel bill. If he insisted on making me a present, let it be a book or some other trifle of no value.

Meanwhile we were drinking coffee. It struck me that Tahsin had his own coffee brought to him in his own cup. These assassins evidently don't trust one another out of sight.

I also had the brief enjoyment of seeing Izzet associating with Tahsin in Ibrahim's office. Izzet was dictating something with a cruel air, and Tahsin was writing it down with a pinched expression.

Tahsin left and then came back.

He brought me a message from the Sultan which Ibrahim dictated to me in translation, whereupon I had to acknowledge its receipt.

Here it is:*

Their Excellencies Tahsin Bey, H.I.M.'s First Secretary, and Ibrahim Bey, Dragoman of the Imperial Divan, have done me the honor of transmitting the following communication to me:

"The Israelites can be received and settled in the Ottoman Empire under the condition that they be installed, not together, that is, dispersed, in the places adjudged suitable by the government, and that their numbers be fixed in advance by the government. They will be invested with Ottoman citizenship and charged

* In French in the original.

with all the civic duties, including military service, as well as being subject to all the laws of the land like Ottomans."

I have very respectfully taken cognizance of this communication, express my deep gratitude to His Imperial Majesty for it, and shall consult with my friends about it.

Yildiz Kiosk, August 2, 1902

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

The supplementary slip (probably suppressed by Tahsin):*

Yildiz, August 2, 1902

I permit myself to add the question if H.I.M. still wants me to go ahead with the project of consolidation, apart from colonization, on the following basis:

Issuance of £32 mill.

All the accruing profits to be divided between the Treasury and my friends.—

My receipt was again retranslated by Ibrahim for the Sultan.

But while he was calligraphing on his knee, it occurred to me that my conditions of colonization had been used by the Yildiz gang to fight against me, or rather, to clear the ground for Rouvier. To cut through their net as well as to see clearly whether the Sultan had used me only to extort concessions from Rouvier at the last moment, I wrote an additional question on a second slip.

Ibrahim raised his eyebrows. From this I could tell that he too must be in on the Rouvier deal.

Prudently enough, however, he made no objection, but docilely copied what I had written.

However, he didn't close the letter to the Sultan or affix a seal, but had Tahsin called and handed him the additional note which the Sultan surely didn't get to see.

Of course, I don't know if the result would have been different if I had sent the supplementary note in a direct letter to the Sultan.

* In French in the original.

While Tahsin was with the Sultan, Ibrahim explained to me how hard it was to say no to the Rouvier people at this point. It was like whist. The player who reflects too long forfeits the right to turn over the choice of trumps to his partner.

Oh yes, robber whist.

The government, Ibrahim continued, would do itself out of all credit if it now said no.

The credit of the Turkish government!

And wasn't that the case as long as a week ago?

But I put a good face on the bad business of these crooks.

Ibrahim pulled out a red-silk money bag, showed me—the Chief Master of Ceremonies of H.M. the Caliph!—that the wax seal was intact, and urgently requested me in the name of the Sultan to accept the purse. H.M. *serait confus* [would be embarrassed] if I didn't at least accept reimbursement for my cash expenses. He would be offended by it, etc. However, H.M. reserved the right *de vous faire un cadeau qui serait digne de vous* [to make you a present worthy of you].

I accepted the purse *pour mes pauvres* [for my poor].

At least I can put a small sum into our propaganda treasury. I still don't know how much is in the bag. I won't open it until I get to Vienna.

Then the last *salaams*, and I left the den of Ali Baba and the forty thieves.

* * *

I believe that if I succeed in founding the Jewish Eastern Company with Rothschild's help, H.M. will change his tune toward me. That would make me a neighbor with whom one has to be on good terms.

August 4

Still on the "Conventionnel," somewhere in Hungary.

* * *

When you rattle through the sleepless hot night like this, you keep reviewing and revising the whole thing.

What mistakes have I made this time? Instead of taking the consolidation only as a pretext for colonization, hadn't I better simply make some business transactions for the Sultan which would show him my greater honesty? I could have telegraphed Rothschild, or sent someone to see Morgan.

* * *

The Turks' way of negotiating is childish, and that is why one isn't at one's best when dealing with them. This again gives them an advantage.

* * *

More *cocasse* [droll] details about my friend Ibrahim occur to me.

To the extent that a Yildiz courtier can be a better type of person, he is one. I do have a certain liking for him.

His ignorance is delicious, but I believe that in this respect he is like many European masters of ceremonies.

He spoke, among other things, about the love of music of the Viennese: Vienna was the city of music. I was pleased for a moment. I thought that he was saying something sensible.

"Oui, partout ces musiques militaires [Yes, those military bands everywhere]!" he added.

* * *

When on the last day I had the Sultan asked through Tahsin how he envisaged the settlement *"d'une manière dispersée* [in a scattered form]," whether the government would give the people the funds, or whether it would be permissible to set up an organization, i.e., a company, he sent me the reply that this was only a question of detail of implementation.

If there is not concealed behind this the desire to break off the negotiations for this time, it is a piece of asininity, pure and simple.

* * *

Still, I believe that things are not in a bad way.

They have grown accustomed in Yildiz and the Porte to looking upon me as someone interested in the vilayet of Beirut. Some day —when they are *dans la dèche* [reduced to beggary], as the Jew Daoud Effendi told me as early as 1896—they will suddenly send for me in their need, and throw the thing in my lap.

The only question is when that moment will come.

I believe that I can greatly expedite it if I manage, with the help of Lord Rothschild or the English government, to create the Jewish Eastern Company.

This must be my next task now.

Then I would be a serious but friendly neighbor to the sanjak of Jerusalem, which I shall somehow acquire at the first opportunity, as the Bulgarians did with Eastern Rumelia.

* * *

If Rothschild's wire today amounts to a refusal, I shall try to approach Chamberlain.

August 5, on the train, between Attnang and Aussee

The mystery of Rothschild's letter, which I had already been advised of at Constantinople and for whose contents I have been waiting for four days now, sending ever more urgent telegrams, has now been revealed.

This morning I received a telegraphic summary from Greenberg.

There is only one word for it: Rubbish!

I won't learn the text until I reach Aussee, and I shall word my reply—provided I make one at all—accordingly.

I see this much even now: I shall remain thrown on my own resources, now as before.

Now I want to try the English plan directly through Chamberlain. To be sure, there is little hope that the English government will do anything with us if we don't have Rothschild on our side. I will try to approach Chamberlain through Greenberg. Of all my

helpers Greenberg has, during the past year, been the most efficient by far.

* * *

Even if nothing can be done with Chamberlain, I will make an attempt in Italy.

Ehrenpreis, the Rabbi of Sofia, told me while traveling part of the way with me on the train that the King of Italy has asked the Italian attaché Polacco, a Jew and formerly stationed in Sofia, about our movement. Naturally the Jew Polacco knew less about it than the king. But this young little king who has as yet done nothing to become immortal* and has interests in the Mediterranean, could perhaps be used in some way. *A creuser* [to be explored]!

Perhaps one can get to him through Lombroso?

* * *

This political-financial chapter on the Bosporus in which I almost became a figure is really quite a curious bit of history.

The French politicians Constans and Rouvier—*les républicains d'affaires* [the republicans of business]!—made a deal for their own pockets; the Germans, however, for the Empire. For the consolidation, from which the Constans-Rouvier company will make stock-exchange profits, will release Turkish revenues which guarantee the Bagdad railroad; and that is German influence. Thus German policy has paid the representatives of France a gratuity out of the Sultan's pocket for having supported interests which every French patriot must fight.

And this outfit looks down on us Jews.

August 12, Alt-Aussee

Lord Rothschild's letter is empty, evasive verbiage. Nevertheless, upon the advice of prudent Greenberg I am giving him the following friendly reply:

* Translator's Note: ". . . *nichts für die Unsterblichkeit getan* . . ."—a quotation from Schiller's *Don Carlos*, Act II.

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This is my first chance after my return from Constantinople to answer your letter.

Let me confess to you that your reply is not entirely what I had expected.

Oh, if you only had some inkling of the boundless distress of our *honest* poor people—I am not talking of *shnorrers* [beggars] and rabble—you would listen to me better. I am enclosing a random newspaper clipping. I could send you such clippings every day from all sorts of countries.

There is no counting the heart-breaking letters from workers' groups, business people, academically trained men, that I receive. I must answer with a sigh: I cannot help you!

People of this kind want no handouts of money—if they did they would not turn to me—but opportunities for work and an existence safeguarded from persecution. Charitable institutions cannot offer them this anywhere.

For this reason I am glad at least to gather from your letter that you are beginning to see our cause from a higher point of view than the merely charitable one. If I am not mistaken in this, I would regard it as good fortune for the cause if you were willing to take over, or at least influence, the administration of the Hirsch Fund.

I will tell you confidentially—the way I am speaking to you in general—that it is to be ascribed only to my influence if the indignation of the desperate poor at the I.C.A. has not hitherto led to public scandals.

I shall be very pleased if you see fit to inform me about your intentions. Your communications will remain as secret as you yourself desire. Insofar as this is compatible with our Zionist principles, I shall also be glad to place my modest powers at your disposal—if only to make sure that my organizations do not inadvertently work at cross purposes with you in some deserving enterprise.

The recognition that you accord to my modest activities, which unfortunately are still unsuccessful, has pleased me greatly, coming as it does from a master so much tested in good works.

In this connection the words of a German epigrammatist have just occurred to me:

Wir wollen weniger gelobt
Und mehr gelesen sein!

[We'd rather be praised less
and read more!]*

I wish that there were no longer any discussion of me and that our poor people were helped instead.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,
Herzl.

August 22, Alt-Aussee

Another letter of amicable opposition from Lord Rothschild, dated August 18, to which I am replying as follows:

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This is to acknowledge, with thanks, your letter of friendly opposition of the 18th. I cannot agree that the Jewish commonwealth which I would like to set up will have to be small, orthodox, and illiberal. I worked for three years on a coherent reply to this and similar misgivings.

It has turned into a book with the title *Altneuland* [Old-New-land] which will appear in a few weeks; you shall be among the first to whom I shall send it.

There is just one thing I would like to say now. Were the founders of the states which now are great mightier, cleverer, better educated, wealthier than we Jews of today? Poor shepherds and huntsmen have founded communities which later became states. In our own time, Greeks, Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgarians have established themselves—and should *we* be incapable of doing so?

Our race is more efficient in everything than most other peoples

* Translator's Note: The conclusion (misquoted) of G. E. Lessing's four-line epigram to his readers.

of the earth. This, in fact, is the cause of the great hatred. We have just had no self-confidence up to now. Our moral misery will be at an end on the day when we believe in ourselves. Naturally there will always be fights and difficulties, internal and external ones. But what country, what state does not have them? And we shall always produce the men to grapple with these difficulties.

The coming into being of the Jewish commonwealth, the Jewish colony—call it what you will at the beginning—will not be regarded by the Powers with repugnance or mistrust. For this I have much and sufficient proof.

Book Thirteen

August 22, 1902
(Wedding anniversary of my parents,
celebrated for the first time
without my good father)

(Continuation of the letter to Rothschild:)

In particular, I am on the best of terms with the Turkish government. It is true that recently I had it published in the Zionist papers that my last trip to Constantinople did not lead to any result; I could have concealed this, but I had my reasons for this disclosure.

The main thing, you see, is that I enjoy the Sultan's confidence to a rare degree. This in itself is a strange phenomenon, considering that he has been told so many bad and stupid things about me—that I want to become King of Palestine, and all that sort of nonsense. I, however, have spoken to him with absolute frankness and simplicity, not as with a tyrant before whom one trembles, but as with a human being with human feelings, and I believe that this has won him. It may also have been the fact that he has convinced himself on various occasions that I am not on the lookout for money. Imagine, Milord—I am telling you this, like everything else, in the strictest confidence—quite some time ago he offered me tremendous business opportunities and concessions which a lot of people would probably run their legs off to get. I account for this to myself by saying that he is satisfied that I would not cheat him, and in this he is right.

My aversion to various deals which have been proposed by him (by him!) is, to be sure, not just that of a man of letters. Their execution, you see, contains the danger that my financial helpers might not be able to serve him as fairly as I require for my political purposes and for the preservation of his gratitude and confidence. Maybe in so thinking I have made mistakes born of timidity.

The latest proposal he made me was to handle the conversion for him which he entrusted to Rouvier with the greatest reluctance.

I am now wondering whether I shouldn't have informed you of this. With you I would certainly have been sure of the most impeccable correctness. Was this a blunder? Please tell me your view quite straightforwardly. From your reply I shall learn how to behave in a similar situation, which may recur today or tomorrow.

What you tell me about the Hirsch Fund is of interest to me. I

am only afraid that there will again be a hitch in the execution when the plan is carried out. But we shall see. I think you ought to join the administration in order to bring about a change.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,
Herzl.

August 23, Alt-Aussee

Letter to Crespi, whom I now want to get rid of at last, since he has been a financial burden on us for a long time.

Sent off after long deliberation on August 26, 1902:*

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your kind letters of the 17th and 20th. I am very sorry not to have seen you either at Constantinople or at Aussee when you came back from Paris. Yet I had asked M. de D. to advise you of my return. It was probably too late.

Here, then, is what I should like to tell you. I did not achieve any results and do not want to wait any longer. More accurately: I cannot wait.

Knowing your good feeling for me and above all your discretion I shall tell you confidentially what I expect to do. I shall try to obtain the territories necessary for our colonization in one of the English possessions. My last trip to London already had this aim.

Personally I preserve all my liking for 363, for he has been as charming as can be to me. If I have an opportunity of being of service to him, I shall always take it. But 401 was quite different. Who have been the harmful influences I don't know. Probably the same ones who are slowly ruining him.

I am losing a chance with him, perhaps my last one. 401 could have been his salvation.

You will understand, dear sir, that under these circumstances our business affiliation has also become pointless. I was going to tell you this upon your return from Paris and inform you at the

* In French in the original.

same time that I shall continue to pay you your monthly stipend until October.

It goes without saying that I shall always be glad to have personal news from you, and I beg you to remember me kindly.

With friendly greetings,

Yours devotedly,
Herzl.

* * *

Letter to Mme. de Korvin-Piatrovska:

Dear Madame:

My dear and respected friend Attorney Yasinovski writes me about your kindness in interesting the Ministry of the Interior in our cause. Perhaps you could induce His Excellency to obtain an audience for me with H.M. the Czar quite soon.

Maybe the Czar still remembers me. A few years ago I had the privilege of transmitting to him a detailed memorandum on Zionism, for which H.M. conveyed his thanks to me through H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Baden. Later the Czarina's brother, H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Hesse, wanted to introduce me at Darmstadt, but the Czar happened to be indisposed.

During the Peace Conference at The Hague I once had occasion to act for the Czar's interests, and this was reported to H.M. by Ambassador von Stahl, as I was informed by Councillor-of-State von Bloch, since deceased.

Proof of this must still be in the Hague files.

Also, a Grand Duke once had the kindness of favorably mentioning my endeavors to the Czar.

The purpose of the audience would be to request H.M.'s good will for our movement. It would make the greatest impression, and would in particular be a salutary stimulant for our young people, who so easily go astray politically, as well as encouragement to persevere with the Zionist ideal.

Please be assured of my most heart-felt gratitude, my dear madame, for everything you do for our great cause.

Very faithfully yours,
Th. Herzl.

September 22, Vienna

Letter for Chamberlain:

My dear Mr. Greenberg:

This is to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your telegraphic communication that Mr. Chamberlain is willing to grant me an interview.

I can understand that Mr. Chamberlain wishes to define the limits of this interview in advance. On the other hand, at this moment when I am still completely ignorant of Mr. Chamberlain's point of view, there are some difficulties in finding out those points that he might be interested in knowing more about.

There is the danger of tiring a busy man's patience with pointless remarks before we get to the heart of the matter. In conversation, however, one clears a path for oneself through the underbrush in five minutes.

Nevertheless I will preface things with a brief *aperçu* [remark]. As the recognized leader of the Zionist movement in all countries I have the opportunity of not only having a comprehensive view of Jewish migration of the present and the immediate future, but also of influencing it somewhat. To begin with, three to four hundred thousand people will be involved.

It is a problem that does not involve only *alien paupers** and does not concern only the countries of Eastern Europe. For England the matter has gained a certain timeliness through the *alien immigration,** which, as we know, led to the appointment of a commission. I don't regard the question which this commission is

* In English in the original.

to deal with as burning yet and believe that the commission will produce either a few regulations of secondary importance or nothing whatever.

But should the English government wish to look more closely into my propositions, the first task would be to give the entire matter an inconspicuous character. A sufficient explanation for the outside will be the draining off of immigrants who might give rise to friction or even economic disturbances in some parts of London and England.

But in reality I mean more than this. I should like to interest Mr. Chamberlain in a settlement of the Jews on a major scale in the British possessions. It would be much too early to go into details of implementation now. The preliminary question is whether I can make him well disposed to the cause in principle. Like a merchant applying for credit I will open all books to him and tell him unreservedly how we stand, what we need, and what we can do.

Should he then find that he will become an augmentor of the British Empire if he helps push our propositions through, I shall give him the details of implementation in oral discussion, and he can even then modify, improve, or reject them.

Mr. Chamberlain may be assured of my discretion under all circumstances.

Sincerely yours,
Herzl.

In addition to that I am writing Greenberg a few less formal private lines.

September 24, Vienna

Crespi is and remains a funny rogue, and the Orient is always amusing.

Now at last he has managed a reply to his dismissal. He will remain a Zionist *quand même* [just the same]. He reproaches me for

my lack of courage. He wants to go on fighting, "undaunted," as the Austrian politicians say, even though I don't pay him every month.

An enthusiast. *Et puis ça ne lui coûte que des lettres* [And it costs him nothing but letters].

September 27, Vienna

It is one of the wondrous ironies of my life that I as an old warrior now have to defend the *N. Fr. Pr.* against the newly founded *Die Zeit*.

It is on Zionism that the *N. Fr. Pr.* has done the worst job of suppression in its existence—and now Benedikt asks me to do my best to bring the competition to its knees.

For tomorrow's paper I am supposed to contribute the *feuilleton* and an editorial!

October 1, Vienna

Yesterday had another strolling conversation with Benedikt.

"*Quantum mutatus ab illo* [How different from his former self]."* I told him what point the movement has now reached: Sultan, Royal Commission, Russia, etc. He was very much surprised by this and said he was "beginning to believe in it."

October 5

Letter to the Grand Duke of Baden:

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,
Most Gracious Prince and Lord:

I herewith permit myself most respectfully to present to Your Royal Highness my new book *Altneuland*.

It is a fable which, as it were, I am telling by the camp-fires to keep up the good spirits of my poor people while they are on the march.

* Translator's Note: From Virgil's *Aeneid*, II, 274.

To hold out is everything.

The book deals with a new society. I believe that all nations are ever on the road to a new society. Perhaps this latent seriousness in my fable will arouse the sympathy of the wise prince whom I venerate so warmly and gratefully.

I remain

Your Royal Highness' respectful servant,
Dr. Th. H.

* * *

October 5

Dear Lord Rothschild:

In my last letter, receipt of which you have not acknowledged as yet, I promised you my book *Altneuland.* I am sending it to you today.

There will, of course, be stupid people who, because I have chosen the *form* of a Utopia which has been used by Plato and Thomas More, will declare the *cause* to be a Utopia. I fear no such misunderstanding in your case.

Nor will you blame me too much for the small but well-deserved rap on the knuckles which I give to your Viennese cousin.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,
Herzl.

October 5

To Phillip Eulenburg at Liebenberg:

Your Highness:

I am having my publisher send Your Highness my new book *Altneuland.*

Kindly regard this as a token of the great and sincere veneration with which I ever remain

Your obedient servant
Th. Herzl.

* * *

To Court-Marshal Eulenburg:

Your Excellency:

I take the liberty of presenting herewith my new book *Altneuland* with the request to transmit it to the Kaiser when the opportunity offers.

This will, I hope, bring back to H.M. not unpleasant memories of his Palestinian journey of the year 1898.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect,

Your obedient servant,
Dr. Theodor Herzl.

* * *

To Bülow:

Your Excellency:

I am having my publisher send Your Excellency my new book *Altneuland*. Please be good enough to accept it as a token of my constant veneration.

An Imperial Chancellor, to be sure, has no chance to do any reading.

May I therefore briefly state the contents. In form it is a Utopia, in subject matter it is not. In fact, I wrote the Utopia only to show that it is none. The traveler to the Orient of 1898 will recognize many things in it. Also, it deals with a future society—not only that of the Jews. I don't know if this society will really be like that, but it is more likely to exist than the famous state of the future which Richter in his blind zeal is demolishing.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect,

Your obedient servant,
Theodor Herzl.

October 20, London, morning

Again bolted from the office like a schoolboy. At this moment they don't even know that I'm gone. The *feuilleton* for yesterday, Sunday, I wrote on Friday and didn't send it to the office until Saturday evening.

In order to make my "Master" (drama) more favorably disposed toward me, I flashed an interview with Chamberlain before his eyes in my farewell letter which is to be delivered to him today.

He is to telegraph me here whether it is all right with him. This would at the same time be the pardon for my slipping away and make my return easier for me.

En route I often conversed (mentally) with Chamberlain.

I envisage the following as an introduction:

"You are accustomed to see great historical questions suddenly rise before you." *

Actually, such a conference cannot really be calculated. Everything is inspiration, disposition of the moment, presence of mind.

October 21, London

There has been no wire from Benedikt. An indication of, or the prelude to, the break, that is, my job quitting me.**

In any case, it is making me very nervous. After all, my livelihood is at stake. I will try to write a *feuilleton* today by way of compensation for my trip, since I am not to see Chamberlain until tomorrow.

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: Herzl's phrase, *"meines Gegangenwerdens,"* is a bit of grim humor.

October 22, London, in the forenoon

Today I am to have the appointment with the great Joe.

Meanwhile, to placate my bread-givers, I am writing a *feuilleton*, "October Evening in London."

It is a miserable piece, but considering the things going round in my head, it is an extraordinary performance.

It reminds me of how, seven years ago, while writing *The Jewish State*, I took down "stormy sessions" at the Palais Bourbon and telegraphed thousands of words about them.

October 23, London

Talked yesterday with the famous master of England, Joe Chamberlain. One hour. I expounded everything I had intended to bring up, and he was a good listener.

Unfortunately my voice trembled at first, which greatly annoyed me while I was speaking.

After a few minutes, however, things improved and I talked calmly and incisively, to the extent that my rough-and-ready English permits it.

Addressing myself to Joe Chamberlain's motionless mask, I presented the whole Jewish question as I understand it and wish to solve it. My relations with Turkey, etc.

*"I am in negociation with the Sultan," I said. "But you know what turkish negociations are. If you want to buy a carpet, first you must drink half a dozen cups of coffee and smoke a hundred cigarettes; then you discuss family stories, and from time to time you speak again a few words about the carpet. Now I have time to negociate, but my people has not. They are starving in the pale. I must bring them an immediate help." Etc.**

At the "carpet" story the mask laughed.

Then I came to speak about the territory which I wanted from England: Cyprus, El Arish, and the Sinai Peninsula.

* Translator's Note: Original text. Herzl's English and orthography have been retained.

He began by saying that he could speak only about Cyprus. The rest was not his concern but that of the Foreign Office. But as to Cyprus, this was how matters stood: Greeks and Moslems lived there, and he could not crowd them out for the sake of new immigrants. Rather, it was his duty to stand by them. Now if the Greeks —perhaps with the support of Greece and Russia—were to resist Jewish immigration, there would be real difficulties. Personally, he had nothing against the Jews; on the contrary. And if by chance he were to have a drop of Jewish blood in his veins, he would be proud of it. But *voilà* [behold], he didn't have a drop.

However, he was prepared to help if he could; he liked the Zionist idea, etc.

In fact, if I could show him a spot in the English possessions where there were no white people as yet, we could talk about that.

In Cyprus there would be a *trades-union** problem, like the one here in the East End, which would arise from the influx of foreign workmen.

(I am reproducing his statements in somewhat disjointed form, the way they come back to me. He denied the existence of anti-Semitism in England. Perhaps there would be restrictive legislation if Jewish immigration were intensified—this evidently was a hint to me, the gypsy chieftain, to call off my hordes—but the race question did not enter into it; it was solely a *trades-union** question).

Just as the Greeks would resist the Jews in Cyprus, the Australians were now opposing Indian immigration. They are afraid of being swamped. And in his office he couldn't do anything against the will of the indigenous population.

"In our country everything is out in the open, and if Cyprus were discussed in this way, a storm would break loose immediately."

To which I replied that not everything in politics is really disclosed to the public—only results, or whatever may happen to be needed in a discussion. I then unfolded my plan of first of all hav-

* In English in the original.

ing a current created in our favor in Cyprus. We ought to be invited to come there. I would have this prepared for by half a dozen emissaries. Once we establish the Jewish Eastern Company, with 5 million pounds capital, for settling Sinai and El Arish, the Cypriots will begin to want that golden rain on their island, too. The Moslems will move away, the Greeks will gladly sell their lands at a good price and migrate to Athens or Crete.

He seemed to take to the idea. But he said he could make no statement on El Arish and Sinai. The government would want to hear the views of Lord Cromer, of whom they thought very highly.

Too bad that Lord Cromer was no longer here. He had already returned to Egypt.

"I can send somebody there," I said.

"But you will have to speak to the Foreign Office."

"Help me to do so, Mr. Chamberlain! I am leaving the day after tomorrow."

He thought it over and gave me an appointment for today at 12:15, when I would be able to see Lord Lansdowne.

Was it before or after this that I drew a map of El Arish for him on a piece of paper that lay on his desk? Along with this, my Haifa hinterland idea: I hoped to induce the Turks to come to terms with me sooner if I also turned up at the Brook of Egypt. Then I might get the Haifa area cheaper.

At this the smooth-shaven mask laughed once more and dropped his monocle.

But he had no idea where El Arish was, and so we went to a big table where he pulled out an atlas from among other books, and in the atlas located Egypt. While he did so he said: "But in Egypt we would have the same difficulty with the present inhabitants."

"No," I said, *"we will not go to Egypt. We have been there."**

He laughed again, this time bent deep over the book. Only now did he understand me completely, my desire to obtain a rallying point for the Jewish people in the vicinity of Palestine.

* **In English in the original.**

In El Arish and Sinai there is vacant land. England can give us that. In return she would reap an increase in power and the gratitude of ten million Jews. All this I told him, and it made an impression on him. And I came right out with it:

"Would you agree to our founding a Jewish colony on the Sinai Peninsula?"

"Yes!" he said, "if Lord Cromer recommends it."

So that is the next thing I must attend to.

He dismissed me, and we arranged to meet again today.

His private secretary is a young lord with whom I once had lunch at Sir Francis's. He greeted me, but I didn't recognize him.

In the anteroom, strangely enough, I found the South African Langermann. I imagined that Chamberlain would ask him about me, and gave him the "good tip" to say that he was a Zionist. Later I ran into him at the hotel, and he reported that Chamberlain really had inquired about me, just as I had foreseen. Langermann claims to have replied: You and Dr. Herzl are my two *chiefs*.*

In any case, it must have made an impression on Chamberlain that this South African promoter, too, should be one of my men.

Chamberlain does not give the impression of being brilliant. Not a man of imagination, a sober screw manufacturer who wants to expand the business.

A mind without literary or artistic resources, a businessman, but an absolutely clear, unclouded head.

The most striking thing about the interview was that he didn't have a very detailed knowledge of the British possessions which undoubtedly are at his command now. It was like a big junk shop whose manager isn't quite sure whether some unusual article is in the stock-room.

I need a place for the Jewish people to assemble. He's going to take a look and see if England happens to have something like that in stock.

The main result, a tremendous one, which I achieved yesterday is that Joe Chamberlain does not reject *a limine* [outright] the idea

* In English in the original.

of founding a *self-governing Jewish colony** in the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean.

Today I am taking this to Rothschild, with whom I have a midday appointment.

October 24, on the train, between London and Folkestone

Yesterday was, I believe, a great day in Jewish history. However, before recording it here I will write the memorandum which was requested by Lord Lansdowne and which I shall send to Zangwill from Paris for translation.

———Memorandum:
Milord:

In accordance with your kind oral request I have the honor to submit herewith a brief sketch of my plan.

It is a matter of solving the Jewish Question of Eastern Europe in a way that redounds to England's honor, but also to her advantage.

The stimulus for the British government to occupy itself with this question is supplied by the immigration to the East End of London.

It is true, this is still no calamity worth mentioning, and I hope it will never become one to the extent that England would have to break with the glorious principle of free asylum. But the fact that a Royal Commission was appointed for the matter will make it sufficiently plausible in the eyes of the world if the British government considers itself impelled to open up a special territory for the Jews who are oppressed everywhere and thus gravitate to England.

This explanation is not superfluous, for the same Powers which are now forcing their Jews out of the country and thus are not obstructing the emigration endeavors of the Zionist movement

* In English in the original.

which I am directing might change their minds and impede us if they discover that an increase in England's power in the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean is in the offing. In the beginning such jealousy would bother our emigrants a great deal; after some time, when things are rolling, they can no longer do anything about it.

To the southeast of the Mediterranean England has a possession which at present is worthless and almost uninhabited. It is the coastal area of El Arish and the Sinai Peninsula.

This area could be made the place of refuge, the home, of the Jews hard-pressed all over the world, if England permits the establishment of a Jewish colony there.

For a considerable period of time I have been negotiating with the Turkish government, in the name of the Zionist movement, for the cession of part of Palestine. Turkish negotiations take a long time, and I intend to continue them with the Sultan, who is personally favorably disposed toward me—if only to prevent even the shadow of a doubt from arising about the absolute peacefulness of the settlements in El Arish, etc., if we are granted them.

Practically speaking, the settlement might be carried out in roughly the following way. The British government will give us the necessary territorial concession into whose details it would be premature to go now.

When the land concession is granted, the taxes to be paid to the Empire by the Jewish colony should be determined, too.

On the basis of this concession we shall form a settlement company, the Jewish Eastern Company, with, let us say, five million pounds capital.

This Company will handle the settlement according to plan. A staff of technicians and agricultural experts will immediately be sent there, to prepare the construction of roads, railroads, and harbors, survey the country, and divide it for allotment.

Immigration will not take place at once, but will be organized. We have several thousand Zionist associations all over the world.

These are grouped into federations in each country. Thus, e.g.,

there is an English Federation (Chairman Sir Fr. Montefiore, in London), a South African one (Chairman Mr. Goldreich, Johannesburg), a Canadian one (Chairman Mr. Clarence de Sola, Montreal).

Naturally, the federations in Eastern Europe are much more numerous.

All federations are now centralized in Vienna. Through them we can make the individual associations into emigration authorities of absolute reliability and with uniform regulations. The immigrants will be presented to us by the Local Groups, and each such group will be responsible to us for the fitness of the people selected.

The purpose of this is to assure us of a sound core of pioneers.

The settlement will be made according to the most modern principles which science and experience furnish us.

The capital of the Company and the labor of the carefully selected first settlers will constitute only the beginning of the colony.

But if this were all, then this settlement too would only remain something artificial and trivial, like other, earlier attempts at Jewish colonization.

The undertaking will be made great and promising by the granting of colonial rights. This is the tremendous attraction for the outlawed, enfeebled, and unfortunate Jewish people.

Not only the hungry people of Eastern Europe will move where they find work. People with some capital, too, will found enterprises where they will be able to enjoy the fruits of their labors. Even some very rich people will go along from Russia.

All these are facts which I know in detail and for which confidential proof is available.

In some short years the Empire would be bigger by a rich colony.

The fact that nothing exists in this territory at present does not militate against my assertions.

Wherever there is a house now there used to be an empty building plot, and at a technically much more helpless time Venice was not even built on sand, but into the water.

Human beings are the wealth of a country, and England can

make an enormous acquisition of human beings—not only of the hundreds of thousands who will immigrate within a few years in order to fertilize the wasteland with their capital and their labor, and to establish a peaceful home. All other Jews in the world, too, will come into England's fold at one stroke—if not politically, then at least morally.

This is one of those imponderables that Bismarck had such an appreciation of.

There are, at a conservative estimate, ten million Jews in the whole world. Not everywhere will they be allowed to wear the colors of England openly; but they will all wear England in their hearts if through such a deed it becomes the protective power of the Jewish people. At one stroke England will get ten million secret but loyal subjects active in all walks of life all over the world. They sell needles and thread in many small villages in the East; but they are also wholesale merchants, industrialists, stock brokers, scholars and artists and newspapermen and other things.

As at a signal, all of them will place themselves at the service of the magnanimous nation that brings long-desired help.

England will get ten million agents for her greatness and her influence. And the effect of this sort of thing usually spreads from the political to the economic. It is surely no exaggeration to say that a Jew would rather purchase and propagate the products of a country that has rendered the Jewish people a benefaction than those of a country in which the Jews are badly off.

When the other nations of Europe were still asleep, England used the new means of communication to expand and fortify its present colonies.

Similarly, there are values that fall to the share of the one who acquires them at a time when they are esteemed lightly.

May the English government recognize what value there is in gaining the Jewish people.

I am, Your Lordship.

Respectfully yours,
Dr. Theodor Herzl.

October 24

On shipboard, between Folkestone and Boulogne. *Bright day.** The congenial coast of England disappears.

* * *

This, then, was yesterday.

At 12:15 I entered Chamberlain's business salon. For that is what the Colonial Office reminds one of. The drawing room of a shipping magnate.

Chamberlain rose, *very busy.** He could spare me only a few minutes. But he said so in a most friendly manner. I believe the *tip** which I gave on my way out yesterday to the South African who also happened to have an appointment contributed to his friendliness. He was *impressed** by my far-reaching influence.

I remained standing in order not to take his time. So, naturally, did he.

He said to me:

"I have arranged a meeting between you and Lord Lansdowne. He expects you at 4:30 in the afternoon. I have already smoothed the way for you. Present the whole matter to him, but do not mention Cyprus. The Cyprus part of it is *my* affair. Tell him in particular that your proposed colony is not a *jumping-off place** aimed at the Sultan's possessions."

As he said this, his face was all smiles. In fact, the mask was amazingly alive today and merry all the time.

I said:

"Of course there can be no question of that, for I intend to go to Palestine only with the Sultan's consent."

He gave me an amused look, as if to say:

"Go tell that to the Sultan."

But aloud he said to me:

* In English in the original.

"Reassure Lord Lansdowne that you are not planning a Jameson raid from El Arish into Palestine."

"I shall set his mind at rest, Mr. Chamberlain!" I said, also smiling.

We shook hands, and on parting I told him that I was happy to have made his acquaintance.

* * *

At 1:45 I was at New Court with Rothschild and was taken to the dining room at once. The already familiar table with its already familiar table mates: Leopold Rothschild, General Ellis, a few minor figures, among them a rather unpleasant former confidential clerk—my Schlesinger in *Altneuland*.

Trivial table talk. Afterwards I called Lord Rothschild out from his public office. We went into the room where we had first met. To his visible astonishment I told him that I had seen Chamberlain yesterday and today. Upon Greenberg's advice I didn't say anything about Lansdowne.

After I had told him that Chamberlain had received me well, he said that he would call on Chamberlain next week, get his reactions, and then write me.

When I told him that I planned to despatch six men to Cyprus and have them create a popular demand for inviting in the Jews, he broke into a big grin of approval.

He said he liked the Cyprus project better than the El Arish one. But we must start with the latter, I explained to him.

He told me that Roosevelt and King Edward were great friends of the Jews and were anxious to intercede on their behalf. I said: "But that isn't worth very much. I prefer the radical help of my plan."

He further told me that he had recently written to someone in Paris—I think it was Paris—about the problem of the Rumanian and Galician Jews, inveighing against the well-to-do Jews of Austria for their indolence—*"because they don't listen to Dr. Herzl, who may be an enthusiast, but who is a great man."**

* In English in the original.

"What?" I said. "Why, you're embarrassing me."

*"No, it is my opinion. You are a great man."**

So we parted *dans les meilleurs termes* [on the best of terms]. The Ladies Pauncefote were waiting for him and he had to leave. *Stante pede* [Quickly] I called after him:

"If we get the concession, you must create the five-million-pound Company for me. Without you it will be hard if not impossible."

The expression on his face said: *Nous parlerons de ça plus tard* [We'll discuss that later].

Previously he had said to me, *as to the Sultan:**

"I didn't write you about that, because the letters are opened. You were quite right to decline his offers. At first he tried to bribe you, in order to use you later for getting money from the Jews. Only yesterday I received a letter from him, through a third party, which ran something like this: Dear friend, lend me another 5 million on the cigarette monopoly.—I didn't bother with it."

After that remark of R.'s I dropped the whole question of Turkish finances, because I could have no doubt that nothing would come of it.

We parted friends.

* * *

At 4:30 I was back again in Downing Street, this time in the more elegant rooms of the Foreign Office.

The amiable First Secretary, Mr. Barrington, whom I had already met at Francis Montefiore's table, came in and offered me Lansdowne's excuses for having to keep me waiting a little, as he was being detained by a visitor.

Around 5 o'clock I walked at last into Lansdowne's private office (an exquisite salon) and was greeted by him charmingly. He is a nice English gentleman, most modest in manner and not of conspicuous intelligence.

Barrington had already told me that Chamberlain had been *very anxious** to have me received by Lansdowne.

* In English in the original.

So I knew beforehand that it would be smooth sailing. But this very absence of obstacles, as well as Lansdowne's gracious way of listening, irritated me. I did not feel stimulated and my English functioned badly. I was at a loss for words, etc., until I finally made a quick decision and switched to French, whereupon *l'affaire marchait sur des roulettes* [things rolled along].

That reminded me of how I had once decided that I would speak to Salisbury in French, because of my superior command of that language. I no longer found Salisbury in office, but Lansdowne instead.

Once more I explained everything, but omitted Cyprus. He listened most amiably, raised few objections, and finally asked me to let him have a written memorandum of the matter—evidently for the Cabinet. He for his part would write Lord Cromer for his expert opinion. Whereupon I said that I planned to send a representative, Greenberg, to Cromer, and *at once.**

He reminded me that Cromer might already have left for the South, but said he was willing to give Greenberg an introduction to Lord Cromer.

Charming, too, was the way in which Lord Lansdowne bade me good-bye.

I think this has been a successful day.

October 27, on the Orient Express, beyond Geislingen

I forgot one thing about the Lansdowne interview.

At the end I said to him:**

"There is one other point. I have a good personal relationship with the Sultan. I would be happy to be of service to you, in turn.

"I believe that English influence has suffered a bit in the Orient."

He lowered his eyes diplomatically as I said this, but seemed to be delighted and said he would return to the matter some time.

* In English in the original.

** In French in the original.

November 7, Vienna, Friday

I am *broken down,** am out of harness.

At the Annual Conference, and all that went with it, I wore myself out to such a degree that since Sunday I have had all sorts of heart symptoms.

All week I have been dragging myself around, incapable of writing even a few lines.

Today, finally, I reported to the *N. Fr. Pr.* that I am sick.

I sent Greenberg to Egypt. I have just received a wire from this excellent man, dated Cairo, where he arrived two days ago, saying that he will leave there tomorrow morning—*"everything all right"**—and be back here on Wednesday.

Is it possible that we stand on the threshold of obtaining a—British—Charter and founding the Jewish State?

The exhaustion of my energies makes it seem credible.

* * *

In his review of *Altneuland,* Dr. Ganz put it very nicely: "No Moses enters the Promised Land."

November 13, Edlach.

My heart is working more normally again.

Greenberg is back from Cairo, with complete success, to the extent that this was possible. He won over to our cause Lord Cromer, also Boutros Ghali Pasha (the Egyptian *"prime minister"**), and the more important English *sous-ordres* [subordinates] Mr. Boyle, Captain Hunter, etc.

Of all my collaborators no one has hitherto accomplished anything like what Greenberg has done since the Royal Commission, Rothschild, and Chamberlain.

He truly is my right-hand man now. The question is whether

* In English in the original.

we can exploit our success further within a week, before Chamberlain's departure for South Africa. Otherwise the matter will fall asleep again.

Together with Greenberg I welded together the draft which I made for Lansdowne and which was revised by Zangwill, Nordau, Cowen, and Alex and the one Greenberg wrote on shipboard between Alexandria and Trieste.

Following Greenberg's draft, I am writing to Chamberlain as follows:*

The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M. P., etc. etc.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed I have the honour of forwarding you copy of a letter I am despatching to Lord Lansdowne in reference to the matter upon which you were so good as to accord me an interview last month.

I have asked Mr. Greenberg himself to hand this letter to you, as he has been to Cairo and seen Lord Cromer and others, including Boutros Ghali Pasha, and would be able to tell you, in case you care to know any details. Let me again thank you for all your kindness in the matter and wish you a pleasant and successful voyage to S. Africa. Perhaps, however, you would desire to see me again before you leave Europe, in which case, if you will let Mr. Greenberg know, I can either come to London or arrange to meet you *en route*, so as to place myself at your disposal. Believe me to remain

Your obedient servant . . .

November 18, Vienna

Now I am again hanging on the end of a telegraph wire, expecting news from Greenberg. He has been in London since Saturday evening, but has so far been unable to get to either Chamberlain or Lansdowne.

* Original text.

Today he wires me that Chamberlain has given him an *appointment** for tomorrow. But tomorrow there will also be a Cabinet meeting, the last that Chamberlain will attend before his departure. I am wiring Greenberg immediately to give my letter to Lansdowne *at once** and not to Chamberlain first, as we had agreed orally at Edlach.

Two days of this *never returning week** have now passed, and I am very reduced in my expectations. The earliest I could get to London now would be Friday evening.

This greatly diminishes my chances of completing arrangements prior to Chamberlain's departure.

* * *

To be on the safe side I am writing the following letter to the Sultan in case I get an Egyptian Charter:**

Sire:

I have the honor to submit the following advice to Y.I.M.'s judgment. I have heard it said that the Imp. govt. is concerned again with the match question. It seems that certain powers would want to prevent this monopoly, which would be so useful and so little trouble. It is on this point that I should like to take the liberty of offering my opinion.

It would be easy to avoid the difficulty. Y.I.M. would only have to declare that there is no question of manufacturing matches in Turkey, but only of buying them in the countries where they now come from. Since the difficulties are raised only in the interest of these firms, it is clear that the objections will cease.

The Imp. govt. reserves only the monopoly of sale. The sale might be administered by the tobacco shops. The Imp. govt. would make contracts with those foreign firms which now supply Turkey, and, by purchasing in great quantities, it would obtain very ad-

* In English in the original.
** In French in the original.

vantageous prices. Or else, and this would be preferable, the govt. would ask for bids on the delivery of matches to make the most of the foreign firms' competition.

The difference between the cost of purchasing in volume and the monopoly retail sales will probably produce considerable revenues on which a loan could be floated later as the need arose.

Y.I.M. will decide if this completely disinterested advice is worth anything or not.

At the same time I am taking the liberty of laying a modest gift, my new book, at the foot of the Imperial throne.

It is an imaginative novel, showing in a picture of the future the happy effect that Jewish colonization in Palestine would have.

I have had, alas!, to put my conception in the form of a fantasy, not having been able to obtain Y.I.M.'s consent. It is elsewhere, on other territory, that I am now trying to transform my schemes into reality.

That will not prevent me from remaining sincerely grateful and devoted to the magnanimous Sultan, who is my people's friend, and from always holding myself at his disposal, if my humble abilities can be useful to him.

I have, Sire, the honor to remain Y.I.M.'s humble and obedient servant

Dr. Th. H.

Nov. 19, 1902

November 19, Vienna

Wire to Greenberg:*

Am well and have decided to go to Odessa (Cairo) if my meeting Haven with Kipper and Company cannot be arranged. I shall then leave Vienna aftermorrow and think it indispensable that you join me. You must leave on Friday night, and we meet on the way. Kindly wire me at once your resolution and today's results.— —

* Original text.

For when I woke up today I decided not to give up the tactical position even if Greenberg should not succeed in getting the English Ministers this week.

Then I shall simply follow or precede Chamberlain to Egypt and try to buttonhole him there.

November 20, Vienna

Satisfying wire from Greenberg. Yesterday he spoke with Chamberlain, and the latter with Lansdowne.

My memorandum was in Lansdowne's hands by the day before the Cabinet meeting. Chamberlain plans to speak with Lord Cromer and deal with the matter speedily.

Greenberg advises me not to go to Cairo, but wait here patiently for Lansdowne's call to London, to sign a preliminary agreement.

I am taking his advice.

Wire to Greenberg:*

I remain here following your advice.

But you must see at once Kipper, give him my thanks and urge matters. Explaining that investigations must be started during winter. I could easily come just now for a few days to London while it would be rather difficult for me later on.

Wire Gloys answer.

Benjamin.

I am also sending him a letter urging him to hurry, for the Commission should be sent off in January at the latest, if colonization is to start in the autumn.

November 22, Vienna

Letter to Mahmud Nedim (as a check that my letter gets into the Sultan's hands):

* Original text.

Your Excellency:

Permit me to ask you to transmit the following communication to H.M. the Sultan by telegram and in your code language.

"I learn from Dr. Herzl that he has sent financial information to Your Majesty in the usual way."

Permit me also to give you my telephone number, which is not in the telephone directory. It is 17 147.

With kindest regards,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,
Th. H.

November 30, Vienna

Greenberg reports that things are going well. He has spoken with Mr. Barrington, the First Secretary of the Foreign Office.

Today the A.C. met at my place. Kokesch and Kahn mildly laughed at me when I mentioned the success that a Charter, even only one from Egypt, would mean for us.

I reminded Kokesch of a statement he had made but a few years ago: "No one is going to lend us even ten thousand guilders." After all, by today we have a few millions to administer which have *au fond* [actually] been "loaned" to me, i.e., given *à fonds perdu* [outright].

Then I outlined for the gentlemen my conception of how things would go if we were to receive the Egyptian Charter.

Above El Arish, 1½ English miles to the north, there is a bay. There I would construct the first harbor, build a breakwater into the sea, and then construct a road leading from this harbor to the Sinai mountains. I hope to find the initial economic basis for a great settlement in the mountains.

December 2, Vienna

Yesterday another clash with Bacher, the first in a long time.

The little shady politician of the Jewish Community, Dr. Stern,

was at the *N.Fr.Pr.* There was an irritated discussion of the last Community elections.

Bacher, annoyed: "I don't know what they are fighting about. After all, the Community is only peanuts."

I: "That is only one point in the general battle. It is the same as when they fight for a dairy farm in a battle."

Ashamed, he realized that once again he had failed to understand something. Both of us had raised our voices quite a bit.

December 9, Vienna

From Katzenelsohn the news that I shall perhaps be received by the Czar. In that case I shall need the Austrian ambassador at St. Petersburg, and therefore I am reviving my contact with Koerber.

To Koerber:

Your Excellency:

Kindly accept my new book *Altneuland* (a political novel, an ideal solution of the Jewish Question) as a token of my sincere respect.

I did not bother to apply for an audience for the purpose of presenting it to you, since I know how precious your every minute is.

The State is, after all, not a novel for you, but a reality that is perhaps sometimes lamented.

With deep respect, I remain

Your Excellency's ever obedient servant,
Th. Herzl.

December 10, Vienna

Fostering of the relationship with Eckardstein.

Dear Baron Eckardstein:

The friendly hours we chatted away together last summer encourage me to offer you my humble but candid advice at a fate-

ful moment for you. Even though you may not heed it, you will recognize the sincere concern by which it is prompted.

It is true that I am more detached from the things involved, but for this very reason I may be seeing them a bit more clearly.

I see by the papers that you are planning to convene your friends next week for the founding of a "Kaiser Party."

This party name is the most unfortunate that you could have chosen, and it occurs to me that one summer night on your balcony I drew your attention to the fundamental importance of a party's designation. The public knows only slogans. It is stupid, but that's the way it is. You will never get rid of the name under which you make your debut, in jest and in earnest.* People are going to beat away at the weak spots that you first show for as long as you give any sign of life. But why jeopardize a promising and great thing right from the start? Today you can still rectify it, otherwise I would not bother you with this letter. But first the reasons why your party should not have that name.

1) The name is not distinctive. With the exception of the Social Democrats, every party will indignantly deny not being a Kaiser Party, insofar as this means adherence to the monarchic principle.

2) If, however, only the present Kaiser is meant, you will do yourself harm from the outset, without strengthening him.

I think very highly of your Kaiser whose personal acquaintance I have had the honor of making. He is a brilliant personality, perhaps only too richly talented and too humanly impulsive for the place above the clouds which providence has assigned to him. You know with what frequency he mixes in public life and how he sometimes goes too far for an emperor.

Will you commit yourself in advance always to go along? If you do, you will be regarded as a *quantité négligeable* [negligible quantity] from the start. If not, by virtue of your being the Kaiser Party, even your tacit refusal will hurt the Kaiser more deeply and be more detrimental to his authority than the most violent attacks of the revolutionaries.

* Translator's Note: The well-read diarist's phrase is *Schimpf und Ernst*, the title of a collection of short moral tales and anecdotes by the Jewish-born Franciscan monk Johannes Pauli (1522).

3) On a number of previous occasions the Kaiser has changed his views of things and persons. Surely you are acquainted with the opposition's compilation of his contradictions. As Heyse puts it,

Wer heute klüger ist als gestern
Und es mit offenem Mut bekennt,
Den werden die Biedermänner lästern
Und schelten ihn inkonsequent.

[Anyone who is wiser today than he was yesterday and frankly admits it will be maligned by the philistines and chided for being inconsistent.]

Bismarck was inconsistent, too. A great personality's inconsistency contains its own excuse.

A party, however, must not bear the stamp of inconsistency. Of course, I can conceive of a personal party, e.g., a Chamberlain Party or the like, but not a Wilhelm Party. Why? Because Wilhelm II is constitutionally not responsible, and the very premise of a personal party is the political responsibility of the chief. You could say: I, Eckardstein, am a vassal of the Kaiser, and you could found an Eckardstein Party, but it seems to me to be misguided to start a party with the Kaiser as patron.

4) You will be accused of sycophancy even if you agree with the Kaiser of your own free judgment. On the other hand, the Kaiser won't get much out of you, because at the beginning you will not seem as though you would resist him if need be. *On ne s'appuie que sur ce qui résiste* [We can lean only on what is capable of resisting]. The reason the landed proprietors are a bulwark of the throne is that they say: "if he does what we want."

I could cite additional reasons. But perhaps these will suffice.

How, then, can you remedy this?

If you make an authoritative correction of the newspaper report in the first Frankfurt meeting: "Our program is such and such. We favor prudent progress. We are the party of the bourgeoisie, of modern developments, and we believe that these are also the aims of our emperor. In this sense a newspaper report was able to call us

the Kaiser Party. Naturally we would not dream of dragging the Kaiser into party fights, etc."

Choose any party name you wish. Colorlessness, even triviality, does not do any harm.

You can choose Middle-Class Party, Moderate Progress Party, New Empire Party, and umpteen other names, but not Kaiser Party. I would like "Eckardstein Party" best.

You have the build of a standard bearer. And something else that may also be of value in the future: You will keep all your people under your command.

Perhaps we shall meet somewhere in the near future. It may be that the performance of my new drama at the Königliches Schauspielhaus at the beginning of next year will give me an occasion to come to Berlin. If you are in Germany at that time, we could have a chat about all sorts of things, including the organization of publicity which is of paramount importance for your purposes. If you wish to appear as a power in the next elections, you have to give it some thought now. I know something about these things, but would not care to go any further with my unsolicited advice than I have in these lines, whose frankness you, my dear Baron, will surely not take amiss.

Begging you to place my respects at the feet of the Baroness, I am, with kindest regards,

Very faithfully yours,
Th. H.

December 22, Vienna

Yesterday I received Lord Lansdowne's reply, written by Sir T. H. Sanderson, an historic document.

Lord Cromer reports that the project for the Sinai Peninsula will be feasible—if the Commission finds that the actual conditions permit it. The Egyptian government would demand only Ottoman citizenship and a yearly contribution for the preservation of order internally and externally.

I shall send a Commission there: Marmorek the architect, Kessler the engineer, Prof. Warburg, one of the Palestinian agricultural experts, and the geometrician Jennings-Bramly of the Sudan whom Cromer has recommended.

I shall charge the Sultan dearly for accepting Ottoman citizenship (under an English guarantee). I shall demand in return a piece of Palestine.

I shall promise the Egyptian government payment of the yearly tribute and keep the promise, provided that the governor of the Egyptian province of Judea is elected by the colonists for ten or seven years and only confirmed by the Khedive—or nominated by the English government and appointed by the Khedive.

The protective troops can be commanded by Anglo-Egyptian officers; the personnel will be ours.

On the basis of these accomplishments Lord Rothschild will have to get me the I.C.A. money—at least two or three million pounds for the Jewish Eastern Company. The rest through public subscription.

December 22, Vienna

Letter to Lansdowne: *

The Rt. Hon. the Marquess of Lansdowne K. G. etc., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to His Britannic Majesty.
My Lord,

Allow me to thank your Lordship for the communication you sent me through Sir Thomas H. Sanderson.

As some of the points referred to require a personal explanation, I hope to be able to call on your Lordship in London shortly after New Year and answer principally the objections concerning the "colonial rights."

Believe me to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant
Th. H.

* Original text.

Sir,

Allow me to thank you for the communication from Lord Lansdowne which you kindly sent me.

As some of the points referred to require an oral explanation —among others the highly important question of the colonial rights—I have the intention to call on His Lordship in London shortly after New Year.

Believe me to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant
T. H.

* * *

What impresses me most is the coolness and calmness with which the Foreign Office continues to pursue the Sinai matter amidst the Venezuelan entanglement.

This coolness and calmness must be learned. It is the key to greatness.

December 26

Upon Greenberg's advice, changed the letters to Lansdowne and Sanderson.

To Lansdowne I wrote the following, apart from the introductory and complimentary claptrap: *

I have wired Mr. Greenberg to call at the Foreign Office and tender to your Lordship, through Mr. Barrington, my warmest acknowledgement of your kindness in the matter.

I shall take an early opportunity of laying your despatch before my colleagues, and after consultation with them I shall reply in detail.— —

I informed Sanderson that I would come to London soon.

* Original text.

December 30, Vienna

Between last night and this morning the following occurred to me:

Perhaps we could irrigate the desert land by means of the Nile!

A simple pipeline probably impossible, to be sure, on account of the Suez canal; the water would have to be pumped over at ship's height (!?) or pumped through at a great depth. The latter would seem much easier to me.

Such an aqueduct could cost millions and that still would not be too high a price for it.

Or the mud (like dredging mud) could be loaded on boats, and then not dumped in the sea, but taken to El Arish.

Also, perhaps filter ships could be built, have the mud settle in the holds, and then wash it ashore at El Arish.

There might be many ways of execution. I am turning over this and the phosphate matter to Marmorek and Warburg (who has accepted the mission) as a secret assignment on this trip.

December 31, Vienna

This evening, after I had once again cleared the *feuilleton* files at the *N. Fr. Pr.* preparatory to my departure, I had a severe *défaillance* [fit of depression] which still continues.

I was away so often and for so long. If I leave again now . . . Things are bound to come to a head some day. Then I shall either have the worry of making a living, or be the holder of a stipend from the movement!

What terrible small difficulties are paralyzing me in the face of the big ones.

And yet: now that things are crackling east and west of the Mediterranean, now that the Macedonian question will probably be opened up in the Spring, the partition of Morocco may be imminent, and the Italian annexation of Tripoli is definitely in the offing, it is of the greatest importance that I speak with Lansdowne. With Rothschild as well.

I have a harder and harder time leaving, presumably because I am getting older, more timorous, and more worried about my livelihood.

This time my good, wise mother, too, alarmed me by saying that I shouldn't gamble with my livelihood.

What to do?

First, sleep on it once more.

January 11, on the train, outside Calais

In Paris, where I had asked Greenberg to meet me, the reply to Lansdowne was discussed. My plans, which had been approved by the Vienna A.C., also met with the approval of Nordau, Alex, and Greenberg. Then Nordau drafted the reply, whereupon Greenberg corrected its English.

Greenberg took the letter to London. I wrote Lord Rothschild that I was coming to London, and asked him for an appointment.

January 15, London

So far nothing of consequence.

The familiar Bank and East End hubbub.

Rothschild was very nice. He replied to my letter that he would come to see me, and then he came to my hotel.

Two years ago he didn't even want to meet me at Lady Battersea's.

In three-quarters of an hour I explained everything to him, gave him my correspondence with the government to read, which I believe, impressed him.

I told him what I wanted from him: to get me three million pounds from the I.C.A. for the Jewish Eastern Company. We would then raise the remaining two million by subscription.

He promised me to ask Claude Montefiore to come and see him, although he doesn't like him.

This is supposed to be done tomorrow. Then I am to come to lunch and he will give me a reply.

He told me that great conflicts were now going on in the I.C.A. They had spent £900,000 annually, and the English members were insisting that there be less waste and better accounts be rendered. Then both factions had turned to him for advice.

"Make use of this situation in our behalf, Lord Rothschild!" I said to him.

He is a fine old man and I am really fond of him.

* * *

I asked Gaster to see me at my hotel so as to let Claude Montefiore know even before he goes to see Rothschild what trouble is in store for the I.C.A. if it does not cooperate with us.

* * *

On top of this, wrote a *feuilleton* for the *N. Fr. Pr.*, "An Evening in Paris." I can't get rid of the misery of this dependence.

* * *

Yesterday a letter from Barrington, Lansdowne's secretary: Lansdowne regrets being unable to receive me this week.

Unpleasant, but can't be helped.

* * *

Gaster has begged off. At the same time Colonel Goldsmid came.

I immediately used him for the errand to see Claude Montefiore.

I promised Goldsmid the command over the *military force** at El Arish.

Il est à mon dévouement [He will do anything I want].

January 17, London

Yesterday was a good day.

At noon with Rothschild. He told me that Claude Montefiore was not in London (which I already knew from Col. Goldsmid, who had gone to Southampton for me to see Claude), but had

* In English in the original.

wired that he would be here on Monday if it was something important. "Telegraph him, Lord Rothschild!"

He did so immediately and also sent for Herbert Lousada of the I.C.A. with whom he was not acquainted.

Then I said: "I have to go to the Foreign Office at 3 o'clock. What are we going to do if the I.C.A. people don't cooperate?"

Lord Rothschild: "Then we shall make the subscription. But I don't see how they could refuse."

I further asked: "Shall I take in Cassel?"

Lord Rothschild: "If he's willing, why not? But he always likes to be at the head."

I: "No, *you* should head the financial part!"

Lord Rothschild: "No, no, *you* will be at the head, Dr. Herzl. I only want to be your co-worker. I am glad if I can be of help to you."

Voilà [There we are]! So we have achieved that much, unless he backs out again. Put not your trust in princes (of finance, too), like a cradle they will rock.*

Then we had lunch. His son Charles, a nice, intelligent, robust young man, was also *au fait* [in on it], as was Leopold R. The house of R. seems to have made the matter its own.

* * *

Afterwards went with Greenberg to see Sir Thomas Sanderson, Permanent Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, in Downing Street.

A lean, sharp, intelligent, suspicious old man who reminds me of Freycinet. We spoke about this and that, not much that was new. But when I mentioned the colonial rights which were to be established for the settlement, he got frightened. We must not think of anything international—at the most, a Charter from the Egyptian government.

The strange thing is that while the whole world believes in England's determination to hold on to Egypt *coûte que coûte* [at any cost], Sir Thomas gave me the feeling that they don't consider

* Translator's Note: See Note on p. 886.

themselves so firmly in the saddle and regard the situation as provisional.

I gave him the itinerary of the Commission and its membership. I said we still needed an irrigation engineer. Sir Thomas recommended that we contact Sir Benjamin Baker, the builder of the Firth of Forth bridge and the Aswan Dam.

He didn't want to go into the details of the Charter. We would have to arrange that with Lord Cromer. The English government would go as far as Cromer did, and no farther than that. Sir Thomas evidently was afraid that I might inveigle him too far into an adventure.

In this referral from one to the other obviously lies a weakness of the English administration. They are too precise in their jurisdictions. Politics cannot be carried on without exceeding authority, and one person must bear all the responsibility.

* * *

After leaving Sir Thomas I drove in company with Greenberg to the great engineer Baker. He looks like a shoemaker, but his square face hacked out with a hatchet, his bushy commanding glance, his thick drooping moustache which conceals the movements of the mouth, the powerful jaw—all this revealed a man to me.

He recommended to us Engineer Stephens, who is on his way back from Egypt right now.

Sir Benjamin was curious as to what we actually wanted; he also asked little leading questions, but did not really take it amiss when we gave no answers to them.

* * *

In the evening Col. Goldsmid, who had returned from his trip to Southampton to see Claude, called me on the telephone. The result of his trip has been satisfactory. Further details in person today.

* * *

Then I made an agreement with Engineer Kessler to be the leader of the expedition. Kessler has the knowledge and the calm

that the task requires. Oskar Marmorek is an artistic temperament and in just a few days caused mischief back in Berlin by his rashness and gabbiness.

The expedition will set out from Trieste on the 29th inst.

I am going to work out all the details, the whole provisioning, etc., with Cook.

I am now studying the maps of the country.

This is a great ending for Book Thirteen.

* * *

Later.

Colonel Goldsmid was here. He wants to be in on the expedition. I accepted him. He will get £100 for the trip, plus expenses.

He intends to win the Lord Mayor and the King for us.

Book Fourteen

Begun in London, January 18, 1903

January 18, London

It is a Sunday with heavy fog, the atmosphere almost impenetrable. I am sitting in front of the fire-place in my little hotel room. I will write a *feuilleton* for the *N. Fr. Pr.* and tide myself over the idle Sunday.

When Colonel Goldsmid offered to go along on the trip, he made a remark about *money arrangements** which he would have to make in advance.

*"Do speak with me as with your friend,"** I encouraged him.

Whereupon he said reluctantly that it would be about £100 in addition to expenses.

Agreed. *"You will have on Monday a check of 100 pounds"** I told him.

Then he left to have luncheon with the Lord Mayor. As for me, I shall be content if he introduces me to the King. Whatever other service he performs for the expedition does not matter to me.

* * *

A wire from Oskar that Franz Oppenheimer, who had already sent in his refusal, may go along after all.

From Alex a wire that Laurent-Brussels has accepted, but not yet said what fee he asks.

Tomorrow afternoon I expect Engineer Stephens whom Sir Benjamin Baker recommended to me.

If he accepts, the expedition will consist of the following:

Kessler, leader of the expedition;

Oskar Marmorek, architect and secretary;

Colonel Goldsmid;

Franz Oppenheimer;

Laurent;

Jennings Bramly;

Stephens.

* In English in the original.

I also want Greenberg to go to Egypt at the same time as the Commission. He is to introduce them to Lord Cromer, Boyle, Hunter, and others.

If he can't, this task will devolve upon Col. Goldsmid whom I also want to win over the Egyptian Jews, Suarez, etc.

* * *

Today I gave instructions to Kessler. He must bring me a report about the feasibility of settling the land, so that I may get the Charter and the money.

I also confided to him my desire to have Cyprus and Haifa with its hinterland, and my intention to start the colonization on the best soil.

* * *

I gave Greenberg instructions for the Charter, which is to be concise and flexible.

He is to take what he can get from the Egyptian government, but should ask for as much as possible, because the quality of the concession will determine the size of the investments and the possibilities for prospering.

January 19, London

I am continuing to organize the expedition.

This morning Kessler, Col. Goldsmid, and a representative of Cook's came to see me.

I made all the arrangements as far as Ismailia. From there on Kessler will take over. I gave them only the main outlines.

The expedition is to proceed from Ismailia (not Port Said) on the caravan road to the Lake of Sirbonia, toward the eastern end on the land side, and there have its first headquarters.

Col. Goldsmid will bring good maps from the War Office, and is going to be very valuable in general.

* * *

At noon I was at Rothschild's. He told me that Claude Montefiore had begged off for reasons of health. A lie, of course. Claude doesn't want to expose himself.

But Lousada was coming—specifically, at 3 p. m.

We had lunch. Lord Rothschild told tales about the *Times,* which had once concealed the source of its information about Sir Robert Peel for 55 years, and things like that.

After lunch I said that I would come back at 3 (so that I wouldn't have to hang around in Rothschild's office).

I returned 10 minutes late on purpose.

Lord R. was already deep in an explanation of the matter.

Next to him there sat, shy and respectful, a skinny grouch, Mr. Herbert Lousada.

An unfolded map of Egypt was lying there; brother Leopold and the Lord's two sons were respectfully listening to the action of state.

Lord R. behaved splendidly. He defended my plan as if it were his own. *"Dr. Herzl and I agree in that,"** etc.

The tricky yellow journalist Lousada attempted the difficult feat of smiling amiably on the half of his face that was turned to Lord R., and wearing a hard, forbidding expression on the half that was turned toward me. The result was comical and disgusting.

When he (Lousada) replied to Lord R.'s invitation to think the matter over, "I shall be happy to think over anything you may desire," Lord R. came back at him as follows:

"These Portuguese Jews always answer you with polite phrases. But I don't want phrases; I want the substance."

(He had never met Mr. Lousada before. *Voilà la puissance de l'argent* [There's the power of money]).

He told Mr. L. to bear in mind that Dr. Herzl's plan couldn't be treated so lightly. The Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and the Colonies had been persuaded.

The English and the Egyptian governments were patrons of the thing, etc. Dr. Herzl was asking for five million pounds, and the

* In English in the original.

I.C.A. should supply three of these, whereupon the remainder could easily be raised by subscription.

Then I let loose:

"Get your colleagues together and put it before them. Do it we shall. The only question is whether with you or without you."

The greyhound was in a real squeeze, and I think he was glad when Lord Rothschild ended the session.

He said good-bye contritely, I, nonchalantly.

"Lord Rothschild, I should like to have you as a lawyer!" I said and left.

Lousada was waiting for me in the hall.

I walked with him for a few blocks and continued to hammer at him. He should notify Claude and Alfred Cohen, but no one else. It was an English affair, and I wouldn't want to alarm the patriotism of the French members of the I.C.A.

He promised me this.

I also said that we would bury the hatchet and work together in the future.

He thought that in principle the question need not be investigated; only when we had the concession and the report.

With this I agreed and promised to let him know as soon as I had the concession, so that he could convene the I.C.A.

* * *

When I got back to the hotel, I found Stephens the engineer, who had been recommended by Sir Benjamin Baker, already waiting for me.

In five minutes we had reached an agreement. He will get £40 a week. He is a colorless Englishman in his fifties, with a stutter, quiet and amiable.

Col. Goldsmid also came again. I introduced the gentlemen to each other.

Then a wire from Alex. Laurent has definitely accepted.

The Commission is complete.

January 21, London

Worked yesterday until afternoon with the general staff of my Commission.

Because of his composure I like Kessler very well as the leader.

Colonel Goldsmid is already making himself useful by procuring general-staff and admiralty maps.

G. H. Stephens, the irrigation *engineer,** seems to be a solid Englishman, with the cool enthusiasm of a real engineer.

The harbor in Lake Sirbonia was the first thing we discussed. He would like to extend the fresh-water canal that runs from the Nile to the Suez Canal. This canal was built for the canal workers in the time of Lesseps.

(As a 10-year-old boy I talked about making a Lesseps-like project, cutting the Panama canal!)

* * *

Goldsmid has received £100. Stephens gets £40 a week, Laurent 500 francs a week. Greenberg asked for "no payment," but a £500 loan for his firm without a repayment limit. I granted everything. Greenberg is the most expensive man, but also the most important one, for he is to secure the Charter. So far he has done very excellent work and is worth any amount of money.

* * *

From afternoon to midnight I worked on a *feuilleton* for the *N. Fr. Pr.*

Covering letter to Maledikt:**

Dear Friend:

Please find enclosed a *feuilleton.*

Originally I planned to go from here to the Riviera, because I still don't feel well. But something has come up here which I must

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: Herzl's sardonic pun on the name of his superior, whom he had come to regard as more maleficent than beneficent.

take care of in Vienna. Therefore I shall be in Vienna next Tuesday.

It is possible that within the next few months I shall have to ask you to accept my resignation from the staff of the *N. Fr. Pr.* Until then I shall naturally be at your disposal as always when I am in Vienna, and send you a *feuilleton* a week when I am traveling.

I shall notify you in time if the indicated eventuality should arise, so that you can arrange for a replacement, which will not be hard to find.

With my best regards to yourself and Dr. Bacher,

Yours sincerely,
Herzl.

January 26, on the train, between Munich and Salzburg

From London I sent Chamberlain the letter which is pasted in here:*

Dear Sir,

During my absence from Vienna, I find to my great annoyance and regret, that an article has appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse,* with which as you know I am connected, violently attacking you. I cannot tell you how sorry I am that this should have found its way into my paper.

So strongly do I feel, however, about this, and so deeply grateful am I for all you have done for our people recently, in connection with the proposed settlement in the Sinai Peninsula, which I hope soon to see an accomplished fact, that I feel bound in honour to leave my position on the *Neue Freie Presse* in your hands; and if you think that I ought to sever my connection with the paper as a demonstration of my personal loyalty to and regard for yourself, I am quite prepared to do so. I should have done so without putting the matter to you, were it not that I should thereby be withdrawing a strong pro-English element from the personnel of the Journal.

* Original text.

Still, as I say, I leave myself in your hands, and will do as you desire I should under the circumstances.

We are hoping to send out the preliminary Commission of Investigation to the Sinai Peninsula in a few days, and I need scarcely say our deepest feelings of thankfulness are with you for the aid you have rendered us in respect to the scheme.

Hoping you are having a pleasant and successful journey,

Believe me to remain

Sincerely yours,

Rt. Hon.: Joseph Chamberlain M.P.

Address: Vienna-Währing, Haizingergasse 29.

From Paris—after my arrival I sat down in the cafeteria without washing up—I wrote the letter to Lansdowne which is pasted in here and is dated January 22:*

My Lord,

I regret you were unable to see me when I was in London. I however had the pleasure of seeing Sir Thos. Sanderson, and he doubtless will have informed you that the Commission of Investigation in the Sinai Peninsula will start from Ismailia about 4th Feb.

Mr. Greenberg who previously saw Lord Cromer and others in Cairo, will proceed there shortly in order to confer on my behalf with the authorities as to the Charter to be obtained from the Egyptian Govt.

Mr. Greenberg will have full powers to act for me and for the Executive Com. of the Zionist movement, and I shall feel favoured if your Lordship will be so good as to intimate this to Lord Cromer.

I beg sincerely to thank Your Lordship for your kind assistance in the matter, and to assure you that we shall do everything possible to make the scheme a success. I am

Your Lordship's obedient servant.

* Original text.

In Paris I received a coded telegram from Greenberg saying that there had been an answer to this letter from Sanderson and that I would find it in Vienna. Since Greenberg informs me at the same time that the Commission is leaving on Tuesday, I assume that nothing unfavorable has happened.

* * *

In Paris I had a wire from Kessler saying that Stephens had come down with bronchitis. In consequence Kessler asked for assignment of a physician, Dr. Joffe of Jaffa. I wired Joffe and instructed Kessler to leave on Tuesday with or without Stephens. If necessary, Stephens might follow two or three days later with Greenberg, via Marseilles.

* * *

I have arranged the itinerary of the expedition in the following manner.

Kessler, Oskar, Goldsmid, Laurent (whom I met in Paris at the ailing Alex's and won over) and possibly Stephens arrive at Alexandria on Monday, February 2, where they are joined by Jennings Bramly, from whom, to be sure, I still have had no word so far, and by Joffe, if he goes along.

On Tuesday, February 3, Colonel Goldsmid will go to Ismailia as quartermaster, along with Laurent, Stephens, and Joffe, in order to inspect the camels, provisions, etc.

Meanwhile Kessler and Bramly go to Cairo, if there is anything to take care of there.

Oskar is to go along to Cairo, too, in order to take a look at the neo-Egyptian architectural style whose airy Gothic arches are to stimulate him.

Wednesday, February 4, Kessler and Bramly meet with Greenberg at Port Said.

Greenberg makes Bramly's acquaintance on the trip to Ismailia.

On Thursday, February 5, the expedition starts out on the

caravan road, either from Ismailia or from El-Kantara, toward Lake Sirbonia whose surroundings are to be explored first, to find out whether the lake, through dredging its deep spots and draining its shallow ones, may be used for a harbor and a city site.

Greenberg goes to Cairo to negotiate for the Charter.

The expedition will send all reports to Greenberg who will forward them to me by telegram or by letter.

Stephens' job is to investigate the harbor, the canalization from the Nile, the drilling of wells, dams—in short, all water problems.

Laurent's concern is all problems of plantation. I spoke with him in the presence of Nordau and Alex. I told him that we plan to start with a company with a capital of five million pounds and will later have the proportionate amount of money that corresponds to the capitalized tax power of the settlers. Therefore he should base his calculation of the feasibility of settlement not only on the factor of the natural resources available, but also on the other two factors, money and working power.

When we begin, we shall have the necessary financial backing, and the inexhaustible reservoir of Eastern Europe will supply us most cheaply with desperate masses of workers, who are therefore of the best quality. He is to report to me whether, taking these factors into account, colonization is possible, and what kinds of culture there can be.

Goldsmid's function is more decorative, but he will be useful for dealing with English authorities and, if need be, supplying military protection. As a quartermaster, too. He is in command of the movements which are decided upon in the expedition council under Kessler's chairmanship, with Kessler casting the deciding vote in case of a tie.

Oskar Marmorek is general secretary, in addition to his specialty, i.e., questions of housing and settlement, construction of roads, city planning, etc.

Dr. Joffe (if he goes along) is to study problems of climate and hygiene and make a report on this.

Bramly: general exploration of the country.

Kessler is chief, treasurer, and geological specialist. I have asked Warburg to wire Blanckenhorn for a brief statement (which we shall pay for) pointing out usable camping sites. I hope to find this statement waiting for me in Vienna and to give it to Kessler.

Three *sets** of maps are being prepared, one of which will stay with the expedition, one with Greenberg at Cairo, and the third with me.

I was going to suggest dividing the map into squares, so that the reports would only have to refer to the square where the expedition happened to be. But Col. Goldsmid has worked out something similar and even more ingenious for the English army: squared tracing paper which only needs to be mounted on the map. The squares are marked by letters. So we shall use that.

I think I have forgotten nothing, neither the code books nor life insurance for the travelers nor the phonographs which they are to use in their tent for the amusement of the bedouins in the desert.

I plan to buy presents for the bedouins in Vienna tomorrow.

* * *

Authorization for Kessler:

My Dear Colleague:

As Chairman of the Actions Committee of the Zionist Movement and in the name and on behalf of the Inner A.C. in Vienna I hereby appoint you as leader of the expedition commissioned by us for the exploration of the feasability of settling the northern half of the Sinai Peninsula.

You will be kind enough to follow the instructions given you, to the extent that conditions which cannot be foreseen in detail permit.

It will be your assignment to investigate and determine, with the help of the gentlemen of the expedition, the opportunities and possibilities for rural as well as urban colonization of the territory

* In English in the original.

located on the Mediterranean between the Suez Canal and the Turkish border, as well as of its hinterland.

The route to be taken is, to begin with, from the point of departure, Ismailia or El Kantara, to the Lake of Sirbonia.

In the daily deliberations of the expedition you will determine the further course whose approximate destination should be the petroleum depots near Suez (you are not bound to this destination).

You will preside at these meetings, cast your ballot last, and have the decisive vote in case of a tie.

The minutes of the council will be taken by Dr. Joffe.

In addition to the record of decisions, a record of reports is to be kept in which the results of the day are to be entered each evening.

However, it is very desirable that besides this each member of the expedition keep a diary (to be purchased in Alexandria, together with fountain pens) and enclose concise extracts from it with the mail which should go off to me as frequently as possible.

I must receive the informational reports (carbon copies) *in extenso* [in full] with each mailing.

The gentlemen who have not yet given me a pledge, in London or Paris, not to publish anything about the expedition without my prior consent, either in writings of their own or in interviews, are requested to put this pledge in writing before their departure —preferably in a joint statement signed by all.

(Text: The undersigned, members of the expedition ordered and equipped by the leadership of the Zionist Movement to explore the feasibility of settling the Sinai Peninsula, hereby pledge their word of honor not to publish anything about this expedition either in writings of their own or in speeches or interviews, unless they receive the consent of the chairman of the A.C. beforehand.)

Mail is to be sent to Mr. Greenberg in Cairo who will forward it to me. Use every possible opportunity to send us news—preferably daily. Do not spare any reasonable expense in this. Do not hesitate to telegraph if need be.

And now, Godspeed!

As great collaborators, show yourself equal to the historic task that we are placing in your hands.

With Zion's greetings,

Sincerely and respectfully yours,
Dr. Th. H.

* * *

Hints for Greenberg, Kessler.

If Stephens unable to go along, an expert must be acquired in Egypt.

South as far as the Gulf of Aqaba.

Laurent rock-salt fertilization.

January 29, Vienna

On the train going to St. Pölten yesterday, worked out with Kremenezky, Kokesch, and Kahn the draft of the Charter for Greenberg.

Kokesch and I then copied it, in the coffee-house and finally at the station.

The Ostend Express came in; Kessler, Goldsmid, Stephens, Laurent were on it. We went on to Vienna with them; I discussed a few more details with Kessler. Then we gave them a *vin d'honneur* [stirrup cup] at the Südbahn [Southern Railroad] station.

Oskar arrived.

At 7 o'clock they left, bound for Trieste.

* * *

I am now trying to get Trieste on the telephone, because I want to instruct Kessler not to lose a day in Cairo, contrary to his understanding with Greenberg.

January 29, Vienna

Telegram to Greenberg:*

Rabbis (Commission) left. Every day costs about forty pounds, and by your new arrangements at least three days are simply lost. I think therefore better that Rabbis go Monday at once to Marseilles. Hump (Kessler) with Pater (Goldsmid) will see Copy (Boyle) and prepare meeting Bauer for their return. Tuesday night they leave for Wilna and meet you.

Benjamin.

January 29, Vienna

Telegram to Kessler, Brindisi.

Please all go Cairo Monday, even without Greenberg. Kessler and Goldsmid call on Boyle, ask him whether introduction desirable now or on way back. Latter would be preferable. In any case, please arrive Ismailia Tuesday evening, at latest Wednesday morning, await Greenberg Wednesday, Thursday start out without fail, with or without Bramly.

Benjamin.

January 30, Vienna

Yesterday Greenberg requested me, for reasons he could not state in a telegram, to withdraw the instructions I had given Kessler.

Telegram to Greenberg:*

Although I don't like confusions by withdrawing instructions I shall withdraw them if your letter contains sufficient reasons. You can post it on your way. I can get it Sunday in time to wire

* Original text.

Hump to Avignon. I hope you leave tonight. Don't forget advise Woolf to send letters during absence to Joe.

Benjamin.

Telegram to Dr. Joffe:*

Start immediately. Our friends won't wait. They will leave Ismailia next Wednesday. Meeting place Cook Agency, Chief Kessler. Wire me your arrival and address at Port Said or El-Arish. I prefer Port Said, if quarantine lifted.

Herzlingen.

January 31, Vienna

Wire to Joffe who sent a confused telegram:

Partez vous immédiatement? Oui ou non [Are you leaving immediately? Yes or No].

* * *

Greenberg has asked for withdrawal of my instructions to Kessler and re-establishment of the London arrangement, because the Egyptian government is sending along someone other than Bramly.

February 1, Vienna

Telegram to Kessler (Cook, Alexandria):

Nasardant (*most important news**) disregard Brindisi wire. Greenberg's London arrangement valid.

Benjamin.

* In French in the original.
** In English in the original.

February 2, Vienna

Telegram to Kessler:

Joffe arriving Tuesday El-Arish, expects wired instructions for meeting.

* * *

From Kessler:*

Cookscamp has been put into quarantine for five days. Cannot start until eighth. Under the mentioned circumstances I (we) will proceed Cairo unofficially. Joffe may proceed Ismailia if it is not possible must remain until further orders El-Arish.

February 3, Vienna

Telegram to Joffe, El-Arish:**

Friends detained by quarantine, will leave Ismailia Sunday. Await Kessler's instructions El-Arish.

* * *

February 3

To Kessler, Cairo:*

Impugnais (wire instructions direct to) Joffe El-Arish.

February 3

This evening Greenberg arrives at Port Said. He wrote and wired en route that Lansdowne and Sanderson have been in frequent touch with Cromer during the last few days, in order to get our expedition a substitute for Bramly, who can't get away before the end of February. The English and Egyptian govern-

* Original text.
** In French in the original.

ments would not want to accept the responsibility for the expedition if this replacement for Bramly did not go along.

Welcome. For if we accept the man, they thereby take a responsibility *implicite* [implicitly].

* * *

Authorization for Greenberg, dated February 3:*

Dear Mr. Greenberg,

In the event of any question arising, I am writing this to say that it is quite understood that in the matter of the negociations and everything concerning the proposed settlement in the Sinai Peninsula you have the fullest powers to act on my behalf personally as well as on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Movement of which I am Chairman. You are at liberty to hold this letter and to show it to anyone whom it may concern, and I am prepared both in my individual capacity or as Chairman of the Executive Committee to replace it at any time that it may be necessary by a proper legal document.

Signed

Th. H.

February 5

Greenberg reports from Cairo that he will be received by Lord Cromer this morning and the Commission this afternoon. Satisfactory.

On Saturday (February 7) the Commission leaves Cairo, on Monday, Ismailia.

February 6, Vienna

Telegram to Greenberg:*

Chaulmage (have you communicated with) Joffe.

* Original text.

February 9

Greenberg reports that the expedition left Cairo for Ismailia this morning. Today he will see Boyle (Cromer's chief official) and tomorrow, perhaps, Cromer and Boutros.

February 9

Today a little incident at the *N. Fr. Pr.*

Benedikt came into my room when Bacher happened to be with me. He asked me to wire Heyse and ask him if he cared to reply to Minister Hammerstein's speech. I looked like someone who hadn't read Hammerstein's speech in yesterday's paper. When he asked me, I admitted it. To this the ungracious lord said: "Well, if you don't read even that any more, you are a half-lost person!"

From his point of view, sure. I am a collector of old newspapers only in part any more.

I dropped the matter. I hope with time will come counsel.

* * *

But the whole shameful irony of my situation lies in the fact that I have to let this finance journalist treat me *en bagatelle* [like dirt].

God improve it!

Letter:

February 10
*Confidential.**

Dear Lord Rothschild:

By now the seven gentlemen of our expedition are underway on the Sinai Peninsula to explore the area for settlement. For this expedition I have selected first-rate and highly reputed experts

* In English in the original.

from England, the Transvaal, Belgium, Austria, Egypt, and Palestine. At the same time I have instructed our authorized agent to go to Cairo to conclude negotiations for the Charter.

I hope the expedition will return in just a few weeks safe and sound, and soon thereafter I hope to be in possession of the Charter.

However, I must prepare the further steps right away.

Your saying, Lord Rothschild, that you wish to help me has pleased me greatly, and I am grateful to you with all my heart for the aid you have already given me. We shall see what effect your intervention with Mr. Claude Montefiore and Mr. Lousada has had. As soon as I have the desired news from Cairo, I shall notify the gentlemen so that they may call a board meeting of the Jewish Colonization Association. They will probably call it for Paris, out of consideration for the continental members.

Now comes my big request of today.

I beg you, Lord Rothschild, to come to Paris for the days of this meeting; I shall also be there. I expect a decisive effect from your generally respected personal authority. If we can make the public subscription easier for ourselves in such a way from the outset, it is certainly sensible to save strength.

Another thing could be accomplished at the same time. Apart from the I.C.A. people, to whom I wouldn't care to confide everything, a discussion with Baron Alphonse and Baron Edmond Rothschild would be of the greatest value. I would meet the gentlemen at your place.

They could be of great help to us in the political part of the project, by nipping in the bud any misgivings that may arise on the part of the French government. As you probably know, French jealousy exists in this quarter, and your Paris cousins could easily allay it at the right place.

I hope to forestall the other political difficulty which I foresee as a remote possibility in my worries, an unfriendly attitude on the part of Russia, by going to the Czar myself. I have an access to him, but do not plan to go there until there is some distinct point to it.

Naturally, neither France nor Russia can frustrate the project once we have the agreement in our pocket, but they could cause

us trouble some day; and I am always in favor of clearing away the obstacles before one stumbles over them.

Above all, I don't want to lose any usable moment; then, when we have the Charter, we must turn the first sod in the autumn.

When our technicians return home, we must immediately set up a work schedule with them, and the migration must be organized. Of course, I have long-prepared outlines for all that, as well as a tight organization at my disposal, but the implementation requires careful action.

Then, too, our life span is a short one; and we have to hurry if we want to do good while we are still on earth.

I hope to have pleasant news from you soon, dear Lord Rothschild. Until then I am

Yours devotedly,
Herzl.

February 11, Vienna

To the Grand Vizier (to be dated later):*

Dated February 16

Your Highness:

I have the honor to return to a subject which I had discussed by Imperial order last year with H.H. Said Pasha, Your Highness's predecessor.

Invited on two occasions by H.I.M. the Sultan, who honors me with his lofty benevolence, I went to Constantinople in February and at the end of July to reach an agreement with the Imperial government about a financial transaction to be organized by the Jews. The basis of that arrangement would have been a concession for colonization granted to the Zionist Organization of which I am the leader.

* In French in the original.

To my great regret we were not able to reach an agreement. But in dismissing me H.I.M. deigned to express his gracious disposition toward us and to say that I would be allowed to return with other proposals.

The misery of our poor persecuted people, however, has not lessened. On the contrary. Once again Spring will be the signal for a painful migration of our Rumanian Jews and others.

Under these conditions we have had to work at a practicable plan. And, in fact, at this very moment we are at an advanced stage of very serious negotiations with a government to obtain a colonial concession in an African country.

But at this supreme hour I have thought of returning once more to that place to which I am drawn by my well-known devotion to the august person of your master and by the sympathy that exists between your people and mine.

Much is said of the political difficulties expected in the Spring. You will perhaps need financial assistance. I am in a position to procure it for you without delay. Moreover, we are not at all demanding. The new proposal that I have the honor to submit to the lofty wisdom of the Imp. govt. is in every respect the same as the one we are submitting to the government with which we are negotiating for colonization in Africa.

There is only one difference. It is that we guarantee you in advance an annual payment of one hundred thousand Turkish pounds, whereas the other government does not demand and will not be given a previous guarantee.

The meaning of this guarantee is that you will be able *at once* to float a loan of two million Turkish pounds on this new security. My friends will make you this loan as soon as the concession is granted.

I am taking the liberty of submitting a draft of this charter to Your Highness.

This proposal may be summarized as follows:

You will grant us the right of colonization for our persecuted people, who will become Ottoman subjects, as the colony will of course remain under the sovereignty of H.I.M. the Sultan. And

not only will we bring you industrial and capital resources, we will also procure you a loan of 2 mill. Turkish pounds whose amortization will cost you nothing, being covered by the annual guaranteed payment of 100,000 Turk. pds.

I beg Your Highness to be good enough to take this proposal under consideration and to submit it to the council of ministers. At the same time I lay it at the foot of the Imperial throne.

I have the honor to remain Your Highness's most humble servant

Dr. Th. H.

February 11

Greenberg wires:*

Commission started Kantara today. Have heard from Kessler all well. Have had interview with Cromer quite successful. I hope to see tomorrow Boutros with others of the Egyptian Government. Telegraph as soon as possible if I can find you Vienna all next week. Can most probably fix as much as possible about end of this or beginning of next week.

* * *

Answer to Greenberg:*

Sinuato	I shall stay at
Pinsk	Vienna
Welkend	All next week
Laimodon	Do not leave before
Rumoren	Charter signed by
Chisel	Egyptian Government

Laimodon Rumoren Chisel. Sinuato Pinsk Welkend.

* * *

* Original text.

Sire:*

I have the honor to lay a new proposal at the foot of the Imperial throne in the present grave situation. Perhaps Your Imperial Majesty will need, in the near future, all the loyalty at his disposal; and if I were summoned with my friends to serve him, we would not fail.

There is still another reason that causes me to act now. In several countries the situation of our poor Jews has become so intolerable that we must find a refuge for them at any cost. That is why the Zionist Committee, of which I am the head, has entered into negotiations with a government that controls sufficient territory in Africa. These negotiations are quite serious and quite advanced. But at the last moment I return once more to the place to which I am called by my profound devotion to Y.I.M.'s august person and the secular sympathies between the Turkish people and the Jewish nation.

The proposal may be summarized as follows:

For a concession to colonize a part of Galilee we will procure a loan of 2 million Turkish pounds for the Imperial treasury.

The colonists would become Ottoman subjects and the colony would remain under the sovereignty of Y.I.M.

For greater clarity I have sketched a plan for a Charter, and I am transmitting it at the same time to His Highness the Grand Vizier.

The happy consequences of such a Charter granted by the generous Caliph would probably be immense.

Spread by newspaper cables to the four corners of the earth, the news would produce, outside of the immediate financial result, a current of friendship for the Turks among the Jews of the entire world, one that would grow from day to day, and, in these perhaps difficult times, the Ottoman Empire could count on unfailing gratitude.

May it please God to make me heard by Y.I.M. in this grave hour.

I am and remain Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant

Dr. Th. H.

* In French in the original.

February 15, Vienna

Letter to Ibrahim:*

Dated February 15

My Dear Excellency:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a letter for H.I.M. the Sultan, containing a *new* proposal relative to the Sanjak of Acre and to a loan of 2 mill. Turkish pounds.

I am at a very advanced stage of negotiation about a plan for Jewish colonization in Africa. Before bringing the matter to a conclusion, I wanted to apply one last time to that quarter where so many sympathies draw me.

I hope you are well and I beg you to maintain your good will toward me. Accept, my dear Excellency, the assurance of my high regard and of my friendship.

Herzl.

* * *

Letter to Izzet:*

My Dear Excellency:

Today I am sending H.I.M. a new proposal about which I am taking the liberty of giving you confidential advance information.

My new proposal might be acceptable. We are not asking much: only the right to colonize in the Sanjak of Acre in return for a guaranteed annual payment of 100,000 Turk. pounds, nominally based on that annual rent. The issue would have to be calculated at 80%, in order to allow a profit for the syndicate.

Since my last departure from Constantinople I have sought and found another arrangement for Jewish colonization, this one in Africa. But before concluding negotiations I am making one more attempt with you.

It would be so good for everyone if we could reach an agreement.

* In French in the original.

I beg Your Excellency to maintain your good will toward me and to accept the assurance of my high regard and of my friendship.

Herzl.

* * *

To Tahsin: *

Your Excellency:

I now have the honor to lay a new proposal at the foot of the throne, one which I am taking the liberty of telling you about in advance and in confidence, a more advantageous one than my last.

We are asking only for the right to colonize in the Sanjak of Acre, in return for an annual payment of 100,000 Turk. pounds, and we are offering, based on this guaranteed annuity, a loan of 2 mill. Turk. pounds nominal value, issued at 80 per 100, the margin of 20 per 100 being sufficient to allow a profit for the syndicate.

I could now make another proposal, as well, for the consolidation according to a new plan of my friends: but as it is said everywhere that the consolidation is a closed matter, I should not like to take any steps in that direction without first having been invited to submit the new plan.

I beg Your Excellency to maintain your good will towards me and to accept the assurance of my high esteem.

Dr. Th. H.

February 16, Vienna

Today I finally finished all the letters to Constantinople and mailed them. Unfortunately late, because of all my other work (*feuilleton* about the actress Niese, and the like, for the *N. Fr. Pr.*, etc.), so that my parade had not reached Constantinople when my expedition started to cause a stir in Cairo.

* In French in the original.

This is the reason I give to myself for Greenberg's telegram of today:*

Have private information from Cromer that Cohns (Sultans) man here is doing all he can to oppose us. It is very serious. He is acting in conformity with instructions from the Sultan. Do not forget Khedive is subject to Sultan.

* * *

To this I am answering:*

Perexile	you may promise
Cohnsman	turk. Commissaire
Both	two
Guy	thousand
Months	pounds
after	after
Rumoren	Charter signed by
Chisel	Egyptian government

The idea of tackling the Turkish commissar's resistance with the Egyptian government by the *baksheesh* method is the result of today's conversation with Dr. Abdullah Djevdet Bey.

This new acquaintance has a curious origin. Djevdet thanked me for a review of his poetry in the literary section of the *N. Fr. Pr.* and asked me for an appointment. I invited him, and the conversation soon turned to my project. Abdullah Djevdet revealed himself as a Young Turk and a friend of the Jews. A second conversation gave me the idea of using him to translate my letter to the Sultan. He agreed to do so; I telegraphically cancelled Badi whom I had planned to bring from Constantinople, and in three laborious days Djevdet completed the letter and the Charter for the Sultan.

As a gift of honor I gave him a pair of diamond-studded cuff links. He was somewhat reluctant to accept them, and was more pleased with *Altneuland* which I also gave him.

* Original text.

But then he started in: did I have someone in Constantinople who could talk with the Ministers? He was on very good terms with Memduh Pasha, the Minister of the Interior.

Et de fil en aiguille [And, going from one thing to another] the pock-marked man with the dark eyes told me all sorts of things. He said he had been one of the leaders of the Young Turks, but Memduh had "appeased" him. He now drew 1500 francs a month in his sinecure as "Embassy physician."

And he outlined for me a program of shares—but regarding which I expressly stated: not until after the Charter is signed—as follows: two thousand pounds each for Grand Vizier Ferid, Minister of War Hassan, Minister of the Interior Memduh, Minister of Justice Abdurrahman, Minister of Finance Nasif, Minister of Education Djellal, and the Sheik ul-Islam.

Probably others will be added. Further, I promised him £2,000 as well as £100 each for Memduh's secretaries (Taik Bey and Dr. Beha Bey), and while we were at it, another £100 for General Shükri Pasha's secretary, Captain Vasfi Bey. General Shükri Pasha, however, is to get a pair of horses—because he is the son of the Minister of War. Incidentally, tomorrow I am to call on Shükri. Djevdet plans to get him this very day to write to his father who is to win over the other Ministers. The Minister of War, according to Djevdet, is a billionaire, but he accepts even the smallest amounts, such as £2, as a present.

I easily agreed to all this, because I won't have any obligation until after the Charter has been signed. Then, too, I consider Djevdet's prices for the Ministers cheap by comparison with the Constantinople ones. Djevdet even spoke of only £1,000 to 1,500 per Minister, evidently because as a literary colleague he wanted to charge me a colleague's rates. As for himself, he declared his intention of collaborating *pour l'amour de la bonne cause* [for love of the good cause], whether he was given anything or not. When I offered him the Ministers' rate, he thought that a thousand would be enough for him. In any case, in this, as in all his behavior, he makes a wholly likeable impression. The fact that he too takes is simply the morality of his environment. He was visibly dumb-

founded when I told him in reply to a question that I myself took nothing in any form, that in fact I even contributed money to the movement. I believe this even made him suspect my "honesty." Can someone who doesn't take anything be honest?

Of course, we shall see whether his claims were merely those of an *hâbleur* [braggart].

He promised to write a supporting letter to Memduh this very day.

February 16

Today I received a pleasant letter from Lord Rothschild who enclosed an obsequious communication from the I.C.A., signed by Leven, which will gladly do His Lordship's bidding if at all possible.

February 17

I have been to see the Turkish military attaché, General Shükri Pasha. A young, effeminate pasha's son, 28 years old, but as son of the Minister of War in a high position, rich, indolent. I think I got him interested in the matter, and he promised to write his father.

Abdullah Djevdet will draft the son's letter to his father, and Shükri will copy it, according to Captain Vasfi Bey, a Georgian, who came to see me yesterday. Vasfi completed his military education in Cologne, as a Prussian officer. He is smart and good-natured, and says jokingly that his friend Djevdet is getting "hush money."

* * *

In the evening, a wire from Greenberg:

He says it is impossible to obtain a Charter from the Khedive. He (Greenberg) had made an alternative proposal which was now being considered. He was acting in accordance with Cromer's instructions, awaiting the Khedive's consent, hoped to leave on Mon-

day, and planned to do only what was absolutely necessary in regard to my instructions about the Turkish commissar.

I wired back:*

Elkaite	Do not understand what you mean
Alternative	
Mancinus	Please give full explanation.

February 19, Vienna, evening.

Wire from Greenberg:*

Cannot leave until next Monday vessel not to go beyond Brindisi. It is urgent arrive London next Saturday week urgent I can call upon Sanderson. Can you endeavour to meet Paris last Friday in the month.

Telegraph whether you can, to enable me to arrange.

* * *

My immediate answer to this:*

Laquucule	I cannot leave
Desigual	What are you doing with
Wolf	Sanderson
Ufanidad	I do not understand
Talgbrot	Telegraph me fully
Accultos	Present state of affairs
Lamswel	Do not leave before all is arranged.

February 19, evening

I have received this telegram from the expedition:*

* Original text.

Camp opposite mount Casius lake Sirbon. Report posted. Kessler.

February 20, Vienna

Greenberg's actions are inexplicable to me. I can't get a straight answer out of him. He wants to go back to London. Why, I don't know.

He wires:*

Your telegram to hand this morning the risk is too great telegraph by the ABC Code 5th Edition present state of affairs. Dan (Greenberg) is being closely watched. I think the immediate future prospect good. Cromer urgently advised I will see Sanderson soon as possible before next Monday week, if I can arrange satisfactorily. Boutros have made an appointment next Sunday. I cannot proceed Vienna within the time mentioned. What have you to propose if I do not meet Paris. Telegraph as soon as possible to enable me to arrange.

February 21

Reply to Greenberg.*

Waldbrand	I am writing for
Cohn-matters	Cohn matters
Talookah	Telegraph date of departure and probable date of arrival to
Turin	Brindisi
Chaldron	If you cannot come
Pinsk	Vienna
Talgbrot	telegraph me fully
from	from
Turin	Brindisi
Najade	If absolutely necessary
Chaletos	I will come if possible
Juk	Paris.

* Original text.

February 21, evening

In answer to this a long-winded and again vague wire from Greenberg:*

If I can finish (with) Boutros will leave Monday morning vessel to arrive on or about Brindisi during Wednesday night. I can get Paris on Friday evening. Must arrive at London not later than during Saturday night. If you can see your way if you can proceed Paris much prefer to avoid delay arising from any cause whatever. If you cannot arrange satisfactorily I do not consider it absolutely necessary. Telegraph as soon as possible during the morning tomorrow morning if you can come Paris.

February 22, morning

Reply:*

Chalazien	I will not come
Juk	Paris
Waldport	I am anxiously waiting
Recru	Report as soon as possible.

February 23, Vienna.

Late last night this wire from Greenberg:*

Mazzeltov [Congratulations]! Document is received the signature (of) Egyptian government is in order. Very satisfactory. Further particulars will be sent as soon as possible by telegraph (from) Brindisi. Will leave tomorrow morning.

* * *

* Original text.

If I understand this wire correctly, he has received a letter of concession, but no Charter. I must be patient for at least another four days.

Mais déjà mon imagination a brodé [But my imagination has already been spinning fancies].

Made plans in the sleepless dawn.

As soon as I have the "document," I shall draw up the by-laws of the Land Company here with Kokesch and Kahn.

The board of directors of the J.C.T. will be convened at Vienna and raise the price of the shares to £2.

Then I shall have Rothschild assemble the I.C.A.

In the meantime the expedition will be back.

I shall let the Sultan know that I have the concession.

The Congress will be called for June.

The subscription of the Land Company will be handled either through the I.C.A. or by public propaganda.

But unfortunately I can't do the most necessary thing, resign from the *N. Fr. Pr.!*

* * *

Letter to Crespi, who wrote me under the date of February 17 that everything could be obtained now for a million pounds:*

February 23, Vienna.

Dear Sir:

I received your letter of February 17 too late, for on February 15 I had sent a much higher proposal to 363. I did not know that in your opinion 1 million would suffice.

But since I have not had a reply to this date, it seems that you and I were mistaken.

Like you, I believed that in the present circumstances they would need me. And I had another reason for making this *last*

* In French in the original.

attempt now. My negotiations elsewhere are completed; a preliminary agreement will probably be signed next week. I cannot wait any longer. This time it is accomplished.

363 does not understand, or is being prevented from understanding, this opportunity. He is marching to his ruin. I regret this.

Best regards,

Herzl.

February 24

Letter to Wellisch.

He is to call on Faik Bey, the private secretary of Memduh Pasha, the Minister of the Interior (with the card of introduction that Abdullah Djevdet gave me), and tell him that each Minister will get £2,000 from me if what I demanded in my last letter is granted. Faik Bey himself will get a present too (£100).

* * *

February 25, Vienna

This morning a wire from Kessler, dated El-Arish:*

Arrived in good condition vicinity has made a favourable impression. No news from you since starting telegrams should reach here not later than 6th day of March.

Marmorek Laurent will leave end of this week.—(Oberati? Joskin?)

I presume these last words mean that they plan to call in Soskin.

Oberati—I have obtained

Joskin—Soskin, Palestine agricultural expert.

Thus evidently a replacement for Laurent who is leaving.

* Original text.

February 25, Vienna

My reply to Kessler: *

Tahmasp	your telegram to hand this morning
Nasmullen	the news has given great satisfaction
Naseberry	send all the news you possibly can.

February 26, at night

This evening I received the following peculiar telegram from Greenberg, sent from Brindisi: *

Document agrees to concede territory in Leith to Check (Jewish Eastern Company) upon report of Rabbis and to create of territory a municipality. Latter was alternative to jam (Charter). Seeing Sanderson so that he may make (refrexutation?) to coln (evidently Cohn) in our favour. Think best if you cannot leave Vienna me to come to you after have seen Sanderson next week. Wire me Zionist what you wish.

* * *

What strikes me unpleasantly about this wire is the obscurity of its wording. To whom has the "document" been given? To me, to the Trust, to Greenberg, or to whom? The Jewish Eastern Company is not yet in existence. Why didn't he come to see me first, anyway? According to my calculations he will arrive in London on Saturday where he won't be able to meet with Sanderson before Monday.

* * *

I got up at the crack of dawn, because Greenberg's wire keeps me from sleeping, and am wiring him: *

* Original text.

Greenberg voyageur venant de Brindisi [To Greenberg, sea passenger on his way from Brindisi]:

I should like to congratulate you but I don't understand completely.

I regret that you came not to give me full particulars. I must know before all which part is conceded. Leith and Cork altogether, or not? If not the whole, I should call Rabbis back at once because they have seen enough and I want report. Please wire to Max 8 rue Léonie exact time of your arrival. He will wait you. I don't know yet whether it will be necessary to trouble you with travelling to Pinsk as you came not now. First I must see document and read your explanations.

Benjamin.

* * *

To Nordau:

Greenberg is likely to be there at midnight today. I asked him to telegraph you his arrival. In case you don't receive anything from him, kindly meet the express train at the Gare [station] Lyon with Alex at noon tomorrow. Wire me whether results satisfactory, particularly whether he has Leith and Cork. My dispositions which I must make at once depend on it. Take down for me complete text of agreement.

Benjamin.

February 27, Vienna

Yesterday a very interesting report from the expedition also came.

Oskar paints the desert picture with good colors.

Colonel Goldsmid gives a real English log-book.

Kessler is brief and clear.

* * *

Wire to Greenberg at London:*

I hope I can congratulate you, I don't understand completely. First I must know if Leith and Cork altogether or not. If not the whole I should call back Rabbis at once because they have seen enough and I want urgently report. I don't know yet whether it will be necessary troubling you to Pinsk, as you came not now. First I must see document and read your explanations. I urgently request you not to speak with Courtier or anybody except Joe. Am writing.

February 27

Telegram to Kessler, El Arish:*

Adizzo	Arrangements are in fair progress
Chiffrais	Have you arrived at any conclusion
Recroitre	When will the report be out
Sdegnero	Can you send
Durchoxar	durch [by] Oskar

February 28

Telegram to Cowen:*

Issachar's silence inexplicable. He came not to me sent no letter nor gives full particulars. Please give me full report at once. Wire the important points and write the rest.

* * *

In the evening I received a wire from Nordau for whom I had arranged a meeting with Greenberg via Modane. It is his impression that "Greenberg had obtained everything that can possibly be conceded in an official agreement."

* Original text.

March 2, Vienna

Today came Greenberg's report and the "document." The report is the masterpiece of a not completely loyal agent. I had already concluded from Greenberg's conspicuous eagerness to avoid Vienna that he was unable to look me quite straight in the eye. This presentiment was fed by his long-winded and yet indefinite wires. He has been in Europe since Thursday morning, and only today, Monday, do I know where I stand.

The "document" is a rather inconclusive letter from the Egyptian Prime Minister, Boutros, to Greenberg about a Jewish National Settlement Company which is to be founded. It says nothing about either the Jewish Colonial Trust or the A.C. or myself as concession holders. In Greenberg's *draft*,* i.e., the sketch for a Charter, of which he also, incautiously enough, sends me a photostat, the name of the applicant for a concession is conspicuous by its omission. It looks as though "L. J. Greenberg" was supposed to be inserted there at the last moment. And for this he took £200 for the first two weeks' trip, and for this second, three weeks' one, the *travelling expenses*,* a letter of credit for £100, and on top of that a "credit" of £500 which we shall obviously never see again.

The Boutros document consists of hypothetical promises and very definite restrictions. The granting of a Charter is flatly refused. The only valuable thing is one concession which grants something *implicite* [by implication], although it too was intended as a negation: the statement that the non-Ottoman settlers must subject themselves to the laws of the land. I.e., the settlers need not be *Ottoman subjects** (if they were not brought there by the Land Company).

Greenberg's report effectively veils a fact which nevertheless peeps through for my textual-critical eyes, namely, that in Cairo G. didn't behave like an authorized agent at all, but like the boss and on his own authority. By doing so he didn't do the cause any good, I feel, and harmed himself in my eyes.

I am writing him:

* In English in the original.

My dear Greenberg:

Many thanks for your report which I received today. The report gives me an excellent picture of the situation. But unfortunately it does not justify your *mazel-tov* wire. I don't see that we have attained anything worth mentioning. The Boutros "document" is a quite indefinite note with very definite rejections and restrictions on the very things we desire. I cannot and must not indulge in any illusions.

If you tell me now that no more could be attained, I must bow to your judgment of the situation, which you know better than I do.

On the other hand, even in this there are aspects of the situation which I know something about. When I wired you on February 16 "Perexile Cohnsman Both Guy months after Rumoren Chisel," I knew what I was doing. You could safely have followed my instructions and left the rest to me. But that is over and done with.

Furthermore, my dear Greenberg, you were wrong in not coming from Brindisi to see me—not to the head of the movement which had made you its authorized agent and representative, but to a friend who has gathered much experience in these matters over a period of eight years and with many sacrifices. Only now do I know why you were supposed to see Wolf today, Monday, because you did not tell me beforehand. If it is a matter of intervening with Cohn only—after all, I know Cohn much better than Wolf or anyone else in England does. Above all, you ought to ask me whether a stranger's intervention may not be downright harmful. It is true, I don't know even now what Wolf's course of action is to be. I have to await further information from you. But in any case, I could have given you useful hints for Wolf, whatever his plans may be. But that too is over, and we are not old women who gossip about closed matters.

But I wish to state for the record that you could easily have come to see me. You could have gone to Bologna on the same train you boarded at Brindisi. There you would have had a connection with the Vienna express (arrival at Bologna 1:05, departure 2:05). You could have arrived here on Friday evening. You would have stayed

in Vienna overnight, left Vienna on Saturday morning, and would have been in London on Sunday evening. You could have requested the meeting with Wolf by simply sending a telegram from Dover and easily have had it confirmed by this morning. The way things stand now, we can't do anything but wait for our expedition to return.

Today Kessler telegraphs me from El Arish that they will stay for about another month. Now they will apparently turn southward.

I shall inform you of major developments and wait for your news about Wolf, etc.

Permit me only to repeat to you herewith my request which I have already wired you: that you don't tell even a syllable to anyone but Joe—particularly not to Courtier. Please follow this faithfully, dear friend.

Mrs. Greenberg must be pleasantly surprised to see you again after such a short absence. Please give her my regards. She probably thought as I did that you would be gone longer and would only return with the Charter or with the Commission.

With the kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Herzl.

* * *

Yesterday a little incident with Prof. Kellner. I have an old liking for him. Before Greenberg's report, which so reduced our hopes, came and when I still visualized us on the threshold of founding a city and a country, the Pelusiac-Sirbonian city idea occupied me. I thought that in the founding of a city one ought to follow as far as possible the traces of an old settlement, for reasons of climate and meteorology. A city is an accumulation of experiences, observations of wind and weather over many decades and centuries. To be sure, in our historic times the climate of a region can change through deforestation, drainage, etc. But the sea and the shore area of Pelusium have probably changed little since

the times of Psamtik, apart from the cutting off of the Nile arm through the Suez Canal. So I thought that in old documents, especially in Greek historians, traces of the habitation of that time must be found. Therefore I planned to have Kellner, whom I had in mind for the position of secretary-general anyway, prepare a monograph about Pelusium and Lake Sirbon from ancient sources.

For this reason I let him in on the Egyptian expedition and explained to him what I wanted. But how chilled I was by his answer. I had expected jubilant enthusiasm. But that is probably found only among young people.

He said: "I don't want to be stupid any more, as I used to be. My answer is: Five hundred guilders."

I agreed to that. But when I received Greenberg's report I cancelled the assignment for the time being.

It is true, he is an overburdened and troubled teacher. But I too am overburdened and troubled. How much ought *I* to ask for, then?

March 2, Vienna

Wire from Kessler, El-Arish:*

Commission considers charter desirable under favourable conditions. Until conclusion of inspection in a month's time cannot form an opinion with regard to conditions, (or if?) colonies practicable.

March 2

Wire to Greenberg, London.*

Thanks for report, but *mazzeltov* seems unjustified. Your coming here now not necessary. Am writing. Do not speak with anybody except Joe. Kindly send another copy of report.

* Original text.

March 3

Telegram to Kessler, El Arish:*

Fangled	Finish as quickly as possible
Magallon	about middle of March
Greenberg	— — —
Refrayer	Mr. has now returned
Narguames	I will negotiate the business through you
and	— — —
Goldsmid	— — —
Repont	If you can return
Cairo	— — —
Maggiore	23rd day of March
Maggotish	25 — — — —
Impunium	Instructions will be sent very shortly
Cairo	— — —
Talgseife	Telegraph what you do.

March 3

I am now confronted with a new situation. I shall not send Greenberg to Cairo again if it can be avoided. Goldsmid will be good now; he is more of a diplomat than a soldier, anyway.

Matters stand like this, however. On the Sinai Peninsula the situation is confused in a way favorable to us. I must differentiate: Possession, power, and right.

The Egyptian government has possession, the English government has the power, the Turkish government has the right.

First I shall have possession assigned to me by the Egyptian government, then I shall demand from the English government as much power as possible, and, finally, I shall acquire the right to go with it from the Turkish government, *moyennant* [by means of] *baksheesh.*

My instructions to the new negotiators, Goldsmid and Kessler, will be in keeping with that.

* Original text.

March 3

Katzenelsohn reports today that the audience with the Czar has moved within the realm of possibility.

March 8, Vienna

Greenberg wants to come here *now;* but now I don't want him to come. To his wire of today I am replying: *

Do not come here. I shall probably leave. Kindly send express another copy of your report and my jam instruction which I sent you through Hump.

March 10, Vienna

My dear Kessler:

When you receive this letter in Cairo, your expedition will, with the help of God, be safely over. I don't know the final result, of course, but to the extent of our dear Col. Goldsmid's *log-book*** that has reached me to date I see that the expedition has proceeded purposefully. Accept as early this my hearty congratulations and the thanks of the Zionist Movement.

Now, in the name of the A.C. I should like to entrust you with a second assignment which is connected with the one you have just completed.

You see, I wish to entrust Col. Goldsmid and you jointly with the completion of the negotiations which Greenberg started on my instructions.

On March 3 I telegraphed you to El Arish: "Finish (etc., p. 1432)."

Up to now I have had no reply to this from you. I account for this by the assumption that you have moved on to the South and have no mail connection.

* Original text.
** In English in the original.

You will find enclosed:

1) His Exc. Boutros' letter to Greenberg, revealing the fundamental disposition of the Egyptian government;

2) our draft of a patent;

3) our instructions regarding this;

4) the draft of a charter which Greenberg submitted to Lord Cromer, whose approval he received, whereas the Egyptian government declared it was unable to give such a Charter out of deference to H.M. the Sultan;

5) a joint power of authority for Col. Goldsmid and you.

The final result which you will achieve lies somewhere between Boutros' letter and Greenberg's draft which was approved by Lord Cromer. I think highly of Col. Goldsmid's diplomatic skill and your calm prudence.

Achieve whatever is possible! Try to complete matters as quickly as possible, for at Eastertime I am to meet in Paris with Lord Rothschild and other gentlemen in order to found the Land Company.

Today I am sending you only these brief suggestions in order to get this letter on tomorrow's Lloyd boat.

Laurent and Marmorek are arriving here tomorrow, Greenberg the next day. According to the outcome of these conferences I shall let you have amplifications or restrictions of the present letter.

I shall probably also send you written and particularly *oral* instructions by Dr. Adolf Friedemann of Berlin, one of our most trustworthy representatives.

With Zion's greetings,

Yours devotedly,
Herzl.

Gentlemen,*

As Mr. G. is no more in Egypt I withdraw the powers I had given him in the event of any question arising in the matter of the nego-

* Original text.

ciations and everything concerning the proposed Jewish settlement in the Sinai Peninsula.

I hereby give you the authority to act on my behalf and on behalf of the Exec. Com. of the Zion. Movmt. of which I am Chairman. You can show this letter to anyone whom it concerns.

Should either of you be absolutely prevented from acting as our representative, the other may act alone.

Believe me to be, Gentlemen, yours very faithfully.

March 10, Vienna

Now Greenberg importunes me with wires: he wants to come here. *Matters of great urgency,** etc.

I am answering:**

In your telegrams and letters I find not explained the necessity of your coming here. Kindly give me first the reasons by wire or letter. I cannot find presently any urgency before Rabbis return.

Nothing is changed since you left Marseilles unless you have got news unknown by me.

Benjamin.

March 11, Vienna

My dear Colonel Goldsmid,**

the letter I wrote to Kessler is in the meantime meant for you also.

I am not able to put that in faultless English. Kindly excuse me, and let our friend Kessler translate it.

I had last week a letter from Mrs. Goldsmid who is quite well, as are your daughters. I sent her by wire news about you.

With kindest regards yours sincerely

Herzl.

* In English in the original.

** Original text.

March 16, Vienna

Greenberg is here. He is unable to give me any better explanation orally. My impression is that he wanted to bypass me and get the whole thing in his hands. The reason he went back directly to London is that he didn't want to appear either in Cairo or in London as though he had to consult me or pay any attention to me. He wanted to speak only with Lord Rothschild. However, I had sensed that and by my repeated telegraphic prohibition (to make disclosures to Rothschild) had forced him to toe the line or rebel openly.

The conversations with him were unpleasantly exhausting, because I don't trust him now and always keep trying to look behind his arguments. He declares it is impossible to entrust Kessler and Goldsmid with the further negotiations. This could be done only over his dead body. But on the other hand, he refuses to return to Cairo immediately. He says that it isn't *round the corner.** All counter-requests he rejects as absurd and *ridiculous.** His greatest argument is that he knows Egypt and we don't. He says we must definitely do what he wants, i.e., let him act whenever, wherever, and however he chooses.

He doesn't want to go to Cairo now, but wants to wait until the Commission returns to England. He wants to have Stephens give him a report, etc. However, I don't quite see what intention he has behind that, for his arguments don't give me the impression of being complete. Nor does he look me straight in the eye. In short, the impression is deplorable, without my knowing anything definite, however.

Under these circumstances I have decided to go to Cairo myself, hard though it will be for me.

At today's session of the A.C., in Greenberg's presence, I am having Marmorek and Kremenezky, both of whom he considers more favorably disposed toward him, present a motion calling on me to go; for the time being I don't want him to realize that I no longer have any confidence in him.

* In English in the original.

Meanwhile, things are already starting to pop in the Jewish papers. Dr. Joffe of Jaffa has committed indiscretions. The *Hayehudi* in London and the *Volksstimme* in Brno are running notices about the expedition.

We've got to hurry up.

March 18, Vienna

Letter to Rothschild:

*Strictly confidential.**

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This is to acknowledge receipt, with thanks, of your friendly letter of the 13th.

I am writing you only today because I had no clear results before.

I have satisfying reports from the expedition of experts which I sent out to explore the Sinai Peninsula. Three gentlemen of this Commission have already returned, while five others are still examining the southern mountain region in order to be able to furnish a complete report.

But even the results which are already at hand in the reports and memoranda show that the territory we have in mind is suitable for a great settlement. In addition, we have received a written preliminary assurance from the Egyptian government, granting the desired settlement to the Zionist Movement in principle.

This assurance has, of course, materialized with the cooperation of the English authorities, and its only condition is that the Commission we sent off come to the conclusion that the land can be settled.

As I have already mentioned, this conclusion has since been reached.

The Commission will return at the beginning of April.

Thus the eventuality to which our earlier conversations and letters referred seems to me to have come about.

* In English in the original.

I ask you, therefore, to get the I.C.A. to convene in Paris where you too are planning to be at Eastertime.

From you, Milord, I have no secrets. But as of the moment I don't want to tell the gentlemen of the I.C.A. what I am confiding to you. I shall tell you the reasons for my caution in person.

Therefore I ask you to advise the president of the I.C.A., M. Narcisse Leven, who has written you, roughly as follows, either in writing or orally, through the London member Mr. Lousada:

"I (Lord R.) request you to convene the administrative board of the I.C.A. at Paris on Easter Sunday, April 12. I shall also go there and make an important announcement to the gentlemen."

For this announcement I shall send you, Milord, all the necessary material and documents, clearly arranged, two days in advance, in case I am prevented from coming to Paris myself. Today I am leaving for Cairo to put things in order with Lord Cromer and the Egyptian government. I hope to be back in Vienna on April 8, and in Paris on April 11.

By complying with my request to inform M. Leven of the foregoing, and of nothing but that, you will render our great cause an unforgettable service.

If you are willing to do this, I beg you to telegraph me the following words at Shepheards Hotel, Cairo: *"All right, Meyer."**

With the kindest regards and sincere respect, I remain

Faithfully yours,
Herzl.

March 18, Vienna.

Greenberg has already left. He did not improve the impression that his behavior so far has made on all of us.

He claimed he had to stay in London now no matter what. Thereupon it was decided that I should go to Cairo.

All of a sudden Greenberg too was able to go to Cairo. But it was too late. He realized too late that we saw through his game.

* In English in the original.

Now he wants to follow me to Cairo—and he even telephoned from the station and asked for a fresh advance.

Which will then give him a thousand pounds for 3 trips.

* * *

I am leaving this evening, via Trieste.

Book Fifteen

Begun in Vienna
on March 18, 1903

March 18, Vienna.

Confirmation that he will do as I request will be: *all right, Meyer.**

March 18, Vienna

Telegram:**

Kessler, Suez,
Lakplant Cairo Chascado Shepheard Electrise altogether.

Benjamin.

March 22

On board the "Semiramis" on the Mediterranean Sea, about 12 hours from Alexandria.

At Brindisi I received a wire from Greenberg informing me that Lansdowne wishes to speak with me *earliest possible.**

Greenberg concludes from this that I ought to turn around at Brindisi and go to London instead of Cairo.

He evidently counted on my perhaps making a quick decision, perhaps too quick a decision, at Brindisi, where there was only an hour's lay-over, and trusted that Lansdowne's wish would be my command.

Under different circumstances I would have followed his advice at once. But since I have lost confidence in him, I quickly made my decision and wired him at London:**

Kindly inform Schneider (L.) I shall come immediately London after having seen Bauer (Cr.).

Please remain therefore London.

* In English in the original.
** Original text.

Benjamin.

I certainly don't want to have him in Cairo now, and if it can at all be avoided, I shall see to it that he doesn't go there by himself either.

As for his wire to Brindisi, it is again purposely vague and tricky. It is not made clear whether L. or he (Gr.) wants me to turn back immediately.

* * *

Tomorrow morning I plan to telegraph Humphreys from Alexandria that I am coming. Humphreys is to take care of my introduction to Cromer, Boyle, etc.

* * *

At Brindisi I also heard from Oskar Marmorek that my wire to Kessler at Suez had come back because they had been unable to deliver it.

Tomorrow morning, at Alexandria, I shall telegraph to Kessler and Goldsmid again:*

Just arrived am waiting Cairo Shepheards. Please come there at once.

Herzl.

* * *

I shall also try through Cook's to have an express courier sent out into the desert to meet them. If necessary I shall send Dr. Friedemann, who boarded the "Semiramis" at Brindisi, to meet Kessler with a small Cook caravan.

March 24, Cairo

Arrived yesterday noon.

From Alexandria I had wired Kessler and Goldsmid at Suez.

I had asked Humphreys by telegram to call on me.

The first thing I did in Cairo was to get Cook's manager to have an urgent search for the caravan started by his Suez agent.

* Original text.

In the afternoon Humphreys came, a young, inconspicuous-looking Englishman, blond, quiet, built like a tennis player, but with deep blue eyes.

I asked him to notify Lord Cromer and Boyle of my presence. (Greenberg couldn't have done any more than this for me either.)

In the evening I received a note from Boyle to the effect that Cromer wished to receive me tomorrow, Wednesday.

At almost the same time in the evening I received a message from Cook's saying that their Suez agent had reported the caravan was approaching—they had sent someone ahead to Suez to get their mail; there was also the following wire from Vienna:*

Ramipare	Have received the following
Hump	Kessler
Admunitum	will most likely arrive
Suez	— — —
Magiares	26th day of March.

* * *

In any case, I hope to have them here the day after tomorrow, at the latest.

* * *

Letter to Boyle:*

Dear Sir,

pray accept my best thanks for the message you were kind enough to send me.

I shall therefore have the honour to call on His Lordship tomorrow at 11 a.m.

Believe me, dear Sir, to be yours very obediently

Th. Herzl.

* * *

* Original text.

March 25, Cairo

Lord Cromer is the most disagreeable Englishman I have ever faced.

I entered his office at 11 o'clock. He came to meet me.

A tall old gentleman with a tendency toward obesity, a white moustache, and a high forehead.

The conversation was quickly underway. I gave a brief outline of our plan. When I mentioned that we wanted to build railroads, he interjected: "We'll talk about that later."

I: "Naturally we shall accommodate ourselves to the wishes of the British government in this."

I mentioned the report. We would need water, and from the Nile.

"I can't give you a definitive answer until my expert on this (the name was something like Gastyne) gets back, in about a month."

"We are asking," I said, "only surplus Nile water, what comes from the winter; the water that would otherwise flow into the sea, unused. We will build reservoirs for it."

In this connection I mentioned that by establishing public works projects we would employ about 20,000 people. From that I proceeded to the financial question and showed him the telegram from Rothschild which I received yesterday.

He scanned it with an imperious air and said:

"Very cautious. *He will discuss only.**"

After that I also showed him Rothschild's letter of February 13. I now believe that both were ill-advised. He must have thought R. was more deeply involved with us. His tone became cooler.

We also discussed the "rights." The immigrants must have none different from those of the Egyptians.

I said that I would prefer British protection for them. He said that would probably amount to the same thing.

He referred to Boutros' letter to Greenberg. We couldn't manage anything more than that. Within this framework, however, the Turkish government could have no objections.

* In English in the original.

Then I asked whether I should call on Boutros.

"Yes. I already told him this morning that you are here."

And the Turkish commissar?

"No, he has no say here. I don't recognize him. Don't have any contact with him at all. Now then, I will wait for the return of your Commission and then see Humphreys, too."

He terminated the audience regally. A bit too much *morgue* [arrogance], a touch of tropical madness, and unlimited vice-regalism.

I think he didn't like me.

He said: "When is Dr. Greenberg coming back?"

I: *"My Lord, I don't see him coming back."**

Incidentally, he had casually mentioned that he was willing to support the project.

However, not *in a hurry,** but *in a businesslike way.**

I left.

It may have been a mistake that I didn't speak French; I would have had an advantage over him.

* * * *

Then I drove to see Boutros.

An Egyptian Ministry in which the Egyptians can't give any orders.

Too many servants idling about in spacious waiting rooms.

I sent in my card and was immediately received by Boutros. An old, seedy-looking, obese man, a Copt.

At first we carried on a tourists' conversation and then got to the point.

"Where are you going to get the water from?" he too asked.

I briefly sketched our irrigation plans. Gold, too, would be an irrigation. He kept agreeing with me while we drank coffee *alla turca* [Turkish style], until the Austrian Consul was announced. At that point I took my leave.

I drove back to Cromer's house in order to call on Boyle, his secretary.

* In English in the original.

Boyle was not in, i.e., he refused to see me.

A bad sign.

So that I have a miserable impression of this forenoon.

What mistakes I have made I presumably won't find out until later.

* * *

When I got home, I found Kessler-Goldsmid's wire from Suez waiting for me. They will be here tomorrow.

March 26

The Right Honourable
the Earl of Cromer, G.C.B. etc. etc.*

My Lord,

I beg to submit to your Lordship the enclosed telegram which I received yesterday.

The commission will arrive this afternoon at five.

I have the honour to remain

Your Lordship's
most humble and obedient servant
Th. Herzl.

March 26, Cairo

I consider yesterday *franchement* [frankly] bad.

A large part of the blame for the failure goes to my weariness and exhaustion. I was not in full possession of my faculties.

An even greater mistake was my failure to call on Cromer's secretary, Boyle, on Tuesday. From him I could have learned the necessary things about Cromer's character and disposition, and would have been prepared to treat him accordingly.

* Original text.

This way I became acquainted with the man only while I was losing the game. Or let us say: the first round.

* * *

Yesterday afternoon I went to a lecture about the canalization of Chaldea by Sir William Willcocks, a locally celebrated authority in matters of irrigation. Chaldea is the land which the Sultan offered to me last year.

Apart from a few details, the lecture was dreadfully boring. What interested me most was the striking number of intelligent-looking young Egyptians who packed the hall.

They are the coming masters. It is a wonder that the English don't see this. They think they are going to deal with *fellahin* forever.

Today their 18,000 troops suffice for the big country. But how much longer?

It is the same English boldness and cold-bloodedness which makes them give the notes of the Bank of England only weak metal backing.

This boldness makes them magnificent *merchant adventurers;** but it also always makes them lose their colonies later.

What the English are doing is splendid. They are cleaning up the Orient, letting light and air into the filthy corners, breaking old tyrannies, and destroying abuses. But along with freedom and progress they are also teaching the *fellahin* how to revolt.

I believe that the English example in the colonies will either destroy England's colonial empire—or lay the foundation for England's world dominion.

One of the most interesting alternatives of our time.

It makes one feel like coming back in fifty years to see how it has turned out.

March 27, Cairo

Yesterday spent another day in a most unnerving state of waiting.

* In English in the original.

The commission didn't arrive until 11 o'clock at night, in good spirits and brown as berries.

Then, in my drawing room and in the presence of the others, Goldsmid spent till 12:30 reading to me the report as I had roughly foreseen it.

I only wish that the first part of this sentence were omitted: "Under the present circumstances, cannot be settled—but if water is made available, it can be settled."

Also, the reason why we want to have the land up to the 29th parallel should not be mentioned.

* * *

Today I am sending Goldsmid to see Boyle and am having the report *typewritten.**

March 28, Cairo

Yesterday morning the commission met at my hotel. I began listening to the oral reports and had the preliminary work plans sketched for me.

Stephens is the pearl of the expedition. It is true that he has a stutter, but his explanations are wonderfully clear and based on a great knowledge of the subject.

I sent Goldsmid to see Boyle; however, he came back two hours later and reported he had spent the entire time with Cromer, who had sent for him immediately.

Cromer had spoken with him in somewhat the same vein he had with me—but obviously for much longer.

This shows that Cromer wishes to deal with Englishmen. So I decided to entrust the continuance of the negotiations to Goldsmid and Kessler, since I don't want to have Greenberg operate here by himself any longer.

His advice (Brindisi wire) not to submit the report to Cromer but to Lansdowne bears the stamp of insincerity anyway. They all tell me—Kessler as well as Goldsmid and others—that it would

* In English in the original.

run quite counter to English custom not to get the report into Cromer's hands first.

Therefore there are only two explanations for Greenberg's advice: either he wants to drag things out and gain time, or he wants to create hostility between Cromer and myself.

Cromer told Goldsmid he must have one of us here—*on the spot**—so he could send for him at any time.

This proves how right I was to instruct Greenberg to stay here until the expedition returned.

The reasons for his departure are getting more and more mysterious.

Levontin has sent word that Greenberg drew the £100 for traveling expenses although he didn't take the trip. We'll see if he returns it. But I wouldn't mind if he kept it.

March 27

I have decided to send the commission's report, which Goldsmid dictated to a *typewriter,*** to Cromer with the following letter:***

My Lord,

I have the honour to submit for your consideration the report of the commission that has just returned from the Sinai Peninsula.

I need hardly remark that should Your Lordship wish to see the members of the Commission, they will be happy to wait on you at any time you may be pleased to appoint.

I purpose leaving in the course of the week for London with the object of furnishing a copy of the above report to Lord Lansdowne, should you have no objection, and will be happy to wait on your Lordship before leaving whenever it suits your convenience.

I am, My Lord,

your most humble and obedient servant
Th. H.

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: Herzl obviously confused the English term for the machine with the designation of its operator.

*** Original text.

Shepheard's Hotel.

* * *

Toward evening I made a call with Stephens which I believe was the best one to date: on Sir Hanbury Browne, the Under-Secretary for Public Works.

Sir Hanbury, who is retiring now, is spending these last days of his stay in Cairo on a Nile yacht.

We visited him on this *houseboat.**

A well-mannered, intelligent, quiet Englishman of some fifty years.

Stephens explained things to him, and I listened intently. I didn't understand much of the technical details, of course, but I did learn enough to join in the conversation, and not foolishly.

Sir Hanbury had already been consulted by Lord Cromer, since the chief expert, Sir William Garstin, is in Mombassa right now.

But Cromer had mentioned to Sir Hanbury an enormously larger territory—50,000 square kilometers—while only 250 are involved. For that, Sir Hanbury had declared, they could supply no water.

According to Stephens' explanation it turned out that only about two to three million cubic meters of water per day would be required, and those could be spared without any trouble, said Sir Hanbury.

This is a point won, and I will wave it under Cromer's nose.

But for me, a former poet, an even more affecting thing was the atmosphere on this *houseboat** on the Nile, with the sun setting behind palms in the fragrant distance.

And two English *engineers** were having an *up-to-date** discussion in technical jargon of the capacity of the legendary stream which was to be conducted to the parched land of the homecoming Jews.

* In English in the original.

Whenever I didn't understand any of their figures and calculations for a while, I looked out the cabin window at the brown river, which flows along as it did in the days of Moses, our teacher.

March 28

At 9:30 a *telephone message** came from Lord Cromer: I was to come out there at once. Goldsmid had received the same message.

I took Stephens along too.

Cromer received us briskly, but not unamiably. He tried to address himself mainly to Goldsmid. But I had taken the first seat next to his desk which was my due.

The conversation was brief and to the point.

Cromer stated that we should now demand the concession from the Egyptian government.

(I had instructed Greenberg to hire a lawyer, but he had neglected to do so. The work we are just starting ought to have been ready by now.)

I asked whether we should use McIlwraithe, the *legal adviser** of the Khedive, for this purpose.

No, a lawyer.

I asked His Lordship to recommend one to us.

He recommended Carton de Wiart.

Stephens corrected Cromer's erroneous assumptions about the size of the Pelusiac Plain and the amount of water necessary.

Cromer also remarked that granting the concession would take several months. However, the matter would be settled here and not in London. So he was miffed. Of course, I could send the report to London, if I wanted to.

He dismissed us.

Goldsmid found Cromer's statements *very satisfactory.**

* * *

* In English in the original.

Then I signed my name in the Khedive's guest book.

Carton de Wiart is an Anglicized Belgian of 50. I briefly told him what it was about and asked him to see me at my hotel in the afternoon, when I would give him instructions.

March 29, Cairo

Attorney Carton de Wiart was here. I gave him instructions. We will give up the word "Charter," but not the thing itself.

I think he understood.

I quoted to him what Talleyrand said when Napoleon was conferring with him and Sieyès about a Constitution.

"*Une constitution doit être courte et* [A Constitution must be brief and] . . ." said Sieyès.

"*Et obscure* [and obscure]," Talleyrand completed the sentence.

* * *

He plans to have the draft of the patent of concession ready on Monday.

* * *

I had asked Sir William Willcocks, the Tigris Canal man, to have lunch with me.

Il faisait le beau [He put on airs], i.e., he posed as the surmounter of all obstacles.

However, I want to keep him in my game.

* * *

In the evening, a drive to the pyramids. Met Lord Cromer, the master. I regretted that I didn't have an elegant carriage, but only a shabby cab.

But perhaps he feels that I look more *businesslike** that way.

The misery of the *fellahin* by the road is indescribable.

I resolve to think of the *fellahin* too, once I have the power.

* * *

I will have to be patient.

* In English in the original.

March 30, Cairo

Yesterday's big thing was my conversation with the "*legal adviser,*"* *de facto* [for all practical purposes] Minister of Justice, Malcolm McIlwraithe.

He is a splendid fellow. A jolly Englishman, shrewd but honest, adaptable but firm. With him it was a meeting of minds quick as a flash. He is a hussar of laws.

At first he wouldn't admit me. It seems he didn't know my name, or he probably took me for only a bit player, which I evidently had stalwart Greenberg to thank for.

I wrote Greenberg's name on my card which the secretary had brought back, whereupon he asked me to come back in half an hour.

I came, and five minutes later we understood each other.

McIlwraithe has a comical and characteristic feature in his often laughing face: he has cut his reddish moustache too short parallel to his upper lip. His purpose is clear: he doesn't want to bathe his moustache in his soup.

This is how purposeful everything he does, writes, and says is.

He laughs a lot, as if he were amused by all rogues and as if he regarded all people as blackguards or blockheads.

He talked *de omni re scibili* [about everything under the sun]. He gave me his report about the judicial year 1902. I read it this morning; it is absolutely first-rate.

I amused him with stories about Yildiz Kiosk. He enlightened me about Egypt's administrative situation, to the extent that I didn't already know it.

I think he was somewhat impressed when I told him that Chamberlain had helped me and that Lord Rothschild would handle the financing.

I mentioned how good our project would be for England.

"And where are the advantages for Egypt?" he asked like *pince sans rire* [a dead-pan joker].

* In English in the original.

"*The advantages for Egypt are of an economic character,*"* I said with composure. "*At least the money which we bring in will be there.*"*

"*Yes, if it does not sink into the ground,*"* he joked.

Bref, la cordialité la plus franche ne cessait de régner [In short, the frankest cordiality prevailed throughout].

But I think he laughs most at the fez which he wears Khedival-Egyptian style.

In conclusion we arranged to meet with Carton Wiart tomorrow, Tuesday, when we plan to place the draft of a concession before him.

* * *

In the afternoon I saw Attorney Carton, who informed me that Lord Cromer had sent for him the previous evening and discussed our project with him for an hour and a half.

So His Lordship is giving our matter more expeditious treatment than he wants to let on.

March 31, Cairo

Yesterday was a day of *piétinement sur place* [marking time].

Carton de Wiart seems to be the only lawyer in Cairo, for everything that happens is in his hands.

That is why he hasn't been able to draw up the patent of concession as yet.

But he has spoken with Mr. Roccassera, the Egyptian government's attorney. The latter recommended that he keep the concession brief (*ce qui me va parfaitement* [which suits me perfectly]); also, it should be only a *lease*** and not a *freehold.**

I am demanding a 99-year lease and the fixing of the tribute according to the average of the last 20 years.

* In English in the original.

** In English in the original. Herzl here translates "lease" into German in parenthesis: *also Pacht.*

Today I will work out the patent with Carton myself.

* * *

Col. Goldsmid asks, via Kessler, for another £150 "to send to my wife" as well as a letter of credit for *expenses,** if he is to stay here.

A bit expensive.

* * *

Questions de préséance [Questions of protocol] are more important than one would believe. On the first day after the return of the expedition Dr. Friedemann, who is usually well-behaved, committed the mistake of taking the seat at the head of the table, which is my due.

As a subtle punishment, at the next meal I invited Goldsmid "to take the chair."

But Goldsmid is treating this as a permanent institution, now considers himself the head man, and—

—and demands too much for staying here.

* * *

If I succeeded in getting the concession this week, I would leave the Nile water question *in suspense** and leave Goldsmid here to deal with it.

Then he'll get it from them.

April 1, Cairo

Yesterday morning I first went to see Mr. Carton de Wiart. He held his head, saying that he had had to put ice packs on it all night. A weak head. I think it was our contract, which he couldn't cope with, that caused him to rack his brains so. I helped him.

He had made a few measly starts on a draft for a concession—*et*

* In English in the original.

ça nous coûtera les yeux de la tête [and that will cost us our shirts].

However, he does have the inestimable advantage of routine. The sentence "*la Compagnie pourra jouir . . . comme d'une chose lui appartenant* [the Company will be able to enjoy . . . like a thing belonging to it]" is worth its weight in gold.

I attached the greatest importance to taking over the wording of Boutros' letter to Greenberg, because that is already *terrain acquis* [ground won] and will save us complications. In Paragraph 14 the Nile water question was reserved for a later agreement—for which I will leave Col. Goldsmid here.

Carton breathed a sigh of relief when I had completed the contract for him.

At 11:30 we had our appointment with McIlwraithe. The latter was already waiting for me and Goldsmid. He had a giant Englishman with him who was also wearing a tarboosh. The giant, a Mr. Buriant or something like that (name incomprehensible) was introduced to us as an important man. Probably a sort of section head.

Until Carton's arrival, Goldsmid's military humor footed the bill of a dragging conversation. Goldsmid is of the greatest usefulness for filling pauses.

Carton came, but didn't have the documents on him. They were telephoned for. Another 20 minutes dragged by in which all sorts of things were discussed: jurisprudence, travels, and the theater.

McIlwraithe spoke about Brieux' *Robe Rouge* and about a court-room drama in which the Italian Novelli is appearing here now.

Carton's papers finally arrived.

Carton read our draft. McIlwraithe grinned when he heard the Charter tinkling out of the concession.

The giant with the tarboosh, however, clamped down:

"That's a Charter. The sovereign rights are in it."

Which I disputed. I referred to Paragraphs 4, 5, and 10, which were taken over verbatim from Boutros' letter.

The tarboosh giant further took exception to the word *territoire* in Art. 6. That meant Charter.

I said that in French the word *territoire* had not only the international-law sense, but also meant a *suite de terrains.*

We are not asking for *terrains;* the soil is too bad for that. We can accomplish something only if we have a continuous area.

The giant also wanted to criticize the expedition commission.

But when he heard that the English colonel who was present had participated in it, he became milder. For such purposes Goldsmid is really valuable.

At parting I asked McIlwraithe to expedite matters, because I had a whole general staff of engineers to assemble, as well as any number of other tasks.

McIlwraithe amiably promised to do all he could. But a number of formalities were required. First of all, the government would make me a counter-proposal.

However, he believed that arrangements would be completed before I landed at Brindisi.

Would Goldsmid have *full powers** to conclude an agreement?

*Yes!**

* * *

In the afternoon I saw *Maître* [Attorney] Carton de Wiart.

Carton said the tarbooshed giant didn't have much influence. Incidentally, he (Carton) had gone back there again about something else and had overheard McIlwraithe telling the giant he shouldn't make any trouble.

Lord Cromer too is well disposed toward our cause, in Carton's opinion (which I don't share). Carton didn't remember Cromer ever showing so much interest in any cause in 20 years as he was showing in ours.

I asked Carton to tell Lord C. (since he was going to see him that evening) that we have eliminated the Nile water question, in accordance with his wish, so we can get the concession right away.

* * *

* In English in the original.

Yesterday this wire came from Greenberg:*

Perdrigon	What progress have you made
Chisel	Egypt. Govmt.
Najeranas	It is absolutely necessary I must know
Kalkleber	Negotiations still pending
Nardus Schneider	Lansdowne.

* * *

I didn't give him any answer.

If Lansdowne wants to know anything, he can learn it more quickly through Cromer.

And my confidence in Greenberg is badly shaken.

Yesterday morning I wired him that I will leave on the 4th. That is all he needs to know.

April 2, Cairo

Yesterday, from my point of view, an idle day, and I don't know whether it was good or bad for us.

My proposal for a concession was evidently examined and weighed.

What will the Egyptian government's counter-proposal be like?

I now believe that it was a mistake to give Greenberg's *draft* ** to McIlwraithe. For there is too much in it, while my draft contains fewer details and thus looks more harmless.

Bref—attendre [In short—wait].

I didn't hear a thing from the overworked Carton de Wiart yesterday.

* * *

Baron Oppenheim, the German Legation Councillor, has twice left his card at my hotel and invited me to lunch today, although I have never met him.

* Original text.

** In English in the original.

On the other hand, the Austrian Consul, Baron Braun, hasn't even replied to my card which I had sent in to him.

Counterpart to Okolicsányi at The Hague.

As far as the diplomats of my fatherland are concerned, I don't exist. They treat me as though I were air, these idiots of whose existence not a soul will any longer have an idea when my name will still shine through the ages like a star.

April 2

The *luncheon** at Baron Oppenheim's (de Cologne) has been explained in a most funny way *indeed.**

A party of German professors and diplomats gathered in O.'s house, which is very tasteful in the Oriental manner. The host came waltzing in late: of below-average height, a scar on his cheek, officer's moustache, dashing, a trim waistline—a good, but somewhat too labored copy of a Prussian** *Junker* [member of landed gentry].

All the discomfort of an alien, stiff society.

But when he asked me about my scholarly field, I felt even more uncomfortable.

"None at all," I said, for I guessed that he hadn't wanted to invite me in the first place.

The Mosses, a quaint mixture of *Mühlendammers**** and *étrangers de distinction* [distinguished foreigners], were also there and thought things "elegant."

Only after lunch was I able to pull the host aside and ask him whether there wasn't some misunderstanding.

"You were kind enough to leave your card with me."

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: Here and a bit further on Herzl writes *preu'sche* instead of *preussische,* to mimic the clipped speech and stiff bearing of these would-be Prussians.

*** Translator's Note: Jews engaged in business on the Mühlendamm in Berlin.

"No, dear Baron, you did so first; you came to my place twice."

"Once."

In short, it turned out that the first card had been left by mistake.

To be sure, he had known Gottheil in New York (that is what I had surmised, remembering one of G.'s letters); but he wouldn't hear of the Zionist movement, even asked me not to get him involved with it in any way. *(Plus O. de Cologne que jamais* [More O. de Cologne than ever]).*

Whereupon I told him, by way of reply to this Jewish convert fear of his, about the Kaiser and the Grand Duke.

After that he claimed to be against Zionism from political experience. I felt sorry for him. This O. de Cologne scion is the best proof of what a life-long strain assimilationism involves.

A life-long comedy.

He acts the Prussian *Junker;* but I believe he would be happiest if he could say *sh'ma yisroel* [Hear, o Israel] when, in fencing, he is hit by a thrust in quarte.

And on top of it, Mr. and Mrs. Mosse, advertising agency from Berlin, who find him "elegant." What an effort these Jews make to play comic roles.

April 3, Cairo

Yesterday, after sunset, I went with Goldsmid to see McIlwraithe. He received us in a tennis outfit. That's how he had just returned from the *lawn*** at Chesireh.

This time he made a doubtful face at our request for a concession. Mr. Bruniant, the giant with the tarboosh, seems to have brought him round in the meantime.

At any rate, he said that an immediate counter-proposal was out of the question. The matter would have to be put before the Cabinet, etc. The procurement of judicial personnel would cause

* Translator's Note: A pun on *eau de Cologne.*

** In English in the original.

excessive difficulties, for the language of the negotiations would have to be Arabic.

I referred to the example of Austria where there are also all sorts of languages in ordinary use. Interpreters would have to be resorted to. This was not exactly convenient, to be sure, but after all, the language question was a disease with which a state could live hundreds of years.

To this he agreed, with a grin.

And what about taxation?

We shall levy no taxes, and the *net profit** is to come from the yields of the economy. But we cannot engage in the venture if the land and the people are free from taxes. The state will have only the Company and its books before it; *in dubiis* [in case of doubt], the Committee of Three.

The size of the territory requested by us was the chief misgiving. They are willing to give us plots all right, but no land.

"But as for us," I said, "we can use it only as contiguous territory. We are not real-estate speculators, such as exist here in Egypt. As a land speculation the undertaking we have in mind wouldn't be good enough. The land is worthless. We have to make something out of it first."

"And the duration of the contract? In 99 years the disposition of the land is to be withdrawn from our government. And what if you don't take enough pains to make the thing good?"

"It could be stipulated," I said, "that the concession will lapse if we don't make productive *investments** in the amount of two million pounds within twenty years."

"Twenty years!"

"All right, let us say ten years. Actually, we shall complete the *investments** of two million pounds very quickly. I would simply like to be assured of a liberal space of time."

And I kept coming back to the question of legal security. If it were certain that the English occupation would last, we wouldn't need so many precautionary measures. But we couldn't take it on

* In English in the original.

our conscience to see the settlers exposed to Oriental caprice at some later period.

He understood that well enough.

As we were leaving, he started speaking German, and fluently, too.

"And yet you looked on while I was struggling with English?" I reproached him.

"No, it was pretty good," he jested, "your pronunciation is remarkably good."

"But the legal niceties were lost," I lamented.

But he said he had understood me.

However, this amiability shall not blind me to the fact that matters now stand considerably worse.

Today I am sending Goldsmid to see McIlwraithe and requesting Greenberg's draft of a charter back, since it is only designed to confuse the issues, as well as being outdated.

* * *

In the evening I sent Lord Cromer a letter which I had asked Goldsmid to draw up and in which Goldsmid is designated as *acting as my representative.** This draft from his hand replaces my promise that he will stay here only as my representative. Otherwise I would have a Greenberg No. 2.

My Lord,**

I have the honour to inform you that it is my intention to leave Egypt by the Austrian Lloyd steamer on Saturday next, and to state that should your Lordship wish to see me before my departure, on any matter connected with the concession on the railway, I shall be happy to wait on you at any time you may appoint to-morrow, Friday.

Colonel Goldsmid is remaining in Cairo and will have the necessary power given him to act as my representative.

* In English in the original.

** Original text.

Thanking Your Lordship for the trouble you have taken in the affair of the Concession,

I have the honour to subscribe myself

your obedient humble servant.

Drawn up by Goldsmid personally. April 2, 1903

April 3, Cairo

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This will acknowledge receipt, with thanks, of your friendly wire.

I have discussed everything necessary here with Lord Cromer and the Egyptian government and am leaving for Europe tomorrow. I shall stay in Vienna until Easter Monday and then go to London where I have some things to arrange with the government.

On the 18th I shall be in Paris.

Please telegraph me at Vienna (Address: Vienna-Währing, Haizingergasse 29) the date of your departure from London. Perhaps I can still see you in London.

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Herzl.

April 7, on the Adriatic Sea

Aboard the "Bohemia."

I have given Goldsmid instructions to get from Cromer, if at all possible, the concession without Nile water, for the time being, but to leave the water question, since Cromer won't do it any other way, until Sir William Garstyn's return (May).

As soon as he has the concession, he is to see the Lesseps Company at Ismailia and secure the *wharf wall,** the railway station at Port

* In English in the original.

Said, and one fresh-water siphon (from Port Said), while for the moment the Ismailia siphon should not be mentioned to the Suez people.

* * *

This morning, at Brindisi, I received a wire from Goldsmid:*

"Have had an interview with Cromer, no news, matters in consideration."

Cromer didn't want to receive me before my departure and wrote a cool letter of refusal, saying that *many modifications*** would still have to be made in our draft before it could be accepted.

* * *

I am now pinning my hopes on Chamberlain, whom I plan to see next week. He is more detached from the matter, therefore has a higher view of it—and does not know the value of the big tract of land I am requesting.

April 15, Vienna

Before my departure for Paris where Rothschild is expecting me.

Telegram to Goldsmid, Cairo:*

Talgfett Telegraph what you have done

Paris Hotel Chatham.

Benjamin.

April 17, Paris

Yesterday the following from Goldsmid in Cairo:*

* Original text.

** In English in the original.

Peregrino	Making as much progress as can fairly be expected
parchment	McIlwraithe
Aftertopas	will be away for a short time
Paper	Goldsmid.

April 17, Paris

Yesterday, right after my arrival, had the showdown with Greenberg in the presence of Nordau, Cowen, and Wolffsohn.

I reproached him moderately, confining myself to reprimanding him for failure to follow my instructions.

At 6 o'clock in the evening I was with Lord Rothschild at 2 rue St. Florentin, in the truly princely house of Alphonse, the Rothschild reigning in France.

Pleasant eighteenth century in the drawing room.

Lord Rothschild had me report to him on the present situation.

His intellectual mediocrity is distressing; but he is a man who is truly good and devoted to me.

The conclusion of his wisdom (and helpfulness) was: I should prepare a memorandum which would be studied by the I.C.A.

The I.C.A. was in trouble right now because of the *bill** by which it hoped to straighten out its conflicting by-laws.

He also mentioned Zangwill's attacks on the I.C.A., everything vague, without conclusion.

The I.C.A. people Leven and Zadoc had been to see him; he had told them that he was going to see me today. He further told them that through me they had the opportunity of doing something great.

He recommended that I tell the I.C.A. only about El Arish and the most immediate settlement of 5, 10, or 15,000 families. Any further and bigger things they would consider a dream.

Finally, I told him to convene them for a conference with me tomorrow.

* In English in the original.

He asked me to call on him in London next week, if we don't see each other before that.

Above all I should try to get my concession.

And other advice of that sort.

I said: "I want to know right now what I am at. Whether you will make the subscription for me or not. If need be I shall make it myself. If I was able to obtain the country (I hadn't quite yet), I shall certainly be able to raise the money."

He seemed convinced of it.

"Besides," I said, "that is chicken-feed: 5 million pounds for such a big undertaking."

He promised me that once I had got that far he would write to Jacob Schiff in New York and do everything possible.

I yelled at him so loudly that when I left an hour and a quarter later the three servants in the hall were trembling when they handed me my coat and umbrella.

* * *

On the slip which is appended here I sketched the plan of action for him.

He advised me not to tell the I.C.A. about Pelusium for the time being. For that I would get the money in Manchester afterwards.

April 17, Paris

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Don't you think that a meeting with Baron Alphonse would be more important than a conference with the I.C.A. people?

I would like to clarify two things:

1) That I don't want a financial contribution to the cause from the Paris House of Rothschild either, but only moral support.

2) That I don't presume upon the I.C.A. to give money for anything *à fonds perdu* [outright], but only want it to participate in productive investments for a great Jewish colony for which I have created the necessary political basis.

If you think it is a good idea to bring me together with Baron Alphonse, I shall be at your disposal and his at any time up to and including Monday. I shall probably not leave for London until Tuesday.

Respectfully yours,
Herzl.

April 18, Paris

Yesterday the reply from Lord Rothschild, saying he thought it better if I conferred only with the I.C.A. now.

In the evening a letter from Zadoc Kahn: Baron Alphonse had asked him to discuss the matter with me. I should call on him.

April 19, Paris

Result of yesterday's rather lengthy conversation with Zadoc Kahn.

He will arrange for me to meet with the I.C.A. members with whom I am not yet acquainted.

The I.C.A. will examine my proposals, since for the first time they contain something practical.

April 20, Paris

Went to see my "irreducible" opponent Salomon Reinach yesterday.

"*Puisque nous nous combattons, il faut bien que nous nous connaissions* [Since we are fighting each other, we should really know each other]," I said; and in this tone of *badinage* [banter] I continued the *causerie* [chat] which made him more and more favorably disposed toward me. In the end he wanted to keep me there for dinner, and when I was unable to stay because of Alex, he joined Alex and me at the restaurant. If Alex had not irritated

him again, I think I would have put a ring through his nose and dragged him to the *Université populaire* [University Extension], where Nordau was giving a lecture.

April 20, Paris

To Col. Goldsmid, Cairo:*

My dear Col. Goldsmid,

many thanks for your very interesting log-book and kind letters.

In reply to your remark page 6 (April 10). "It is a matter for consideration" etc.:

You can, if such alteration is demanded by the Government have the concession made out "to Dr. Th. Herzl. *Président du conseil de surveillance du* [Chairman of the Council of the] *Jewish Colonial Trust Ld. London.*"

And kindly observe: *conseil de surveillance,* not *conseil d'administration* [Board of Directors]. I am not a financial man.

I should prefer it to be given to Dr. H., *President du Comite d'action du mouvement sionniste* [Chairman of the Actions Committee of the Zionist Movement].

Only as they probably would not like to raise on this occasion certain political questions relative to the boundary line, it is preferable to put there only my name.

I hope to go soon to London and to see Mrs. Goldsmid.

With kindest regards, my dear Colonel, I am yours sincerely

Herzl.

April 23, London

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Please find enclosed the report of the hydraulic engineer. The reports of the other engineers and agricultural experts deal with

* Original text.

other aspects of the problem. Stephens' report will also give you an idea, although it treats only of the water questions and goes into greater detail on Pelusium than on El Arish.

This report isn't known to anybody yet. I am entrusting it to you alone and request that you return it tomorrow.

Faithfully yours,
Herzl.

April 23, London

When I arrived Wolffsohn told me he had found out that Greenberg had taken about £1,000 from the Colonial Trust in uncovered checks.

This explains everything. If the concession had been in his name, everything would have to be made good.

The wrong-doing of this man is counterbalanced only by his splendid achievements.

I shall act as if I didn't know anything.

When the project is a success, he will be paid off and removed.

* * *

Was at Rothschild's yesterday.

He reported that he had written to Zadoc Kahn: if the *bill** needed by the I.C.A. is to be passed by the House of Lords, Zadoc should write Lord Morley that the I.C.A. is *hand in glove** with Dr. Herzl.

Furthermore: Alphonse R. had vigorously declined to collaborate with us, because this was a political matter (Alphonse had guessed that)!

Edmond R., on the other hand, was delighted with the plan.

He (Lord R.) had also written to Jacob Schiff in New York to give us a helping hand.

* In English in the original.

April 23

To Goldsmid in Cairo:*

Naseberry
Taladra
Juedische
London
Benjamin.

* * *

To Joffe at Jaffa:**

How many hectares and money needed per family El-Arish valley? Consult Soskin by wire. Telegraph reply Juedische London.

Benjamin.

* * *

I need these data for the I.C.A.

I also asked Stephens for project figures for El-Arish yesterday.

April 23, London

Answer from Cairo:*

Parchment	McIlwraithe
ragwool	will not be ready until
welfisches	next week
Dazzling	It will not be decided
Afanismo	until—arrives
bloater	Sir W. Garstin
welfisches	next week.
Pater	

* Original text.

** In French in the original.

April 24, London

With Chamberlain yesterday noon.

He received me amiably, like an old acquaintance. He struck me as having grown a great deal older and more care-worn, though still mentally alert.

"Since we last met, I have seen quite a bit of the world," he began. And in a moment we had got down to cases.

"I spoke with Lord Cromer about your project when I was in Egypt. What have you done?"

I told him, and referred to the Commission's report which I had sent him the day before and which was in front of him.

"That is not a favorable report," he said.

"Well," I said, "it is a very poor country; but we will make something out of it."

"I have seen a land for you on my travels," said the great Chamberlain, "and that's Uganda. It's hot on the coast, but farther inland the climate becomes excellent, even for Europeans. You can raise sugar and cotton there. And I thought to myself, that would be a land for Dr. Herzl. But of course he wants to go only to Palestine or its vicinity."

"Yes, I have to," I replied. "Our base must be in or near Palestine. Later on we could also settle in Uganda, for we have masses of people ready to emigrate. But we have to build on a national foundation, and this is why we must have the political attraction offered by El-Arish. But they don't understand that in Egypt. It is true that I wasn't able to make myself as plain there as I was here.

"There I was obliged to ask for a totally inadequate concession—in view of the political situation—and it only looks like a financial concession. As a land speculation it would be a bad deal. No one would give money for such a country. No one but ourselves—because we have underlying political motives. It should be clearly understood that we shall not place ourselves under Egyptian rule, but under British rule."

He: "I feel that things are likely to remain as they are. *We shall*

*not leave Egypt.** Originally that was our intention. I am able to tell you this, for I was in the government. We planned to pull out of Egypt again in the eighties. But we have had to invest so much money and now have so many interests there that we can no longer get out. Thus you and your settlement will share the fortunes of that British possession. Should a different solution ever turn up, and if your colony is strong enough, I am sure you will assert yourself appropriately."

We spoke about this and that.

"In Asia Minor," Chamberlain said, "we have fewer and fewer interests. Some day there will be a showdown over that region between France, Germany, and Russia—whereas we are increasingly drawn to more distant points. I am wondering, in such a case, what would be the fate of your Jewish colony in Palestine, supposing you have succeeded in establishing it in the meantime?"

I said: "I believe that then our chances would be even better. For we shall be used as a small *buffer-state.* We shall get it not from the goodwill, but from the jealousy of the powers!** And once we are at El-Arish under the *Union Jack,** then Palestine too will fall into the *British sphere of influence."**

That seemed to make quite a bit of sense to him.

I spoke next about raising the money (through the I.C.A. and Rothschild). True, with 5 million pounds we couldn't go very far in that desert. The country would have to be made attractive, and then he, Joe Ch., would get credit for providing England with another colony.

His reaction to this, too, was not unfriendly. He said we would have to have Rothschild with us in any event, for the English government counted on him.

"We have him," I said. "Of course, I could also do it without him. The main thing is that I finally get the concession, otherwise I cannot go ahead. *Man's life is short.**

* In English in the original.

We also discussed the Jewish immigration. He said that the opposition to *aliens** was merely the effect of *competition.** The same thing could be observed in other parts of the Empire against other ethnic groups subject to England, e.g. in South Africa. I think he mentioned Indians who were being resisted in South Africa. Similarly, the government in England might suddenly be faced with the necessity of passing an *Alien Bill** against the Jews, because *popular pression*** might be brought to bear on the government.

*"If you allow me to say so, Mr. Chamberlain, I should prefer for England's glory that you do not make such a Bill. Drain them elsewhere, but don't make an Alien Bill."**

In conclusion he promised me that he would speak with Lansdowne, so that pressure might be brought to bear on Cromer to expedite matters.

He accompanied me as far as the door, and helped me into my overcoat.

* * *

In the afternoon I went to see Lansdowne. Good reception, futile conversation.

I presented (in English) everything I had in mind, left the report and the draft of the Commission with him for study, and also spoke about the I.C.A. *bill.**

At this point a remarkable thing happened: he asked me to give him a memorandum about the I.C.A. *bill** which he said he would turn over to his friend Lord Morley (on whom the *bill** depends).

Cowen, Greenberg, and Zangwill danced with joy when I brought them the news that I was commissioned to hand in an authoritative memorandum about the *bill** of the I.C.A.

Zangwill and Greenberg are going to draw it up.

* In English in the original.

** Translator's Note: In English in the original. Herzl obviously meant "pressure."

April 25, London

Rothschild thought the memorandum by Zangwill and Greenberg excellent. But he said I shouldn't tell the I.C.A. people about it.

April 25, before my departure

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This is roughly how I imagine the letter to Mr. Hallgarten of Frankfurt (Charles Hallgarten, I think) which I asked you to write yesterday:

You have heard about his philanthropic and pro-Jewish activities. Therefore bespeak his warmest support in the I.C.A. of my project with which he will become acquainted. My project, to be sure, does not require a donation, but a sensible, productive capital investment which will not be lost. The letter should be addressed—today, if possible—to Grand Rabbi Zadoc Kahn, 17 r. St. Georges.

In view of the respect which everybody has for you this letter will doubtless produce an effect.

I will let you know the results.

My address in Paris will be Hotel Chatham, r. Daunou.

Respectfully yours,
Herzl.

April 27, Paris

Yesterday morning I spoke with Philippson of Brussels, and in the evening, until midnight at Reinach's, with Claude Montefiore, Alfred Cohen, and Lousada. *Iterum atque iterum* [Again and again] the same arguments, refuted in the same way.

They seem amenable to Pelusium, but apparently they don't want to contribute three million pounds towards a total of five, but only one towards two.

April 27

Dear Lord Rothschild:

I have spoken with five of the I.C.A. people and let them read Stephens' report.

Their reaction was favorable, but they are making reservations. They don't want to give three million pounds, but, as I gathered from a remark made by Philippson (Brussels), only one million. Also, they want to confine themselves to Pelusium, because Stephens mentions, among other things, that a similar piece of land near Abukir yielded about 16 per cent net profit after a few years.

Financially speaking, Pelusium is the raisin in the cake, while El Arish is much more valuable to me politically. I need colonization in El Arish because it can be started at once, because I shall be alleviating a piece of misery, and because I can inspire the masses with it. Then, too, it is the beginning of a diversion by means of which we may forestall the *Alien Bill.** Now as before I consider this *Alien Bill** as one of the greatest moral losses that we are threatened with.

Now I ask you, Lord Rothschild: shall I agree to I.C.A. participation with a smaller amount and restricted [illegible]usium [illegible] that we would then have to raise approxima[illegible] million pounds by public subscription?

Your immediate reply will still reach me her[illegible] Vienna on Wednesday evening.

In any case, the treatment of the I.C.A. *Bill** [illegible] Lords is important. This bill is in your han[illegible]

* In English in the original.

House of Lords that could decide such a question differently from what Lord Rothschild proposes to it.

If you will just say a few words on this *bill*,* in the spirit of the memorandum which I transmitted, after you approved of it, to Lord Lansdowne for Lord Morley, then matters will be in order.

Following your advice I didn't tell the I.C.A. people anything about the memorandum for Lansdowne. It will also be well if your statement on the *bill** does not get out beforehand.

With cordial regards,

Gratefully yours,
Herzl.

Enclosure: the Lansdowne memorandum.

April 27

I am instructing Cowen to work out a memorandum for the I.C.A. and the subscription together with Stephens, Zangwill, Greenberg, and Kessler.

April 29, Paris

Following my conversation yesterday with the hidebound pedant Councillor-of-Justice Lachmann of Berlin and of the I.C.A., in which I demanded a clear answer from him as to whether the I.C.A. according to its constitution could give us the money and got no definite No from him, I told Nordau and Alex at lunch:

"I regard the game against the I.C.A. as won."

* * *

Quelle cour de miracles [What a court of miracles] this administrative board of the I.C.A. is!

And the fate of a poor people is to depend on *that*.

* In English in the original.

April 29, Paris

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Many thanks for your wire of yesterday and today's letter with the enclosure for Hallgarten.

Hallgarten is in New York. I shall forward the letter to him the quickest way.

I shall follow your advice and take from the I.C.A. what it gives; but I feel that we should not take any less than one million.

However, I consider it sensible not to let the people know for the time being that we shall accept less than three million pounds too. Anyway, they will not make a decision until their next meeting on June 7th.

I am now working out a memorandum for the gentlemen, and as soon as it is finished, I shall send you, Milord, a copy of each section—about the middle of May.

Tonight I am leaving for Vienna (Haizingergasse 29, Währing).

With kindest regards,

Respectfully yours,
Herzl.

May 1, Vienna

Wire from Goldsmid, Cairo: *

rundblume	I have had an interview with
Bloater	Sir W. Garstin
School	Sir Eldon Gorst
mamede	considering the matter
recuada	nothing sufficiently definite to report
Pater	Goldsmid.

* Original text.

May 5, Vienna

Wire to Goldsmid:*

galleine	Go ahead all you can
readmitias	You can rely upon
Brown	Chamberlain
Schneider	Lansdowne
hactenus	Please hasten
hafertanz	I (we) have
Window	British Govt.

May 5, Vienna

Goldsmid's reply:*

tagarnina	Telegram to hand, and it has every attention
Pater	Goldsmid.

May 6, Vienna, evening

Bad news from Goldsmid:*

Bloater	Sir W. Garstin
ruodlieb	he is opposed to us
ehering	(he gives) estimate
fivefold	4,045 cubic meters
Fireman	Stephens
watermos	supplying water
Rumvet	Pelusium plain
palmearon	further particular by first post
Pater	Goldsmid.

* Original text.

May 6, evening

To Goldsmid:*

paysage	Is it possible
rundbild	our application for a concession
abocetado	not accepted in consequence of
Bloaters	Garstins
offixi	Opposition
talagarsa	Telegraph immediately
taloneros	Telegraph what I am to do with
Brown	Chamberlain
knodland	He is favorable, inclined to assist us.
Benjamin	

May 7, at night, Vienna

Even worse news from Goldsmid:*

Bauer	Lord Cromer
abbasso	recommends abandonment
abbattere	have protested against abandonment
Pater	Goldsmid.

* * *

From Greenberg in Cardiff:*

Am sending you from London most important communication and beg you immediately to cable Pater not to push on with present negotiations pending receipt by you of my letter let him delay things till then.

Issachar.

* Original text.

May 8, morning, Vienna

To Goldsmid.*

Desdemona — Do nothing
Wagring — wait till you receive my instructions.
Benjamin

* * *

To Greenberg-Cowen:*

Significatio London.
laughable

Garstin opposed. Negotiations stand bad. We have no time to lose. You must wire me at once your news. Letters are too slow. If we interrupt now we risk to lose Courtier and Cigar.

Benjamin.

* * *

To Stephens Newick, Sussex:*

Garstin opposed. Estimate 4,045 cubic meters supplying. Kindly wire at once Benjamin Wien your views. What should we do? Which is the smallest amount we could accept?

Benjamin.

May 8, Vienna

Stephens replies:*

"Think would pay financially to cultivate down to one third of estimate reducing water supply page 36 accordingly."

* Original text.

May 8

From Goldsmid at Cairo:*

Yes	
abgekniet	In the absence of
waterboon	water
Rumvat	Pelusium plain
Bauer	Cromer
choeriti	consider
rundbild	our application for concession
snobbish	success very doubtful
rundblik	Egyptian ministers
recopiait	Reply expected by
welche	about beginning of next week
ratapoil	with regard to
Brown	Chamberlain
laonde	wait my letter of
manalgie	6th may
manamina	8th may
Pater	Goldsmid.

May 8, evening, Vienna

To Cowen:*

Chisel will decide begin of next week. Decision expected to be unfavourable, therefore Brown's intervention indispensable at once.

Benjamin.

May 8, evening

In reply to Greenberg's wire in which he says that nothing was known to the Foreign Office and that his telegram had referred to Willcocks' plan:*

* Original text.

I know Willcocks and his scheme perfectly, nothing for us. Pater wired me reason of G's opposition estimate 4045 cubic meters supplying water.

But of Pater's former communications I clearly understand that it is only a question of goodwill.

We ask only for the superfluous. Chisel can do it easily if willing. Now you must see Brown if possible tomorrow and explain him the necessity of his immediate intervention. Chisel will probably take formal decision begin of next week. Afterwards it would be too late and all the gained ground Courtier Cigar lost.

Benjamin.

May 9, Vienna

To Cowen: *

Issachar has again other plans. I lunched with Willcocks and know his unpracticable scheme. You know I refused Cohn's proposition and as I ascertained Brown has no interest in it.

Please secure immediate execution of my instructions by Issachar.

He has now the idea of withdrawing Pater. I shall certainly not do that. Every delay would be fatal. Cigar would escape and perhaps Courtier too. If Issachar is not willing to fulfil my instructions concerning Brown I expect from his sincerity to let me know it at once.

Benjamin.

* * *

For on top of all the difficulties there is the additional one that Greenberg wants to get something—probably money—for himself. From Wolffsohn I learned that G. took unauthorized credits of £500 to £1,000 from the J.C. Trust. Since the action was not

* Original text.

above-board, Wolffsohn and Cowen examined G's books and found that he was deeply in debt, about £10,000 which he cannot pay.

To him our schemes seem to be the straw the drowning man clutches at.

And I cannot depend on his statements.

Considering the importance of his function as an intermediary, this difficulty is downright enormous.

* * *

May 10, Vienna

To Goldsmid: *

Fireman	Stephens
accongesto	advice from—states
rapsaret	I can make some reductions
cultivating	———
dracenois	33⅓%
rumvat	Pelusium plain
watermos	supplying water
abritant	according to circumstances
dracenois	33⅓%
galleine	Go ahead all you can
readmities	You can rely upon
Brown	Chamberlain
rukwind	Take the best you can get whatever it
smerelli	Subject to confirmation by wire
talgbrot	Telegraph me fully
Benjamin.	

May 11, evening, Vienna

The end of a scheme.

Goldsmid telegraphs: *

* Original text.

Bauer	Lord Cromer
imbriglia	has informed
Pater	Goldsmid
Chisel	Egyptian government
raspatoir	refuses
altogether	
recouverts	reply expected any moment
chaldaic	shall I come
bildwort	Vienna
Augenweh	Austrian Lloyd
sbaglio	next Saturday
Pater	Goldsmid.

What has happened there I presumably won't learn until later. Did Goldsmid blunder, or did he think of himself? *Nous verrons tout cela* [We shall see all that].

First of all, I forwarded the wire to London, for Zangwill, Greenberg, and Cowen.

I believe that even Chamberlain can't do anything further now.

It is simply all over.

May 11

Reply to Goldsmid:*

tahapanes	your telegram to hand
halieto	do not come here before
sbaglio	next Saturday
thesicle	I will try what can be done
Benjamin.	

* * *

To Ch. Hallgarten, Frankfurt, a.M.:

Dear Mr. Hallgarten:

In the enclosed letter Lord Rothschild tries to interest you in a plan that we should like to carry out for the benefit of our sorely suffering fellow Jews.

* Original text.

I hope that the Jewish Colonization Association, in which you have such an important voice, will let itself be persuaded to join in the good work.

As soon as negotiations with the Egyptian government are completed, I shall inform you and your colleagues of the I.C.A. about everything necessary in a detailed memorandum.

Very respectfully yours,
Th. Herzl.

May 12, evening, Vienna

Superfluously enough, Goldsmid reports once more:*

narigona	Negotiations have fallen through
ecarteler	embark
sbaglio	next Saturday
Pater	Goldsmid.

May 13, Vienna

Letter from Goldsmid, dated May 6. The explanation: Sir William Garstin has declared that we would need five times as much water as Stephens stated; also, the laying of the siphons would involve tying up traffic in the Suez Canal for several weeks.

In the fruitful morning hours of yesterday and today I made the new plan which is necessary after the miscarrying of this scheme.

I started out from Chamberlain's Uganda suggestion—and hit upon Mozambique. I will try to get this inactive land for a Chartered Company from the Portuguese government, which needs money, by promising to meet the deficit and to pay a tribute later. However, I want to acquire Mozambique only as an object of barter in order to get for it from the English government the entire Sinai Peninsula with Nile water summer and winter, and possibly Cyprus as well—and for nothing!

* Original text.

May 13, Vienna

I also suspected Goldsmid of acting, more than was proper, his own boss of the concession. I found a trace of this in his suggestion that the administrator of the colony (by which he evidently meant himself) should also be appointed governor by the government.

In the report that arrived today there is another trace! Namely, his writing to Sir Eldon Gorst that he had to supply information in reply to urgent cablegrams from London and Vienna.

From London? Who sent him a cablegram from there?

C'est donc pour se donner une contenance [So it is to make himself look important].

Book Sixteen

Begun in Vienna on March 14, 1903

May 14, Vienna

To Goldsmid: *

Chalicore
Vienna Benjamin.

Come as quickly as possible.

May 16, Vienna

I thought the Sinai plan was such a sure thing that I no longer wanted to buy a family vault in the Döbling cemetery, where my father is provisionally laid to rest. Now I consider the affair so wrecked that I have already been to the district court and am acquiring vault No. 28.

May 16

I was in doubt as to whether to start the Mozambique scheme through Nordau in Lisbon or here directly with the Portuguese ambassador. Decided on the latter, because Nordau's skepticism would settle like a blight on this germ of an idea. This way, to be sure, I shall be at the mercy of a probably clerical *hidalgo* [nobleman], for they wouldn't send any other kind to Austria.

May 16, Vienna

Letter to Joe Cowen, asking him to call a conference with Stephens, Kessler, and Greenberg at Zangwill's place and inform them of Garstin's report. Stephens, for his part, is to write me a letter I can show around (for Chamberlain and Lansdowne).

All conferees are to keep silent, including Greenberg, vis-à-vis Rothschild.

Greenberg is to request Chamberlain's help for acquiring part of it immediately.

* Original text.

May 17, Vienna

Letter from Sir Eric Barrington, dated May 9 (forwarded five days late by Greenberg), re I.C.A. *Bill.**

I am answering Lansdowne under date of May 18.**

My Lord,

allow me to thank your Lordship for the communication you sent me through Sir Eric Barrington with reference to the Bill of the Jewish Colonisation Association.

I think, there should be a clear understanding that the money of the Hirsch bequest is not going to be used to keep Jews in Russia etc. under the pretext of fitting them for Colonisation elsewhere. Hirsch's idea was to take the people out, and the money must not be used to keep them in. On the other hand it is quite clear from the failure of the Argentine colonies that the way to take them out is not by the creation of small colonies which would, and do, form no attraction. That can only be gained by broad and big schemes which recognize the national sentiment of the Jewish people; and therefore to fulfil Baron Hirsch's intentions the Bill should provide for such a scheme.

I have the honour to remain.

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant
Th. Herzl.

May 19, Vienna

The local Portuguese Ambassador told Hechler, whom I had asked to get me an appointment with him, that I should have Rothschild present me to him (the Ambassador).

To do this, it would first be necessary for the Portuguese Ambassador to introduce me to His Baronial Grace.

I am writing to Koerber:

* In English in the original.
** Original text.

Your Excellency:

As you know, I am a sort of poor man's lawyer for unfortunate Jews, and as such I am quite busy. I am now occupying myself with a case of poor Jews in which I am to intervene with the Portuguese government, and for this reason I should like to speak with the local Portuguese ambassador.

This gentleman probably doesn't know me *ni d'Adam ni d'Eve* [from Adam], and if it isn't too much trouble for you, I would like to ask you for a few lines of introduction.

Let me take this opportunity to say that I have been following the well-deserved successes of your government from a distance and with sincere interest, and am glad to have seen things correctly back at the time I predicted that you would be in power for a long time.

With sincere respect, I am

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,
Th. Herzl.

May 19, 1903

* * *

To Plehwe:

Your Excellency:

My name may perhaps be known to Your Excellency as that of the leader of the Zionist movement.

The deplorable events at Kishinev force the pen into my hand—but not to bemoan what is irrevocable.

I hear from reliable sources that despair is beginning to take hold of the Jews in Russia. They feel that they are being delivered up to the evil instincts of the mob without protection. In consequence the elderly people are being seized by paralyzing fear in the activities of their livelihood, and the younger people are beginning to listen to the doctrines of revolution. Fifteen- and six-

teen-year-old children, who don't even understand the revolutionary madness preached to them, are letting themselves be deluded by theories of violence.

In past years it has been the great achievement of the Zionist movement to have given all these unfortunates a higher ideal that comforted and reassured them. This cannot have escaped Your Excellency's notice.

Now I am informed by very earnest people that there is a way of calming the desperate mood of our poor people at once—and this would be the granting of an audience to me by H. M. the Czar. This fact alone would have an immediate soothing effect, even if not a word about the course of the conversation should be made known.

I am used to justifying such confidence; proof of this is the fact that the substance of my repeated conversations with His Majesty the German Kaiser and with the Sultan has never reached the public.

I could use the occasion of my audience, if one were granted me, to give the government of His Majesty the Czar all desired information about our movement and to request its future aid.

Years ago I described the aims of our Zionist movement to the Czar in a memorandum written in French which H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Baden was gracious enough to transmit, and I received Imperial thanks for it.

The Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse, with whom I have the honor to be personally acquainted, as well as a Russian Grand Duke, were also kind enough, years ago, to intercede with His Majesty on behalf of my reception. Chance obstacle always interfered; on one occasion, at Darmstadt, it was the Czar's indisposition.

But now the occasion is so grave, and I believe that I can make, on behalf of the Russian government, a contribution so important for calming inflamed passions, that I herewith request an audience through official channels.

If my request is granted, may I ask that the *laissez-passer* [pass]

which I need for the trip be most kindly sent to me directly, or that telegraphic orders be given to the local Russian Embassy to issue me one. If need be, I am ready to leave this week.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deep respect, I am

Faithfully yours,
Th. Herzl.

* * *

Letter to Pobedonostsev:

Your Excellency:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing for Your Excellency a copy of a letter which I sent off today to Minister von Plehwe, with the request that you support my application.

May I explain what emboldens me to make this request.

I once spoke with a well-known writer about the bleak situation of the Jews in Russia, and mentioned the prevalent view that it was your fault. To this my friend said: "Let me tell you a story. A few years ago I was in Marienbad (or did he say Carlsbad?) and went walking on forest paths. On a deserted path I passed a wretched-looking beggar woman of pronouncedly Jewish type. Hardly was I a few steps past her when—whom should I meet? Pobedonostsev! I let him pass and then turned around, because I wanted to see how the notorious Jew-hater would behave to the Jewish beggar woman. But how great was my astonishment when I saw him stop in front of her, reach into his pocket, and give her a coin."

Naturally Your Excellency no longer remembers this infinitely trivial incident which made a remarkable impression upon me. I believe that was when I began to understand official Russian anti-Semitism. Russian statesmen are up against one of the most complicated problems of government, and they would probably prefer it if it could be solved without cruelty.

Should my request for an audience be granted, may I even now request the honor of being received by Your Excellency.

Begging Your Excellency, etc.

May 23, Vienna

Bertha von Suttner, whom I have asked for assistance, is writing the following letter to the Czar which I shall have sent off sealed by Ambassador Kapnist:*

Your Majesty:

Some Jewish subjects in Y.M.'s Empire have requested the head of the Zionist Movement—Dr. Theodor Herzl—to beg an audience with their puissant Sovereign. Such an audience would bring hope and peace to restore a people driven wild with terror.

Mr. Herzl had previously been recommended, through the intercession of the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse, for the favor of being granted an audience, without having been able to obtain it. Now he has requested it through official channels, addressing himself to Messrs. von Plehwe and Pobedonostsev, who would themselves probably be glad to see that a little calm could be reborn among the desperate. One does not leave 7 million wretched people in fear of being assassinated.

But for the audience to become a reality, a sign from Y.M. would be required, and for Y.M. to give that sign, some confidence in the person of the petitioner would be necessary.

For many years I have been a friend of his; I saw him at work in 1899 at The Hague, performing services for the Peace Conference—services that were recognized by Messrs. von Staal and von Bloch; I esteem him as an outstanding writer and a courageous champion of all humanitarian movements. The sovereigns of Germany and Turkey have had long conversations with him. But now, if he were received by the Emperor of Russia, he would be able to promote the peace of the Empire and of mankind.

* In French in the original.

And who am I to dare to convey this request to the foot of your throne in my own voice? Your Majesty knows, I believe, that I am only a simple servant of that sublime ideal of which Y.M. is the most powerful Champion in the world, the ideal of Peace.

And it is by appealing to this ideal, by remembering that the Czar is not only the lord and father of his subjects, but—better than that: the apostle of a universal cause, that I have found the courage to write these lines in the hope my request will be understood and granted.

With the deepest respect,

Your Majesty's humble admirer
Baroness Bertha Suttner.

Harmannsdorf Castle, May 22, 1903

Covering letter from Mme. Suttner to Count Kapnist:*

My Dear Ambassador:

The letter herewith enclosed contains the offer of a great service that someone wishes to render to the Russian government.

This person (it is not I, but I vouch for his integrity) has made the condition that the matter be communicated directly and under sealed orders to H.M. the Emperor.

I remain, Your Excellency,

Most respectfully yours,
Baroness B. von Suttner.

May 23, Vienna

Koerber writes me today that he has given me an introduction to the Portuguese ambassador, Count de Paraty, directly.

I am now writing to Count Paraty:*

* In French in the original.

Dear Minister:

H.E. Prime Minister von Koerber has had the kindness to introduce me to Y.E.

Will you do me the honor of receiving me one of these days?

Please accept the expression of my high regard.

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

* * *

And to Koerber, thanks for his kindness.

May 23, Vienna

From Greenberg a long, good report about his conversation with Chamberlain on the 20th of May.

Chamberlain is offering us an area for colonization large enough for a million souls, with *local self-government.** Not in Uganda, but in that vicinity.

I am telegraphing to Greenberg:**

Having Paters report, who left yesterday for London, I consider Cork impossible for next years. We must take therefore Browns proposition into serious consideration, provided it is really advantageous. I agree with your letter page six from first to fourth line. I beg you therefore to ask him at once for details. If his proposal is suitable, I should like to have ready the outlines, instead of Cork, for Cigars meeting seventh of June, which had to decide upon now abandoned matter.

May 26, Vienna

Yesterday I went to see the Portuguese ambassador, Count Paraty. A shabby-looking, feeble man of some 50 years, whose first attempts at acting aristocratic I beat down by my nonchalance.

I explained matters to him and asked him to inquire of his gov-

* In English in the original.

** Original text.

ernment whether it was willing to give us a Charter for an adequate territory. Being lazy, like all diplomats, he asked me to write such a letter for him. However, I refused to write to the Minister for Colonies and the Navy. I was willing to write a private note setting forth my wishes, and the *question préalable* [preliminary question]. He mentioned his son-in-law, who was a colonial and yet an artillery officer. Showed me the picture of the dissipated-looking young man.

Then he apologized for not having received me upon Hechler's introduction. Now he would be able to write his government that he met me through the Austrian Prime Minister.

I am now writing him: *

My Dear Count:

As I had the honor to tell you yesterday, the preliminary question to submit to the Minister is the following:

Is there a territory sufficiently habitable and *cultivable* by Europeans? The settlement would embrace at least fifty thousand families.

As for your son-in-law, if you would be good enough to get him interested in our affairs, this is what I would permit myself to ask of him: that he send you, or directly to me, the reports of the last general meetings of all the colonial companies.

He would be able to obtain the complete collection at the Ministry of Finance. The study of these reports would give us some useful indications about the agricultural, industrial, and commercial possibilities of systematic colonization on a large scale in these countries.

Pray accept the assurance of my high regard.

Herzl.

May 26, Vienna

Today, in the fruitful morning hours, it occurred to me: perhaps a Trust of all the Portuguese land companies that seem to have

* In French in the original.

failed could be established. They would be glad to give up their bad shares in return for the shares of a big land company. Paraty told me the *Cie de Mozambique* [Mozambique Co.] was almost autonomous, had protective troops, etc. Perhaps I could obtain options and then get Nile water and Cyprus for these.

May 30, Vienna

Now I have to swallow the bitter pill and cancel the I.C.A.

To Zadoc Kahn, dated July 3:

My Dear Grand Rabbi:

When I had the pleasure, a month ago, of speaking with you and your colleagues of the I.C.A., I informed you that for your next meeting I would supply all the material that you would need to reach a decision about your participation in colonization on the Sinai Peninsula.

The reports of our Commission, etc. actually were completed and ready for me to send off—when a development arose which made their despatch pointless for the time being.

We had already received oral and written assurances from the government. Our plan had been approved in principle.

Then, at the last moment, the Department of Public Works declared that they could not let us have the amount of Nile water we need for a sound implementation of the plan.

Under these circumstances we have to abandon the whole scheme for the time being. This is all the more painful to me, and probably to all of you as well, because the Kishinev riots have once again demonstrated how great the distress in the East is.

I am trusting my whole communication of today to your discretion and I ask you to inform only the members of the I.C.A.'s board of directors of it on a strictly confidential basis.

Respectfully yours,
Herzl.

* * *

May 30

*Strictly confidential.**

Dear Lord Rothschild:

My whole Sinai plan has broken down. Everything was ready. It now depended simply and solely on Sir William Garstin's verdict as to whether we could get the Nile water that we needed. However, after his return from Uganda Sir William questioned the calculations of our engineer, Stephens. He declared that we would need five times as much Nile water as Stephens had calculated, and Egypt could not spare that much. With this the whole project collapsed.

A great deal of time and effort as well as some money have been lost, but I am not discouraged. I already have another plan, and a very powerful man is ready to help me. As soon as I get to the point where I can make an announcement, you shall be the first one to learn it. I assume that you will want to hear about it, and that you will continue to be ready to help—with which, of course, I never have a financial contribution in mind, but only your counsel and influence.

Kindly tell me whether you have received an answer from Mr. Schiff in New York and whether he is willing to go along with a sensible, great plan for aid. When he comes to Europe, I should like to talk with him at your house.

Kishinev is not over. The effects are yet to come. According to my information, a terrible fear has taken hold of the Jews in Russia. The immediate consequence will be a new emigration movement. Where? To America? To England? Henry Norman and Evans Gordon have a chance to get an *Alien Bill** through.

With sincere respect,

Yours,
Herzl.

* In English in the original.

May 30, Vienna

Joe told me he had recommended to de Haas that he suggest at the Conference of American Zionists a Congress of the Powers for the Solution of the Jewish Question, to be convened by Roosevelt.

I thought this idea brilliant and immediately wired de Haas:*

Joe Cowens suggestion is mine. Get conference and press them to demand a Congress. Teddy should call it.

Herzl.

June 3, Vienna

Dear Mr. Hallgarten:

I am sorry to have to inform you that the project of great immediate help for the poorest among our brethren has come to naught at the last hour. This eliminates the necessity of submitting the very voluminous material to you.

At any rate, I thank you for the willingness which you expressed in your friendly letter of 5/18, and remain, with deep respect,

Sincerely yours,
Herzl.

June 3, Vienna

Telegram to Greenberg:*

Quite agreed your suggestions Brown. Go ahead at once.

* Original text.

June 4, Vienna

To Izzet: *

Your Excellency:

Time passes, and I hear nothing about my last proposition, dated February 16, 1903.

But events are pressing. You have certainly heard about the Kishinev atrocities. Our poor Jews are certainly miserable, and something must be found for them.

Perhaps we could make some arrangement that would be a combination of the proposal you made me in February of 1902 (the memorandum of February 18, 1902, at Yildiz Kiosk) at the command of your august master, and my last proposition. That is, an arrangement for colonization in Mesopotamia as well as in the Sanjak of Acre.

In a few weeks our Zionist Congress will convene, and if I haven't obtained anything by then, I shall be obliged to announce that all hope of concluding an arrangement with the govt. of H.I.M. the Sultan is gone. And we shall be obliged to find some other territory. There will be no lack of opportunities.

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the assurance of my high regard and my devotion.

Th. Herzl.

And I am enclosing, in a separate envelope, the following lines: *

My Dear Friend:

Permit me to call you that and to speak as a friend.

How much do you want for yourself if the scheme works out?

Write me the amount and the way in which I should make it available to you on an unsigned piece of paper, and put it in a sealed envelope on which you put only my name.

The bearer of this letter will not know what it contains. You can

* In French in the original.

entrust your reply to him. Everything will remain absolutely secret, between you and me.

If the scheme does not work out now, I must give it up forever.

Your sincerely devoted friend

Herzl.

June 4, Vienna

Confidential.

Dear M. Reinach:*

I regret to inform you that the project which almost united us has run aground. We are unable to obtain enough Nile water.

I am embarrassed to communicate this unpleasant news to your colleagues who, I believe, were not displeased to see a refuge opened to all the unfortunates with whom you are concerned.

But—and this is between us—I still have a glimmer of hope; and if my efforts are successful, I count on you—yes, on you, my distinguished opponent—to support my proposals on your Board.

Believe me to be, dear M. Reinach,

Very sincerely yours,
Herzl.

P.S. Another thing, one of lesser importance. We have been offered for sale some territory in the Valley of Jezreel. The seller is a Mr. Soursouk, of Beirut, I believe. I am told that he said: "Either the I.C.A. or the Zionists will buy this land from me." It would seem, then, that certain speculators want to make a profit from what they believe to be our rivalry. Manoeuvres of this sort are easily thwarted if we forewarn one another. As for me, I will inform you about this even without reciprocity. I shall let you know at what price we are offered land in Palestine. If you don't breathe a word of this to anybody, perhaps we shall be able to ex-

* In French in the original.

pose one or the other of the shameful speculations which you have told me about.

Mr. Soursouk asks 25 francs per dunam, which, according to our reports, isn't worth more than 15 to 18 francs.

If you wish to buy, we shall withdraw. If you do not, state this plainly to Mr. S., so that we may buy at a better price.

June 11, Vienna

Yesterday I went to see Paraty the Portuguese. He still had no answer from his government.

If I should decide to go to Lisbon, he wants to give me introductions to the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Navy (Colonies).

Overnight I weighed the idea of going there. I telephoned Privy Councillor Jettel of the Foreign Ministry and told him that I wanted to see him today. But an hour later I heard about the assassination of the Serbian royal couple, which means that Jettel probably has no time today. So I missed the appointment, at which I was going to ask him for introductions to the Austrian representatives in Madrid and Lisbon.

I had called the A.C. to my house and acquainted them with my new Portuguese-African plan. Kokesch raised his eyebrows and declared himself flatly opposed to it. Kahn was in favor. Kremenzky saw its rightness after I had explained things, i.e., that we shall be able to demand Palestine with more force and vigor once we have a gathering place assured under public law. Marmorek accepted my idea only insofar as it aimed at creating an object of barter for Sinai.

I had their reactions put down in a memorandum that I shall keep.

June 14

I am giving up the trip to Portugal for the time being. *Qui trop embrasse mal étreint* [Grasp all, lose all].

The English government could—in fact, would be bound to—find out if I took steps in Lisbon, and that could have undesirable repercussions in the Nairobi plan. First I want to have that Charter.

Greenberg wires that Chamberlain has written him he is willing to receive a preliminary draft of an agreement and to propose to the government that they consider it.

June 16

Telegram to Greenberg:*

If Cohns operation fails there is chance for sixteen. Please consult immediately Joezang about quickest steps to be taken failure depends from haven. Decision in a few days.

Benjamin.

June 17, Vienna
Strictly confidential

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Today I have no time to tell you in detail what new scheme I am working on now. You shall learn everything in time! All I will tell you now is that the key people who were willing to help me with the matter you already know about are completely on my side again.

Today I come to you with a very urgent matter. I have reliable news from Constantinople to the effect that we have an excellent chance to get a *good* piece of land from the Sultan if the consolidation miscarries. As everybody knows, the consolidation is counter to British interests too.

With your huge influence in financial circles it will probably be a trifling matter for you to keep the *Syndicate of Foreign Bondholders*** from giving their consent to the consolidation.

* Original text.
** In English in the original.

For a man of your power, Lord Rothschild, it is a small matter, and the help which you will be giving thereby is enormous.

Please do it right away!

With sincere gratitude and respect,

Yours,
Herzl.

June 18, Vienna

Yesterday asked coal-Gutmann to cooperate in thwarting the consolidation. He is to speak with the manager of the Kredit-Anstalt.

June 18

Kann writes that he can get the interested parties in Holland to side openly with England, in order to thwart the consolidation.

I am wiring him back to do so most speedily and forcefully.

June 18, Vienna

Yesterday I ran into the Portuguese Count Paraty on the Graben.

He said to me as he passed:

Pas de réponse [No reply].

* * *

Djevdet brings me a Constantinople attorney, Adil Bey, who would also like to participate.

Adil Bey is said to be of a Salonica Jewish background. A descendant of Sabbatai Zvi's Marranos, then.

Makes an overly shrewd, disagreeable impression, Nuri Bey's type. And sure enough, he is mixed up with Crespi.

June 19, Vienna

Telegram to Greenberg:*

If you cannot do it without Courtier, then leave it alone.

Benjamin.

June 19, Vienna

To the Constantinople attorney Adil Bey—*if the Charter is obtained*—2,000 Turk. pds.

Further, to Taik Bey the Chamberlain, £2,000 too in that case.

June 29

I am sending York-Steiner to New York as manager of the Bank's branch, so that he can organize the local *East End*** for me financially and establish a Jewish Mutual Insurance Company with which we shall them reach back to Europe.

* * *

June 30, Vienna

To the Cairo attorney:***

My Dear Attorney Carton de Wiart:

Although I appreciate your thoughtfulness, I cannot permit a reduction in your fee.

I have given instructions to have a check for a thousand francs sent to you at once, but I do not feel that this squares the account between us, and I ask you to be good enough to let me know the full amount of your bill.

I have asked my friends to take advantage of your presence in

* Original text.
** In English in the original.
*** In French in the original.

London by having a board meeting and getting your advice about what possibilities may exist.

Assuring you, my dear Attorney Carton de Wiart, of my gratitude and high regard, I am

Yours devotedly,
Herzl.

July 8, Alt-Aussee

To Mme. von Korvin-Piatrovska.
Most Respected Lady:

Unfortunately I cannot give you the best of reports about our Zionist movement, in which you showed such kind interest.

Our endeavors, I am sorry to say, were not properly appreciated in the very places where they ought to be understood best.

Under these circumstances it will be difficult to produce any major achievements.

Recently I made one attempt to find some effective help in Russia, because I thought that those in authority would realize by now how right our arguments are and that there is only this one solution of the Jewish Question.

I wrote to Messieurs von Plehwe and Pobedonostsev and asked them to arrange an audience with the Czar for me. I wanted to combine two things by this. The fact of the audience was to soothe our poor, excited people a bit.

You certainly know that our poor people are very receptive to such signs of sympathy from the highest places. Secondly, however —and this *in merito* [on its own merits]—I hoped to take this opportunity to present to Minister von Plehwe a plan for organized emigration without re-entry and to request his cooperation. You see, I am firmly convinced that he would understand me. I can see from everything, even from the contradictory and unreliable news-

paper reports, that he is worried about the situation of the Jews and that he would very much like to find a solution with good grace.

But unfortunately I had word from my valued friend Baroness Suttner, who in turn has it from Count Lamsdorff, that I shall not be received by the Czar. In the meantime, to be sure, tempers have cooled down a bit by themselves.

But as for my other desire, to have a thorough discussion with von Plehwe about starting emigration and getting him, the most powerful man in Russia, interested in it—something that would be felt as a relief on all sides—this desire has remained.

And yet I cannot quite bring myself to approach the Minister directly once more, because he still has not answered my letter of May 23rd. I understand, of course, that in his position he cannot write me immediately. Yet I am afraid of appearing indiscreet if I were to send another letter.

I now remember that you have connections with Mr. von Plehwe.

If you do not regard it as an imposition, I would beg you to ask him whether he is willing to see me. I shall come to St. Petersburg any time he pleases.

Assuring you, dear Madam, of my continued sincere gratitude and admiration, I am

Your ever devoted
Th. H.

July 12, Alt-Aussee

To Count Paraty, the Portuguese ambassador at Vienna:*
Dear Minister:

Thanking you for the communication dated July 8th which you did me the honor of sending me, I would beg to observe that I have never had any other idea than to proceed in accordance with the laws of the Kingdom.

* In French in the original.

I believe that by word of mouth we could make our position clear both on the conditions to be met and the advantages which we would be able to offer. For this reason I shall undertake the trip to Lisbon when my affairs permit me. This will probably be in the month of September. I shall not fail to notify you of it in advance.

Pray accept the assurance of my high consideration.

H.

July 12, Alt-Aussee
Strictly confidential.

Dear Mr. Philippson:

About the first letter with which you honored me there was a strange coincidence which I didn't immediately inform you of, because I wanted to give the matter my mature deliberation first.

You see, after the regrettable break-down of our El Arish-Pelusium plan I had realized that in the face of the growing distress we must nevertheless set about bringing aid on a comprehensive scale —if not east of the Suez Canal, then elsewhere. With full maintenance of our Palestine program, which, to be sure, we cannot immediately put into practice, and on a national basis in any case, we must create a place of refuge secured by public law. Of the various schemes that come under consideration I will mention to you only the one in which you may be able and willing to participate: in the Congo State.

Just when I received your first letter I was weighing the idea of going to see King Leopold. The Grand Duke of Baden, whose friendly attention I have had for many years, would readily have given me an introduction, since I didn't consider the official channels through the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministery noiseless enough. However, I hesitated to go ahead with this, because I wanted to see first how the cat would jump in the debate about the Belgian Congo, and for other reasons of general policy.

I have now made up my mind and ask you whether you want to participate in this. For the present the matter is none of the I.C.A.'s business, and whether it will ever be we will see later. For the time being the matter lies only between you and me, in confidence, which I have taken in you. Even if you don't care to participate you will, as a man of honor, keep my secret.

Do you have personal connections with the King? Can you sound him out? The Congo State has land enough which we can use for our settlement. We can take over part of the responsibilities, that is, pay an annual tax, which may be fixed later, to the Congo State, in return for which we naturally lay claim to *self-government** and a not too oppressive vassalage to the Congo State.

These are the great outlines, the principle. If King Leopold turns a willing ear to the matter, I shall go to see him at once.

If you had already prepared him, I would not bother to ask for an introduction from the Grand Duke to whom propriety would then require me to report all further developments and agreements. This would in turn result in the German Imperial Chancellery's getting a running account of everything; and that might, under certain circumstances, have its disadvantages.

Begging you to let me know your opinion soon, I remain, with high esteem,

Yours,
Herzl.

July 16, 1903, Alt-Aussee

Dear Mr. Philippson:

Many thanks for your esteemed reply.

I am not unaware of the fact that there are great difficulties in settling in the Congo State, although my knowledge of these things is still slight at the moment and, in any case, cannot compare with your comprehensive experience.

* In English in the original.

Actually, I wasn't thinking of starting colonization immediately, but thought first of all of having a suitable territory found for us, perhaps in the southeastern part of the country, in the regions of higher elevation.

But since such an expedition would involve substantial expenses, we would have to assure ourselves of a Charter in advance, because otherwise the financial sacrifice wouldn't be balanced by chance of success.

If our Commission came to the conclusion that settling our people there would not be advisable, we would not, of course, undertake it. But you must bear in mind that we have, alas, such a desperate element of settlers that we can even go to some place where things are too bad for others. But we have to have the powerful stimulus of a national character in the settlement. So, if you wish to assist me in the realization of this plan, I beg you to ask the King whether he is willing to discuss the matter with me—quite secretly, for the time being.

In any case, this accords well with King Leopold's ideas, for it is clear what value such a settlement would have for safeguarding and developing this land.

I, in turn, want to help you to the best of my ability in the matter you touched upon. I only regret that I did not know your plans in this direction earlier. How much I could have accomplished through personal intervention with the master himself!

But I would strongly recommend that for the present you say nothing to your I.C.A. colleagues about both matters. The two of us would have to have a thorough talk about them first.

With a respectful greeting,

Faithfully yours,
H.

July 18, Alt-Aussee

Telegram to London:*

Issachar or Joe must urgently see to-day Courtier. I learn that now Viennese Courtier may be able to prevent *Einiges* [some

* Original text.

things]. That would be of greatest importance for us, and I therefore beg Courtier instantly to wire to the Viennese asking him to prevent *Einiges*. Kindly wire me fully.

Benjamin.

July 21, Alt-Aussee

Telegram from Greenberg:*

Courtier says that people you name have no influence in matter but that the ones in tabby (French) country have, and he is writing there in direction you desire to-day.—

Which is a tremendously important step, even if it remains unsuccessful.

Because Courtier will be furnishing a precedent by making the policy of his house favorably disposed to my ends.

July 21, Alt-Aussee

Philippson definitely declares that he won't participate, saying that the Congo is absolutely unsuitable.

July 23, Alt-Aussee

Mme. von Korvin has procured an audience for me with Plehwe "who is looking forward to making the acquaintance of so interesting a personality as Dr. H. and will *de tout son coeur* [heartily] support emigration without the right of re-entry."

I am wiring Mme. von Korvin:

Heartiest thanks for your and his great kindness. Needless to say, I shall be there on time.

But would regard it as a special favor if it could be five or six days sooner.

Respectfully,
Herzl.

* Original text.

July 30, Alt-Aussee

Dear Lord Rothschild:

I inform you in deepest confidence that I am going to St. Petersburg next week in order to accomplish something for the Jews, an improvement of their situation.

I am already assured of being received by the chief personages. Nevertheless I should like to ask you to give me an open letter of recommendation to Minister of Finance Witte. I know from a good source that he respects you highly, and therefore it can be of the greatest value. A few lines will suffice, since I have other introductions as well. It will be enough if you write Witte that he would oblige you if he supported me in my endeavors undertaken for the benefit of the Jews.

Since I cannot wait for your letter here, kindly address it to Hotel de l'Europe, St. Petersburg. But I shall be there for only two or three days. So, if you care to fulfil my request you would have to be good enough to do it at once.

I shall let you know the results of my trip.

With kindest regards,

Gratefully yours,
Herzl.

July 30, Alt-Aussee

Reply prepaid.

Pauline von Korvin, St. Petersburg:

Kindly wire me whether the *passepartout* [pass] will be sent to me here, since I am leaving Alt-Aussee Tuesday morning.

Respectfully,
Dr. Th. H.

Here follows all of Book XVII, which had to be started afresh on account of my trip to Russia.

Book Seventeen

Begun in

St. Petersburg

August 7, 1903

August 7, 1903, St. Petersburg

All the way from the border, where we were rigorously searched, an uneventful trip across a dreary landscape which finally reminded me of tundras.

My journey had been kept a secret from my colleagues; but wherever it had nevertheless leaked out, they were awaiting me: at Warsaw, Vilna.

They are so badly off that I, poor devil, seem like a liberator to them.

Katzenelsohn, my good companion, crammed me with instructions on the way.

At St. Petersburg I was struck with my first sight of these strange ways—most of all, with the *isvoshtchiks* [droshky drivers] and the over-colored, over-gilded churches.

At the hotel there was no letter of recommendation from Rothschild to Witte waiting for me. His lordship pleads *"present circumstances."** Is it opportunism or *cowardice?** Or is he afraid of seeing me become too big? We'll just have to go on without him. As heretofore.

August 8, St. Petersburg

Right after my arrival I drove to the house of good old Mme. Korvin-Piatrovska, a charming Pole who reminds me of poor Mme. Gropler in Constantinople.

She already had had a letter from Plehwe, asking her to have me come to see him at 9:30 this morning. She described him to me as a great man, Louis XIV, Palmerston, and Gladstone rolled into one.

Others gave a different judgment on him. While she presented him as a far-sighted statesman, he was pictured by others as more short-sighted. But they all stressed his energy.

In the afternoon I met Maximov: a fine, quiet, liberal Russian. He is going to drive to Pavlovsk today with Katzenelsohn and me to see Adjutant-General Kireyev.

* In English in the original.

August 9, St. Petersburg

Yesterday a most remarkable hour-and-a-quarter conversation with Plehwe, and in the afternoon, at Pavlovsk, one with General Kireyev, the Czar's aide-de-camp, a delightful old cavalier. But first the memorandum for Plehwe:*

Your Excellency:

The conclusion of the conversation which you did me the honor of granting me might perhaps be stated in the following way:

The Imperial Russian Government, intending to resolve the Jewish Question in a humane manner, out of consideration for the demands of the Russian state as much as for the needs of the Jewish people, has judged it useful to give aid to the Zionist movement, whose loyal intentions are recognized.

The Imperial government's assistance would consist in the following:

First, effective intervention with H.I.M. the Sultan.

The problem is to obtain a charter to colonize Palestine with the exception of the Holy Places. The country would remain under the suzerainty of H.I.M. the Sultan. The administration would be managed by the Colonization Company to be set up with sufficient capital by the Zionists. This company would pay annually to the Imperial Ottoman Treasury a contribution to be decided upon, which would take the place of taxes.

The company would recover this contribution like its other expenses (public works, education, etc.) by the taxes it would collect from the colonists.

Second, the Imperial Russian Government would provide a financial subsidy for emigration, using for this purpose certain funds and taxes whose provenance is purely Jewish.

Third, the Imperial Russian Government would facilitate the loyal organization of Russian Zionist societies according to the Basel program.

Your Excellency will decide to what extent and in what way this would be made public. Our Congress, which will meet at

* In French in the original.

Basel from the 10th to the 23rd of August, could be used for this purpose.

This would, at the same time, put an end to certain agitation.

I submit for Y.E.'s approval this text of a statement to be made to the Congress.

"I am authorized to state that the Imperial Russian Government intends to help the Zionist movement. The Imperial Government proposes to intervene on our behalf with H.I.M. the Sultan for obtaining a Charter for Colonization. Furthermore, the Imperial Government will place at the disposal of the emigration carried on by the Zionists sums drawn from Jewish taxes. And to demonstrate clearly the humane character of these steps, the Imperial Government proposes, at the same time, to enlarge very soon the pale of Jewish settlement for those who do not wish to emigrate."

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my profound esteem.

Dr. Th. H.

St Petersburg, July 28, 1903*

To Kireyev:**

August 10, 1903

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to report to you that today I have been received by H.E. the Minister of Finance. At the end of a rather long conversation he told me that as Minister of Finance he had no objection to our plan. Mr. von Plehwe being for and Mr. Witte not being against our project, the matter could come before the council without delay.

It is extremely urgent to obtain the agreement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. By winning its support, Y.E. could benefit our cause immensely.

* Presumably Herzl had the memorandum ready and dated well before meeting Plehwe.

** In French in the original.

What we are asking in that direction can be summed up very briefly as follows:

(There follows the 1st point [p. 1520])*

If Y.E. wishes additional explanations, I am at all times at your disposal to come to Pavlovsk. A telegram will suffice.

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my profund esteem and my gratitude.

Yours very devotedly,
Dr. Th. H.

August 10, St. Petersburg

Only now, after taking care of the most pressing matters, have I a chance to record my meetings with the chief figures of contemporary Russia.

On the morning of the day before yesterday, with Plehwe. A few minutes' wait in the ante-chamber. A modest ante-room, well-got-up *huissiers* [ushers]. Now and then there is a glimpse of what might be a detective.

About 5 minutes after the appointed time I am asked to go in.

A man of 60, tall, a bit obese, steps forward quickly, greets me, bids me take a seat, offers me a smoke, which I decline, and begins to talk. He speaks at some length, so that I have time to familiarize myself with his face which is in full daylight. We sit in armchairs facing each other, with a small table between us. He has a sallow, serious face, grey hair, a white moustache, and remarkably youthful, energetic brown eyes.

He spoke in French, not excellent, but not bad. He began by clearing the ground:**

"I have granted you this interview which you requested, doctor, in order to come to an understanding with you in regard to the Zionist movement, of which you are the leader. The relationship which will be established between the Imperial Government and

* Herzl's note, in German.

** This speech recorded in French.

Zionism—and which can become, I will not say amicable, but in the nature of an understanding—will depend on you."

I interjected: *"Si elles ne dépendront que de moi, Excellence, elles seront excellentes* [If it will depend only on me, Your Excellency, it will be excellent]."

He nodded and continued: "The Jewish Question is not a vital question for us, but still a rather important one. And we are endeavoring to settle it in the best way possible. I have granted you this interview now in order to discuss it with you prior to your Congress at Basel, as you requested. I can understand that you take a different position in the matter from that of the Russian government, and I want to begin by making our standpoint clear to you. The Russian state is bound to desire homogeneity of its population. We realize, of course, that we cannot obliterate all differences of creed or language.

"For instance, we must concede that the older Scandinavian culture has maintained itself in Finland as something that has become organic. But what we must demand of all the peoples in our Empire, and therefore also of the Jews, is that they take a patriotic view of the Russian state as an actuality. We want to assimilate them, and to this end we have two methods: higher education and economic betterment. Anyone who has fulfilled certain conditions in both these respects and whose education or prosperity, we therefore have reason to believe, has made him loyal to the existing order is given full civil rights. However, this assimilation which we desire is a very slow process."

At that point I asked him for a slip of paper on which to take notes, so I wouldn't have to interrupt him and yet be able to reply to everything. He tore a leaf from a small pad, but he ungenerously detached its printed heading before giving it to me, as though he were afraid I might misuse it. What use, Good Lord, could I make of such a scrap of paper?

He also said: *"J'espère que vous ne ferez pas d'usage désagréable de notre entretien* [I hope you will make no unwelcome use of our conversation]."

I replied: *"Je n'en ferai aucun usage, excepté celui que V.E.*

m'ordonnera de faire [I will make no use of it whatever, except as Y.E. may direct me to do]."

That, I believe, was the gambit in this "immortal game" of chess. For I had understood all along that he was much concerned about the Congress, evidently because of the inevitable re-opening of the Kishinev matter there. I could do him a service there by *couper court* [cutting short] the discussion.

(Before I went to the P. audience, my timid friend Katzenelsohn had plied me with all sorts of advice. During the trip we had played over the Andersen-Kieseritzky "immortal game" on our pocket chess-board. And I had told him that I would strive to play a good game. Play the "immortal game"! said friend Katzen. "Yes, but I will sacrifice neither my rooks nor my queen," I said—for he was worried that I might yield some of the ground still held by the Russian Jews.)

* * *

Insert, August 10. Letter to General Kireyev who had sent me a charming letter with an introduction to Hartwig, the director of the Asian Department: *

Your Excellency,

Accept my sincere thanks for your very good letter and for the introduction. This very evening I shall leave this introduction, along with my card, at Mr. von Hartwig's house, and I will keep you informed about everything that happens.

The unfortunate outcome of the day can perhaps be viewed in a different way. What is dead, alas, is dead for a long time. But if in France everything ends with a song, there everything ends with excuses.

When some distressing news is presented, one can easily take a different view of it. Anyway, we shall see!

It is a deep satisfaction to me to see a man like you take an interest in our idea. I have clearly seen in your eyes the soul of a champion of all good causes.

* In French in the original.

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my high esteem and my gratitude.

Yours very devotedly,
Th. Herzl.

* * *

As though he had already foreseen the interjection I might make, or because he has such a logical mind, Plehwe quickly added:

"To be sure, we can confer the benefits of a higher education upon only a limited number of Jews, because otherwise we should soon run out of posts to give the Christians. Also, I am not blind to the fact that the economic situation of the Jews in the Pale of Settlement is bad. I also admit that they live in what amounts to a ghetto; but it *is* a large area—13 *gouvernements* [government districts]. Lately the situation has grown even worse because the Jews have been joining the revolutionary parties. We used to be sympathetic to your Zionist movement, as long as it worked toward emigration. You don't have to justify the movement to me. *Vous prêchez à un converti* [You are preaching to a convert]. But ever since the Minsk conference we have noticed *un changement des gros bonnets* [a change of big-wigs]. There is less talk now of Palestinian Zionism than there is about culture, organization, and Jewish nationalism. This doesn't suit us. We have noticed in particular that your leaders in Russia—who are highly respected persons in their own circles—do not really obey your Vienna Committee. Actually, Ussishkin is the only man in Russia who is with you."

(I was secretly amazed at this knowledge of personalities. It proved to me how much serious study he has given the question. And sure enough, he rose, got a big, handsome volume, with brown binding and gilt lettering, bristling with book-marks, and said: This is the Ministry's report on the Zionist movement.)

I raised an objection: "Your Excellency, all the Russian leaders are on my side, even if now and then they oppose my position.

Surely the most important among them is Prof. Mandelstamm of Kiev."

And again he astonished me by saying:

"But take Kohan-Bernstein! Certainly he is decidedly against you! By the way, we know that he conducts the press campaign against us abroad."

"Your Excellency, I don't believe that. The man is not well enough known outside of Russia. He has neither connections nor prestige. And as regards the opposition of these gentlemen to me, it is a phenomenon with which Christopher Columbus became familiar. When week after week went by and still no land hove in sight, the sailors on the caravels began to grumble. *Ce que vous apercevez chez nous, c'est une révolte des matelots contre leur capitaine* [What you are witnessing among us is a revolt of the sailors against their captain].

"Help me to reach land sooner, and the revolt will end. And so will the defection to the Socialists."

"What sort of help, then, do you ask of us?"

I developed the three points which I have already noted down on p. 1520, as the outcome of the conversation.

For he readily conceded all three points to me. Regarding financial support of the emigrants, he stated: *"J'admets que sous ce rapport le gouvernement devra s'exécuter. Mais nous ne pourrons prendre les fonds que dans les contributions juives. Les riches devront payer pour les pauves* [I admit that according to this understanding the government ought to provide it. But we can use funds only from Jewish contributions. The rich will have to pay for the poor]."

"C'est une idée excellente [That is an excellent idea]!" I said.

In the end we agreed that I should work up a memorandum, and outline what I intended to say at the Congress.

Then I asked him for an introduction to Witte (his enemy). This gave him pause.

"Yes," I said. "I need it in order to request him to withdraw his ordinance prohibiting the sale of shares of our Colonial Trust. This is an impediment to our propaganda." He said: "I will give

you the introduction, but it is no promise that your request will be granted."

He sat right down, wrote a page-and-a-half to Witte, and sealed the envelope before handing it to me.

I had also asked him for approval of the by-laws of our societies which we are to submit. Until the approbation was issued, I asked him to instruct the local governors to tolerate the movement. For I had learned that in some places there had been harassment on the part of subordinate officials.

To this he said: "I cannot order toleration. But do submit a draft of the by-laws to me."

(This was at an earlier point in the conversation.)

When I felt that we had nothing more to say to each other, and he had requested the memorandum from me, I rose and asked him for another audience after he had examined the document. He promised this. I prepared to leave. He pressed my hand:

"Je suis très heureux—ne le prenez pas pour une phrase—d'avoir fait votre connaissance personelle [I am very happy—don't think this is just words—to have made your personal acquaintance]."

"Et moi aussi, Excellence, je suis très heureux d'avoir pu voir M. de Plehwe dont on parle tant en Europe [And I too, Your Excellency, am very happy to have been able to see the Mr. von Plehwe about whom Europe talks so much]."

He smiled:

"Dont on dit tant de mal [About whom they say so many bad things]!"

"Dont on parle d'une façon que je me suis dit, ça doit être un bien grand homme [Who is spoken about in a way that made me say to myself: that must be a truly great man]."

C'était le mot de la fin. [That was the closing remark]. He saw me out into the ante-room, where some generals were already waiting.

The next day he said to dear Mme. Korvin-Piatrovska that he could use directors of my calibre in his departments.

I forgot:

In the course of the conversation, when I was explaining to Plehwe the need for Russian intervention with the Sultan, because Palestine was the only place that attracted us, I added that there also were difficulties about being admitted into other countries, even England and America. If emigration were directly supported with money—as discussed here in St. Petersburg in recent days and even printed in the *Novoye Vremya*—this would be tantamount to putting an export premium on the Jews and would further strengthen this resistance with which I had already become familiar in England. Surely the people would be considered *undesirables** for whose departure their own government paid a bonus.

Plehwe thought that England was really out of the question for a sizable emigration. But America was a possibility. It still had large territories available for settlement, and if the banker Seligmann were to approach his friend Roosevelt about the matter, something could perhaps be done.

I said that I didn't regard this as very likely. I couldn't say anything definite about it, because I hadn't had any contact with the American government on the subject as yet. However, Palestine seemed to me to be the only possibility.

On Saturday afternoon, the 8th, I drove with Maximov and Katzenelsohn to Pavlovsk, a kind of Russian Potsdam, where General Kireyev lives in the palace, as the Court-Marshal of a Grand Duchess. Kireyev, Aksakov's successor, is the head of the Slavophiles. But while I had hitherto imagined him as a wild bear, I found myself in the presence of a charming old cavalier, elegant, amiable, modern, and well-informed, who speaks excellent German, French, and English, and knows a lot of other things, too.

While I was conversing with him, it gave me pleasure to look into his fine blue eyes. What with his white cavalryman's moustache, a *charmeur* [charmer].

I won him over.

On Sunday the 9th I drove to the "Isles" to see Witte.

He received me at once, but was not amiable at all. A tall, ugly, coarse, serious person, about 60 years of age. A peculiar flattened

* In English in the original.

nose, knock-knees, deformed feet which cause him to walk clumsily. More on his guard than Plehwe, he sat with his back to the window, so that I sat there in full daylight. He speaks a very bad French. At times he strained and moaned for a word in an almost comical fashion. But since I took no liking to him, I let him groan.

He began by asking me who I was (despite the introduction!), and when I had briefly presented myself and the cause—the latter *du point de vue gouvernemental* [from the government's point of view]—he took the floor for a lengthy speech.

"Don't say that this is the view of the government. It is only the view of certain individuals in the government. You want to lead the Jews out of the country? Are you a Hebrew? With whom am I speaking, anyway?"

"I am a Hebrew and the leader of the Zionist movement."

"And what we say remains between us?"

"*Absolument* [Absolutely]!" I said, and so emphatically that from that point on he spoke quite freely. He began with a presentation of the Jewish Question in Russia.

"*Il y a des préjuges* [There are prejudices] (not *préjugés*)," he said in his miserable French. "*Il y a des préjuges honnêtes et des préjuges malhonnêtes* [There are honest prejudices and dishonest prejudices].

"The Czar has *préjuges honnêtes* against the Jews. There certainly cannot be any doubt of the Czar's honesty, for he is above everything. The anti-Jewish *préjuges* of the Czar are mainly religious in nature. There are also *préjuges* that are materialistic in origin, caused by Jewish competition. Then there are people who are anti-Semites because it is fashionable to be. Finally, there are those who are anti-Semitic for business reasons. Especially journalists are in this class. One of the filthiest is a certain Grund (I think that was the name), who edits a paper in Moscow. It is true, he is a baptized Jew, but he has retained all the Jewish characteristics—I mean the bad ones—and reviles the Jews. A very mean fellow."

"Something like Arthur Meyer of the *Gaulois,* then?"

"Even worse. But it must be admitted that the Jews do provide reason enough for hostility. There is a characteristic arrogance

about them. Yet most of them are poor, and because they are poor they are dirty and make an offensive impression. They also engage in all sorts of nasty pursuits, like pimping and usury. So that the friends of the Jews find it hard to come to their defense. I myself" —(after the preamble, this was unexpected)—"am a friend of the Jews."

(I couldn't suppress the thought: how then do the enemies talk?)

"It is hard," he continued, "to stand up for the Jews, for then people immediately say that one has been bought. As for me, I am not worried about it. I have that kind of courage. Then, too, my reputation as a respectable person is too firmly established for anyone to hang anything on me. But faint-hearted people and those on the make let themselves be influenced by this and prefer to turn against the Jews. Lately, another weighty factor has been added: the participation of the Jews in revolutionary movements. While there are only 7 million Jews among our total population of 136 millions, their share in the membership of the revolutionary parties is about 50 per cent."

"To what circumstance do you attribute this, Your Excellency?"

"I believe it is the fault of our government. The Jews are too oppressed. I used to say to the late Emperor Alexander III: 'Your Majesty, if it is possible to drown the 6 or 7 million Jews in the Black Sea, I have absolutely no objection to it. But if it isn't possible, we must let them live.' That has continued to be my view. I am against further oppression."

"But what about the present situation? Do you think that the present situation is tenable?"

"Certainly. Russia has a resiliency of which people abroad have no idea. We can endure the greatest calamities for a very long time."

"I am not speaking of Russia, but of the Jews. Do you believe that the Jews will be able to endure this desperate state of affairs much longer?"

"What way out is there?"

I now presented the way out, answering all his familiar objections with my long-prepared arguments.

But I recognized in his objections the views of the rich anti-Zionist Stock-Exchange Jews, who had evidently instructed him in Zionism. It was all there, even that old chestnut about the ambassadorial post. He said: "Twenty years ago I spent some time at Marienbad with a Jewish deputy from Hungary. What was his name, now?"

"Wahrmann?"

"That's it. Even then people were talking about the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine, and Mr. Wahrmann said that if this came about he would want to be the Austrian ambassador at Jerusalem."

It is clear that Wahrmann must have said, "the Jewish ambassador at Pest." Mr. Witte told the story badly.

Then I took his arguments by the throat *au fur et à mesure* [just as fast] as he presented them and demolished them. More and more he admitted that I was right. He clung only to the Holy Places (like all the Jewish bankers).

No anti-Semite has ever stubbed his toe on them—only he, the "friend of the Jews."

Finally, he asked me what I wanted from the government.

"*Certains encouragements* [Certain encouragement]." I said.

"*Mais on donne aux juifs des encouragements à l'émigration. Par exemple les coups de pied* [But the Jews are being given encouragement to emigrate. Kicks, for example]."

To this stupid brutality I replied by drawing myself up, calm and frigid, and saying icily:

"*Ce n'est pas de ce genre d'encouragements que je veux parler. Ils sont connus* [That isn't the sort of encouragement I want to talk about. That sort is well known]."

And I developed the three points of my memorandum to Plehwe.

Witte ended by admitting that my solution would be a good one if it could be carried out. I asked him, by way of supporting our movement, to withdraw the ban on the shares of the Jewish Colo-

nial Trust. He promised to do so on condition that we establish a branch in Russia (which we actually want ourselves), so that our transactions could be supervised. I accepted this condition at once.

Thus this disagreeable man had actually promised me what I wanted, after all. This conversation too had lasted for an hour and a quarter. I rose from my chair. He shook hands with me several times and accompanied me as far as the stairs, which seems to be a lot for this boor, since he is in the habit of dispatching even visiting Excellencies while standing.

August 11, St. Petersburg

Idle day of waiting. Yesterday I had a four-page letter from the charming Kireyev along with an introduction to Mr. von Hartwig, the head of the Asiatic Department in the Foreign Ministry.

I sent the letter and my card in to Hartwig—and am still waiting.

Supplement.

On the subject of the Holy Places Witte remarked:

"At what distance from the Holy Places do you contemplate making your settlement? I think it would cause alarm if people knew the Jews were so close by."

"What about the present situation, with Turkish soldiers guarding the Holy Sepulchre?"

"This is less intolerable than if the guards were Jews," said the "friend of the Jews." "If a few hundred thousand Jews were to go there at one swoop, with Jewish hotels, Jewish businesses—that might wound Christian sensibilities."

This is the familiar objection of Jewish bankers.

I said: "We plan to make the settlement farther to the north of the country. Far from Jerusalem. After all, in the end some place will have to be found for the Jews, since, as Your Excellency so rightly observed, they can't be drowned in the Black Sea."

Actually, during all this I rather had the impression that he trotted out this argument only because he couldn't find anything else. I believe he is inconsolable over the fact that this *échappatoire*

[loop-hole] for Plehwe has turned up. Witte is presumably less a friend of the Jews than he is bent on exploiting Plehwe's embarrassment over Kishinev. If this embarrassment increased, it could lead to Plehwe's downfall, and Witte would be the top man again.

He has already been in the government for 13 or 14 years, this friend of the Jews. Why hasn't he done a thing for the Jews?

August 11, evening

Just ran into Plehwe on the Nevsky Prospect.

My silent greeting hinted at memories.

A few detectives who were walking behind him gave me a look of loving penetration.

* * *

I think it is not a good sign that nothing has come from Hartwig yet. He is also the president of the Imperial Palestine Society.

August 12, St. Petersburg

This morning, too, has brought nothing yet, either from Plehwe or from Hartwig. Last evening I paid a call on my friend, dear old Mme. Korvin-Piatrovska, who reminds me of my good Hechler. In my presence she wrote an eight-page letter to Plehwe. In it she pointed out, at my request, that at this particular time, after the assassination of Consul Rostkovsky, Turkey would obediently carry out any wish of Russia's.

August 12, St. Petersburg

Later in the morning came a long, satisfying letter from Plehwe, together with a personal note.

Reply: *

* In French in the original.

Your Excellency:

I have received the letter which you did me the honor to address to me.

I shall take the liberty of calling on you tomorrow afternoon at four o'clock.

With the expression of my high regard and sincere devotion,

Th. Herzl.

August 14, St. Petersburg.

My second conversation with Plehwe, which took place yesterday, went much more favorably than the first, by far.

I drove up at four o'clock, and after waiting a few minutes, which this time I was permitted to spend in the Cabinet conference room rather than in the ante-room, I was conducted to his office.

He received me with the warmth of a friend, and after I had thanked him for his letter, he said:

"I kept you waiting a bit for my letter; but I could not let a document concerning such an important matter out of my hands before I had submitted the subject to His Majesty the Emperor. H.M. the Emperor is the overlord of the country, the head of the government, and *le souverain autocrate* [the autocratic sovereign]. It was also important that the declaration I intended to give you should not come from a temporary official, from a minister who might no longer be one tomorrow— —"

"*Espérons que non* [Let us hope not]!" I interjected.

"— —but should be a declaration of the government. I can therefore tell you in confidence that I submitted my letter to the Emperor as the conclusion to my report and that he gave me his consent to transmit it to you. H.M. the Emperor also took the occasion to express himself on the attacks to which Russia has recently been subjected on account of the Jews. He was extremely hurt that anyone should have dared to assert that the Russian government had participated in arranging these excesses or had

even passively tolerated them. As head of the state H.M. is equally favorably disposed to all his subjects, and in his well-known great kindness he is particularly grieved at being thought capable of any inhumanity.

"It is easy enough for foreign governments and for public opinion abroad to adopt a magnanimous attitude and reproach us with the way we treat our Jews. But if it were a question of their letting 2-3 million poor Jews into their countries, they would sing a different tune. Such an admission is out of the question, and they leave it to us to cope with this problem.

"Now I certainly don't want to deny that the situation of the Jews in the Russian Empire is not a happy one. In fact, if I were a Jew, I too would probably be an enemy of the government.

"However, things being what they are, we have no other choice but to act the way we have acted up to now, and therefore the creation of an independent Jewish State, capable of absorbing several million Jews, would suit us best of all. But this doesn't mean that we want to lose all of our Jews. *Les fortes intelligences —et vous même êtes le meilleur exemple qu'il y en a—nous voudrions les garder. Pour les fortes intelligences il n'y a pas de différence de confession ou de nationalité* [Those of superior intelligence—and you yourself are the best example—we would like to keep. Brains know no distinction of creed or nationality].

"But we should like to get rid of those with weak minds and little property. We would like to keep anyone who is able to assimilate. We have no hostile feelings toward the Jews as such, as I also show you in my letter."

"But in the meantime, Your Excellency, it might still be a good idea if you did a little more for those Jews of yours who are still in Russia. It would greatly facilitate my work of reconciliation if, for example, you extended the right of settlement to Courland and Riga, or if within the present Pale of Settlement you permitted the Jews to acquire up to ten *dessiatines* (about 20 *Morgen*)* for agricultural purposes."

He by no means rejected this, but said:

* Translator's Note: About 27 acres.

"I don't dislike that suggestion about Courland and Riga; in fact, I have already given it some thought. We have absolutely no objections to admitting Jews to such places where they do not outclass the local population economically. Therefore we might be more likely to admit them to the Baltic provinces, where they would be dealing with Germans, Latvians, etc.

"The purchase of land by individuals is another matter.

"When I took over my Ministry, I had an action of that sort in mind. I wanted to permit the Jews in the Pale of Settlement to acquire 3 to 5 dessiatines of land. But when I published this intention in the newspapers, a storm of protest rose from the Russian side: I was trying to Judaize the land, etc. So I had to give up the plan. For you should know that I assumed office as a friend of the Jews. I know the Jews very well. I spent my youth among them. That was in Warsaw, where I lived from the age of five to sixteen. I lived in a big house with my parents, who were in very modest circumstances. We had a small apartment, and we children had to play in the big courtyard. There I played with Jewish children exclusively. My boyhood friends were Jewish. So you will notice a certain predisposition in me to do something for the Jews. For this reason I don't want to reject your rural settlement proposal either. But the acquisition of land must not take place on an individual basis; if you want to settle entire communities, *des bourgs juifs* [Jewish enclaves], the government probably would not object, and within these *bourgs* you could then allow individuals to have such private holdings. We'll talk about that some other time. There is a Jew here named Günzburg who sometimes comes to see me about Jewish affairs. Let him talk with me about the matter."

"Permit me, Your Excellency, to suggest someone else to you as a representative. Baron Günzburg is old and not very bright, although a very estimable man. I would prefer it if you talked with my representative, Dr. Katzenelsohn of Libau, who is modern, educated, and respected."

"Gladly. I shall receive him if he comes with a recommendation from you."

"Then the form would be that of a farm produce cooperative?"

"Yes," he said.

"But the most important thing is and remains the intervention with the Sultan." This is how I brought the conversation back to Zion.

(To be continued later.)

August 14, Petersburg

Letter to Plehwe: *

Your Excellency:

Permit me before my departure to add a few more words to what was said yesterday.

Everything depends on the efficacy of the intervention with H.I.M. the Sultan.

There has not been such an auspicious moment for a long time; and who knows when similarly favorable circumstances will present themselves again. At the present time the Ottoman government will, outside of its usual compliance, do everything it is asked to do in order to please Russia.

I am convinced that one wish of His Imperial Majesty the Czar, expressed directly, would suffice.

As regards the humble efforts which I am beginning to make, the letter enclosed herewith is a first proof of them. I beg Y.E. to read it, have one of your men put it in a mail box tomorrow, and to *forget* that I have revealed this part of my correspondence.

I intend to work at the task of reconciliation with all my resources, even before the Congress.

I am leaving tomorrow, Saturday evening, and I plan to stop on Sunday at Vilna, between two trains, in order to make a speech there. I am told that some demonstrations hostile to me may take place there, but this does not frighten me; in fact, the very reason I am going there is to straighten out misguided people, if there are any there.

I believe that this will meet the needs of the situation, but just

* In French in the original.

the same I would be very happy to know if there is no inconvenience. Therefore I beg Y.E. to let me have a word on this subject this very evening, if possible, for the sake of my traveling arrangements.

Pray accept, etc.

Accompanying letter (*inclus* [enclosed]):

To Lord Roth—

Dear Lord Roth—

In accordance with your request I am giving you the results of my efforts here.

I found a favorable disposition on the part of the Russian government, and in my address to the Basel Congress I shall be able to make announcements that will be important and gratifying for Jewry.

However, it would substantially contribute to the further improvement of the situation if the pro-Jewish papers stopped using such an odious tone toward Russia. We ought to try to work toward that end in the near future.

I am leaving for Basel today.

With the kindest regards,

Yours,
Herzl.

(Continued from p. 1537.

In my conversation with Plehwe I said most emphatically that everything depended on the energy with which the Russian government interceded in our behalf at Constantinople. After all, the Foreign Office is just another organ of the same body as the Ministry of the Interior, and the wishes of the one should, in a case like this, be taken care of by the other. But I thought, of course, that the most effective thing would be the Czar's personal intercession with the Sultan. That was why I had originally asked for an audience with the Emperor.

Plehwe listened to me with a very thoughtful look in his eyes; I could tell that he was following my line of reasoning and accepting it. Since no one here wants a war, and too much can't be asked

for the murdered consul Rostkovski, such compensation would probably be very welcome to them.

Finally, Plehwe told me that he would take up the matter with the Emperor again and press it energetically. His look and his tone left no doubt that he is really serious about it. However, he said that he could not do it at the moment, because just before receiving me he had had his farewell audience with the Czar who is starting out on a trip today.

But when I discreetly inquired about my present chances of obtaining an audience with the Czar, he said:* "We shall see—after the Congress."

This proves again that what happens at the Congress is especially important to him.

Since I have no intention of deceiving him, that is all right with me too. I insisted only as far as intercession was concerned, for, I said, such an auspicious moment doesn't turn up every day, or year.

We also talked about Witte. I wanted to tell him about Witte's reservations; but he was already *au courant* [informed]:

"The Minister of Finance is skeptical about the realization of your projects. He doesn't believe in them."

"M. Witte," I replied, "has his information from a certain financial quarter that is none of the best. Lord Rothschild in London will aid me with the financing."

"But I believe that the Minister of Finance, too, maintains excellent relations with the Paris branch of this house."

"The Rothschilds of Paris will not be opposed, because one of them has spent many millions on colonization in Palestine."

La conversation languissait [The conversation flagged].

So I pulled out his letter and asked him to add my name to it—since perhaps he would not care to address me as Chairman of the A.C. He readily consented, and after the word "Monsieur" he put "Herzl."

Finally I got out the by-laws which I had asked a Russian member of the A.C. to draft for me.

* Translator's Note: Herzl quotes this conversation in French.

He skimmed through them.

"According to this you would be having congresses in Russia all the time, and the Jews would be allowed to do what is forbidden to the Christians."

"I'll tell my people not to hold any congresses."

He pulled down the familiar brown-and-gold volume:

"You are asking me for just the opposite of what is contained in this report. I was going to recommend the suppression of the Zionist movement at the cabinet meeting in October."

"The decision is yours!" I said.

Obviously he will make this decision, too, dependent on the Congress. *La situation est nette* [The situation is clear]:

Either help, administrative and financial, as well as intervention with the Sultan,

Or the prohibition of the movement.

Thus everything depends upon our people doing nothing foolish.

I said good-bye to him, and he was very, very nice.

* * *

Later I had some callers: the charming old General Kireyev, who, it now turned out, is a brother of Madame Olga de Novikoff; Lieutenant-General Zsilinky, a worthy old Pole; the student Friedland; clever Glikin; and Bruck, who is trying to frighten me about my visit to Vilna. Am I to be accorded the royal honor of an assassination there?

Telegrams arrived here yesterday from ten different cities inquiring whether it was true that I was dead.

August 15, St. Petersburg

Letter to Witte:*

Your Excellency:

In the course of the interview which you did me the honor of granting on July 27 you told me that the Jewish Colonial Trust of

* In French in the original.

London could be permitted to start operations only on the condition that a branch be established in Russia. In the name of the Board of Directors and of the Council, of which I am Chairman, I therefore beg to submit a request for the authorization of a branch office, in order to fulfil the above-mentioned condition.

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my high esteem.

Th. H.

August 16, on the train, between Dvinsk and Vilna

My last day in St. Petersburg was somewhat spoiled for me by the Vitebsk member of the A.C., Dr. Bruck. He excitedly counseled me against going to Vilna.

He said they could give me *un mauvais parti* [a bad time] there. Vilna was the seat of the leadership of the "Bund," a secret revolutionary society, and those people were furious at me because I had 1) gone to see Plehwe, 2) spoken against them at the St. Petersburg banquet.

Incidentally, the rumor circulated in many Russian cities that I was dead. It was not clear whether they thought that I had been killed by the government or by the Socialists.

I stated that I wouldn't make myself so ridiculous as not to go to Vilna now that I had already announced it. However, in order to get rid of Dr. Bruck, I sent him on ahead to Vilna "by way of precaution," to reconnoitre the situation.

* * *

The last day in St. Petersburg was full of work.

The most important thing was the brief but meaty conversation with von Hartwig (Gartwich),* the director of the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Office. In addition he is president of the Imperial Russian Palestine Society.

In the ante-chamber, which at the same time serves as a library, I studied the very remarkable collection of books of this department,

* Translator's Note: The way Hartwig's name was spelled in Russia.

which seems absolutely top-notch to me. A big window to Asia opens up when one looks at these dictionaries of the Chinese, Japanese, Afghan, etc. languages. A good deal of travel literature, old and new, good and worthless, mostly in English.

A gentleman of medium height, corpulent, with a big Russian beard and a bald head, in light-colored summer clothes and with papers under his arm passed through the room. He gave me a searching glance as I stood there so attentively in front of the books.

It was von Hartwig, as I found out later when I was admitted.

Briefly and for the umpteenth time I expounded the matter. He claimed diplomatically not to have been informed yet. Naturally I told him about Plehwe's promise to me in the name of the Emperor that the Russian government would intercede with the Sultan in our behalf. At this he lowered his nose somewhat. He said that the extraterritorialization of the Holy Places which I was proposing eliminated one of the major difficulties.

He now informed me that von Joneu, the ambassador at Berne, since deceased, hadn't had much to do in Berne, had made a study of the Zionist movement, and sent the Foreign Ministry a bulky report on it. The cause found favor with the Foreign Ministry; but since no one pushed it, it didn't get anywhere.

He (Hartwig) himself knew about the Congresses, in which the great German philosopher— —

"Nordau!"

". . . yes, Nordau, was one of the participants."

He desired a report that he could submit to the Minister. I promised him one within two weeks.

Then he was going to ask Ambassador Ssinovyev at Constantinople what could be done in the matter.

With this I took my leave, requesting his good-will, which he promised me.

* * *

But General Kireyev, who was already waiting for me at the hotel, told me that we must not expect any friendly Russian intercession with the Grand Turk in the immediate future.

The Russian fleet was going to demonstrate before Constantinople on account of the murder of Consul Rostkovski. It had already sailed. And even after the satisfaction demanded on five points had been given, relations between the Russians and the Turks were not likely to be very pleasant for some time to come.

August 17, on the train, between Thorn and Posen

Yesterday, the day of Vilna, will live in my memory forever. Not a phrase from an after-dinner speech.

My very arrival at noon in this Russo-Polish city was marked by ovations. I don't like this sort of thing.

In such receptions there is play-acting on the one side and foolish *emballement* [rapture] on the other.

But the situation became more real, because more dangerous, when the police, who favored me with the greatest attention from the outset, forbade all gatherings, even my visit to the synagogue.

But later I did drive through tumultuous Jewish streets to the offices of the Jewish Community, where the officials and deputations awaited me in packed throngs. There was a note in their greeting that moved me so deeply that only the thought of the newspaper reports enabled me to restrain my tears.

In the numerous addresses I was enormously overpraised, but the unhappiness of these sorely oppressed people was genuine.

Afterwards all kinds of deputations, laden with gifts, called on me at the hotel, in front of which crowds kept re-gathering as fast as the police dispersed them.

The police also sent me a message that I should not drive about in the city.

Towards evening we drove to Verki, an hour's distance from the city, where Jews are ordinarily not allowed to reside. There our friend Ben Jacob had *per nefas* [illegally] rented a little summer house, and, considering the transportation situation in this Russian provincial town, it was far away.

To this house he had invited about 50 guests. Ghetto, with good

ghetto-talk. But the dinner that went with it was sumptuous. They wanted to show me every kindness they could. And the host, among the many toasts of the others, made a fine, stately speech of welcome, one of real old-Jewish nobility. He said: "All of us here are happy today. But I am the happiest, because I have this guest under my roof."

Still, even he was surpassed by the uninvited guests who suddenly appeared out of the night in front of the curtained-off verandah: poor youths and girls from Vilna who had come all the way out here (about a two hours' walk) to see me at table.

There they stood, outside, watching us eat and listening to us talk. And they provided the dinner music by singing Hebrew songs. Ben Jacob, a truly noble host, had the kindness to feed these unbidden guests, too.

And one of the young workingmen, in a blue smock, who had attracted my attention because of the hard, determined expression on his face, so that I took him to be one of those revolutionary "Bundists," surprised me by proposing a toast to the day when *"Ha-melekh Herzl* [King Herzl]" would reign. An absurdity, yet it produced a striking effect in the dark Russian night.

We drove back. And at one in the morning, from the hotel to the station. The town was awake, awaiting my departure. The people stood and walked in the streets through which we had to pass, crying *Hedad* [Hail]! as soon as they recognized me. The same from the balconies. But near the railroad station, where the crowds got denser, unfortunately there were clashes with the brutal police who had instructions to keep the station clear. It was a regular Russian police manoeuvre which I saw with horror as my carriage rolled toward the station with increasing speed. Cries of *Hedad,* brutal shouts of the policemen as they hurled themselves at intervals at the running crowd, and my driver lashing his horses.

At the station entrance, which was roped off, stood three police officers. The eldest, a white-bearded man, greeted me with submissive politeness.

A small group of people, about 50–60 of my friends, had nevertheless managed to smuggle themselves into the station. I was

standing there, quietly talking with them, when a police captain, followed by a sergeant, came through the restaurant with a great clanking of spurs. He occupied an observation post at a table behind us. When presently I took off my hat to bid my friends good-bye, he respectfully joined in the greeting.

Was this to be attributed to an order from St. Petersburg to protect me, or to the police officers' secret fear of the crowd?

Early in the morning at Eydtkuhnen I was met by a group of Zionists from the Russian frontier town.

One more speech, and a bouquet.

That was Russia.

August 19, Alt-Aussee

Letter to Bacher:

Dear Friend:

I have come here from Russia to join my family for one day, and now I am going to Basel for the Congress.

Although we have taken separate ways on the Jewish Question for years, I still feel I ought to tell you that something will happen in Basel that the *N. Fr. Pr.* can no longer ignore.

I have brought along from Russia a document of the greatest world-wide political significance which I shall in some fashion bring to the attention of the Congress.

Get ready to publish it, for it will be impossible not to do so.

The movement and I don't need the publication in the *N. Fr. Pr.*, but the *N. Fr. Pr.* needs it. Unfortunately I can't give you the document in advance, much as I would like to do it for friendship's sake.

I can transmit it only to the Congress. English and especially American papers would be extremely grateful for it.

With the kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Herzl.

I suggest that you commission the following telegram from *London* or *Berlin:* Dr. Herzl spent a week at St. Petersburg, negotiating with the government, particularly Ministers von Plehwe and Witte, on behalf of the Jews. The results of these conversations are likely to be announced at the Zionist Congress, which convenes at Basel on August 23rd.

August 19, on the train, approaching Innsbruck

On the train between Bischofshofen and Lend-Gastein I had an unexpected meeting with Prince Philipp Eulenburg.

He was on his way to Gastein. A quick major conversation.

En deux temps trois mouvements [In two shakes of a lamb's tail] I had described to him the present state of affairs.

I immediately realized the advantage of regaining Germany.

I will gladly let Wilhelm II have the glory of placing himself at the head, after I eliminate, *une à une* [one by one], the diplomatic difficulties which were in the way the time before.

Eulenburg asked me whether he should write Bülow what I had told him.

"Bülow," I said, "is an old opponent of our cause. He will be against it now too. But if you want to write someone—write the Kaiser! He understood it then."

"Can do that, too."

And this is how we left it.

He thought my accomplishments in Russia tremendous. The answer that they had denied to Roosevelt—they gave to me.

Eulenburg asked how I accounted for that.

"First, by the difficulty they are in. Second, by the fact that I am a powerless man whom they can answer to without losing face."

He nodded.

Before he got off, he asked me to introduce him to my mother, and told her how much he admired me.

So I have revived German relations through a chance travel encounter.

August 22, Basel

The Sixth Congress.

The old hurly-burly.

My heart is acting up from fatigue.

If I were doing it for thanks, I would be a big fool.

Yesterday I gave my report to the "Greater A.C." I presented England and Russia. And it didn't occur to any of them for even a single moment that for these greatest of all accomplishments to date I deserved a word, or even a smile, of thanks.

Instead, Messieurs Jacobson, Belkovsky, and Tschlenow criticized me a number of times.

August 31, Constance, on Lake Constance

The difficult great Sixth Congress is over.

When, completely worn out, I had returned from the Congress building, after the final session, with my friends Zangwill, Nordau, and Cowen, and we sat in Cowen's room around a bottle of mineral water, I said to them:

"I will now tell you the speech I am going to make at the Seventh Congress—that is, if I live to see it.

"By then I shall either have obtained Palestine or realized the complete futility of any further efforts.

"In the latter case, my speech will be as follows:

'It was not possible. The ultimate goal has not been reached, and will not be reached within a foreseeable time. But a temporary result is at hand: this land in which we can settle our suffering masses on a national basis and with the right of self-government. I do not believe that for the sake of a beautiful dream or of a legitimistic banner we have a right to withhold this relief from the unfortunate.

'But I recognize that this has produced a decisive split in our movement, and this rift is centered about my own person. Although I was originally only a Jewish State man—*n'importe où* [no matter where]—, later I did lift up the flag of Zion and became

myself a *Lover of Zion.** Palestine is the only land where our people can come to rest. But hundreds of thousands need immediate help.

'There is only one way to solve this conflict: I must resign my leadership. I shall, if you wish, conduct the negotiations of this Congress for you, and at its conclusion you will elect two Executive Committees, one for East Africa and one for Palestine. I shall accept election to neither. But I shall never deny my counsel to those who devote themselves to the work if they request it. And my best wishes will be with those who work for the fulfilment of the beautiful dream.

'By what I have done I have not made Zionism poorer, but Jewry richer.

'Farewell!' "

September 1, on the train, between Ischl and Aussee

Yesterday I visited the Grand Duke on the Isle of Mainau.

He was kind and good, as usual. We walked for two hours up and down the garden behind the castle.

When I arrived he gave me a long hand-clasp and congratulated me on such great successes.

But when I explained to him my present difficult situation, a dilemma between East Africa and Palestine, he was full of more serious commiseration.

Again he discussed the world situation with me in some detail.

England was striving to isolate Germany.

France actually was tired of her Russian friendship by now.

In the Orient everything depended on whether a war between Austria and Hungary could be avoided.

I thought that there was no reason to fear one, because Emperor Franz Joseph could always placate Hungary at the expense of Austria.

As for my suggestion that Kaiser Wilhelm should again take the

* In English in the original.

lead in our campaign, now that I had succeeded in winning over Russia and England, the Grand Duke gently passed over it.

However, he said he would send Baron Richthofen, the Secretary of State, my speech at the Basel Congress, as well as Plehwe's letter and the English document. Then Richthofen should put all the material in businesslike form for presentation to the Kaiser.

I asked him if Germany wouldn't object to Russia's taking the lead.

"On the contrary!" said the Grand Duke. "That would make things easier for us. We could then fall into line with Russia at once. For it is our wish to remain on good terms with Russia."

This was really the core of our long conversation. At one point the good old Duke seemed moved: when I told him that we would gladly renounce the good land in East Africa for the poor land in Palestine. I would particularly regard it as a vindication for us avaricious Jews if we gave up a rich country for the sake of a poor one.

It was half past one when a footman called him away.

"I am not inviting you to stay for lunch, so as to spare you the acquaintance of all those people."

And I must write him often.

September 1, on the train

My two mistakes at the Sixth Congress were peculiar.

At a session of the Greater A.C., prior to the East Africa vote, I told the popularity hounds Tschlenow, Bernstein-Kohan, and company that anyone who voted against it could not stay on the A.C. any longer.

As a result, they no longer cared what might happen afterwards, and they left the Congress hall, which in turn led to the big scene.

The second mistake was to give the floor to Montefiore instead of to an interesting speaker who would have held them in the hall. Thus the people who fled from good Sir Francis gave the impres-

sion that they were joining the self-exiled opposition, which was actually not the case.

But after the incident Sir Francis very decently allowed me to send him back to the firing-line, just as in general he is incomparably more decent than those petty Russian *politicians** on the A.C. who, at the committee meeting, were first in favor of immediately accepting the East Africa proposal and who later marched dramatically out of the hall as though their deepest feelings had been outraged.

* * *

At the A.C. meeting they voted against making the Plehwe letter public, a measure which I nevertheless forced through.

* * *

I was not able to put through my proposal that the expenses for the expedition might be taken from our Bank.

The idiots failed to understand that the value of its shares will increase many times over if the Bank gets such a huge concession into its hands.

And that this would give us, at one stroke, our entire share capital plus large agio reserves.

These are the sort of people I have to work with.

September 5, Alt-Aussee

To Plehwe:**

Your Excellency:

In accordance with the permission you kindly granted me to return to the Zionist Question after the Congress at Basel, I have the honor to submit to Y.E. the following account.

The direction of the Congress was more laborious than ever, minds being unusually wrought up as the result of painful occur-

* In English in the original.
** In French in the original.

rences. Nevertheless I succeeded in keeping order and restoring peace. It is true that without the letter Y.E. was good enough to send me on August 12th I could not have accomplished this. But by making your letter public I managed to cut short all discussion.

The most difficult moment came when I had to lay before the Congress the British government's offer concerning a territory in Africa for our colonization. As I had the honor of telling Y.E., I had sought the aid of the Brit. govt. for obtaining Egyptian Palestine (El-Arish).

This request having been refused by the Egypt. govt., the Brit. govt. was kind enough to offer us a territory in East Africa. This proposal was contained in a letter from Sir Clement Hill, dated August 14 and sent to Basel. At the time I received this communication I did not know what I have since learned, that the territory is insufficient for our needs. Indeed, Sir Harry Johnston, its former governor and one of the best experts on the country in question, has just stated, in the *Times*, that only twenty percent of the area covered by the offer could be utilized for our colonization and that other considerable difficulties forced him to declare himself resolutely opposed to the project—which could have provided, at most, for the settlement of only some thousands of families.

Even though I was ignorant of these facts at the opening of the Congress, I was sufficiently acquainted with the Zionist movement to know in advance how the English proposal would be received. They were unanimous in their gratitude, they were moved to tears —but East Africa is not Palestine.

After a rather hot fight I was able to put only the preliminary question to a vote: that is, to send an exploratory commission—the final decision being left to another Congress in a year or two.

I had the greatest difficulty in bringing about this modest result, for there was a solid opposition even to the courtesy of taking the English proposal under consideration. This opposition was composed almost exclusively of Russian Zionists. And at a private caucus of the Russian Zionists they even started accusing me of treason!

I report the facts in all frankness, with no attempt at concealment.

There were 295 votes at the Congress in favor and 177 votes against. The minority was almost entirely Russian. The few Russians who voted for acceptance did so largely out of a personal attachment to me and because they were convinced that I would never give the signal for an emigration to Africa.

The true situation, then, emerges with absolute clarity. If there are any supporters of colonization in Africa, they are found in other countries than Russia. The phenomenon is curious but unquestionable. I have had the opportunity to learn the views on this subject even of several Russian Jewish revolutionaries now living abroad. It seems to me that they are against Africa and in favor of Palestine.

The explanation of this bizarre attitude—because up to now they have been utterly indifferent to Zionism—may perhaps be the following: an emigration to Africa would never involve more than several thousand proletarians and would therefore serve no political purpose; whereas, if a settlement of the Jewish people took place in Palestine, the radical elements would be forced to take part in the movement in order not to be too late in getting into a new society which the conservative and reactionary bourgeois elements would not have failed to rush into.

This Congress therefore has illuminated the truth of what I had the honor of explaining to you at St. Petersburg. A permanent emigration can be directed only to Palestine.

Great hopes now hang on the government's promise made in Y.E.'s letter of August 12th. The frustration of these hopes would upset the whole situation. I would no longer be trusted; and the revolutionary parties would gain everything that Zionism, represented by my friends and me, lost.

The only wholesome solution, therefore, depends upon the efficacy of the promised intervention with the Ottoman government. Y.E. was good enough to inform me in the course of our last conversation that the letter of August 12th was addressed to

me with the consent and upon the command of H.M. the Emperor. A personal and direct intervention by H.I.M. with the Sultan would probably have a decisive effect, all the more so because we are willing to offer financial benefits to the Ottoman Treasury.

I envisage this intervention in the following manner. If H.M. the Emperor of Russia deigned to give me a letter recommending our Zionist project, I would deliver it to H.M. the Sultan, who previously received me in audience in 1901.

If, at the same time, His Excellency the Ambassador of Russia at Constantinople received instructions to help me in my undertaking, I would go to Constantinople with great hopes for the outcome of the negotiations.

French diplomacy, so cordially devoted to the interests of Russia, would naturally be favorably disposed to our project. I believe that H.E. Count Lamsdorff could easily obtain this cooperation if he so desired.

As far as Germany is concerned, I believe there will be no difficulties from that direction. I have just had the honor of seeing the Grand Duke of Baden at the Mainau castle, and H.R.H. gave me to understand that the German government, while not taking the initiative in the matter, would gladly support the Russian proposal to grant Palestine to the Jews.

Finally, it is not too daring to say that the English cabinet, which has just given us such magnanimous proof of its sentiments toward our unhappy people, would likewise help us in our efforts toward settling in Palestine.

Thus it depends only on the government of H.M. the Emperor of Russia whether the whole thing will be carried out promptly. For years I have been preparing the ground at Constantinople, and in governmental circles I count many friends of our cause, which is so advantageous to the economic interests of Turkey.

If I am vigorously supported, I believe it is possible to bring about a solution in a short time.

This means that emigration could begin within the next few months.

I humbly await the decisions of the Imp. govt., and beg Y.E. to accept the expression of my high regard and devotion.

Th. Herzl.

September 10, Alt-Aussee, Styria

Letter to Hartwig (with partial use of a draft by Nordau):*

Alt-Aussee, September 11, 1903

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to return to the subject of the interview you very kindly granted me at St. Petersburg on the subject of the Zionist cause.

The letter which H.E. M. de Plehwe did me the honor of sending to me under the date of August 12, 1903, contains a very positive government statement, and I have been authorized to make public use of it.

Y.E. is without doubt familiar with the situation in those sections of the Russian Empire where Jews are permitted to live. This situation has become embarrassing for H.M. the Emperor's government.

Squeezed within limits too restricted for their number, which increases slowly but steadily, despite a birth rate rather below the average for the Empire, hindered in their economic mobility, subjected to murderous internal competition, the Russian Jews grovel in misery so profound that it can hardly become worse, the slightest lowering of the level to which they have already sunk literally meaning death from hunger and cold.

The Jew is, by nature, ultra-conservative. By temperament, as well as by the precepts of his religion, he is the most obedient observer of the law that one could wish. But would it be surprising if, in his deep discouragement, in his absolute lack of hope for improving his lot or simply for living he became receptive to radical ideas?

* In French in the original.

And even if respect for law should always resist the evil suggestions of despair, the spectacle of almost 6 million people, whose number continues to grow steadily, having reached the depths of human misery could only do harm to the reputation of a government which claims for itself principles of morality and humanity—I cite the letter of H.E. M. de Plehwe.

This situation could be remedied by abolishing the restrictions on the Russian Jews' right of domicile. But I understand that the Imperial government does not believe itself able to employ this radical and immediately effective measure.

Then there remains only one other way, and one only: the systematic organization of Jewish emigration.

But the only country in the world that irresistibly attracts almost all Russian Jews, with the exception of a tiny minority, is Palestine. All other countries attract only the lost children of Judaism. Only the Promised Land, the land of their ancestors calls to all of them, the faithful.

Let H.M. the Emperor's government afford us its support with H.M. the Sultan so that he may throw Palestine open to Jewish immigration on a large scale and grant them, under his exalted suzerainty, administrative autonomy guaranteed under public law and extensive enough to promise them definite security and the possibility of normal national development, and the Russian Pale will be emptied of Jews in the same measure as Palestine is prepared to receive them.

There lies the salvation for the Russian Jews and the solution of a problem otherwise insoluble for the Imperial government.

And if I may be permitted to formulate the Zionist request, it may be summarized as follows: [there follows "The problem is . . ." to . . . "collect from the colonists." on p. 1520].

To sum up, I have the honor to suggest that Y.E. be kind enough to address to H.E. the Ambassador of H.M. the Emperor to H.M. the Sultan the instructions which H.E. M. de Plehwe caused me to hope for by his letter mentioned before, written, as the Minister was kind enough to tell me, with the consent and by the order of H.M. the Emperor of Russia.

Begging Y.E. to accept the expression of my high esteem,

Dr. Th. H.

To H.E., Mr. N. G. de Hartwich, Director of the First Department of the Min. of For. Aff., St. Petersburg

* * *

Letter to Kireyev:*

Your Excellency:

Permit me to recall myself to your kind memory.

I have already sent you a small remembrance from Basel: the book edition of my new play which has just been performed at the Royal Theatre in Berlin. I was unable to attend the premiere of *Solon in Lydia* because I had my Zionist Congress meeting in Basel at the same time.

I much prefer literature to politics, and when in the course of my activities and peregrinations I meet someone whom I would like to please—which is rare enough—I inflict my writings on him.

Your Excellency, accept this excuse!

Today I am writing to H.E. M. de Hartwich to whom you were kind enough to introduce me. I am giving him a brief presentation of our requests and plans.

If you can *ein gutes Wort einlegen* [put in a good word], I beg you to do so.

While returning from the station after your sister's departure, you told me several things about the relation between Christianity and Judaism which have since given me food for thought. I did not have my reply quite ready, but I think our thoughts are in agreement.

I am absorbed with the misery of my brethren, but not as a chauvinist or narrow-minded fanatic.

This is perhaps proved by my plan to extraterritorialize the holy places, to make them *res sacrae extra commercium gentium* [holy places above the trafficking of the nations].

* In French in the original.

That would be a great symbol; and very old dreams would be realized.

*La Gerusalemme liberata.**

I would be very happy, General, to see you again someday soon and to discuss the matters which are close to our hearts. Until then I beg Y.E. for your continued good will and to accept the expression of my high esteem and sincere devotion.

Th. Herzl.

Alt-Aussee, September 11

To Prince Philipp Eulenburg:

Your Highness:

I have wanted to write you for the past two weeks, but I have had such heart trouble all this time that any activity was impossible for me.

Now I have finally pulled myself together and have just stumbled over a pile of *press-cuttings*** in which I found something terribly disagreeable. About two weeks ago the news circulated through part of the German press that at the Berlin Congress a Social Democrat yelled *Pfui* [Boo]! when I gratefully mentioned His Maj. the German Kaiser's interest in our movement, which had become known in 1898, and that I had not reprimanded the heckler for this interruption. Only ill will can interpret this as toleration, on my part, of an insult to the Kaiser, for if *par impossible* [against all possibility] I had intended such disrespect, I certainly would not have needed to speak in such a vein.

In the shout I saw nothing but a loutish criticism that was aimed at me, because I was not Socialist enough for the man concerned. This I was able to overlook.

Although, therefore, I need not fear that a misunderstanding

* Translator's Note: A reference to Torquato Tasso's famous epic poem, *Jerusalem Delivered*.

** In English in the original.

could arise from the incident itself, because of the spiteful newspaper comments, may I nevertheless request Your Highness to explain the facts to H.M. the Kaiser when there is an opportunity. Perhaps this can be done on the occasion of the report about the latest developments in Zionism which Your Highness was going to give to H.M. the Kaiser.

I have already taken the liberty to send you the daily record of proceedings from Basel. Herewith I am enclosing a brief summary of the events.

The promise of the English government to make available to us (as an autonomous colony) a fine territory in British East Africa —a promise contained in a letter from Sir Clement Hill as well as in other unpublished documents—is as generous as it is wise. With this asylum for the persecuted England will at the same time be creating what is likely to be a strong point of support for her East African interests. I confess that this policy fills me equally with gratitude and admiration.

Yet we stubborn Jews are more attached to the sand and chalk of Palestine, and therefore I would prefer von Plehwe's letter— also printed in the enclosure—if it could be put into practice immediately. Still, it is an official declaration on the part of the Russian government—it was given to me as such—and I believe Your Highness will share my opinion that it is an important declaration. Russia gives up all claims to Palestine, since it is even willing to let an independent Jewish State come into being there.

We poor people don't even ask for that much. We would be satisfied just to have Jewish autonomy under the suzerainty of the Sultan.

What support can and may we expect from Germany?

As Your Highness knows, I have always placed great hopes in German assistance. In our movement there is a German cultural element which is probably not being underestimated and has not escaped the piercing eyes of the Kaiser.

H.M. will be in Vienna with the Imperial Chancellor within a few days. Oriental affairs will undoubtedly come up for discussion. The incidents in Beirut may make it appear desirable to the Great

Powers to help order and modern civilization make a break-through in this area. Russia has publicly declared itself in favor of our being given Palestine. France cannot take a stand against its ally. After the East Africa offer, no objection may reasonably be expected from England. If H.M. the German Kaiser also wins over the Triple Alliance for it, we shall be all set.

A great thing would be all set, Your Highness! As a statesman and a poet you survey this cause which reaches from the distant past into the distant future, and will want to help.

With respect and gratitude

I remain Your Highness's ever obedient servant,
Th. Herzl.

September 12, Alt-Aussee

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This is the first day I have had a chance to thank you for your congratulatory telegram which you sent me at Basel. I was all the more pleased by these words of congratulation since your first wire had contained a doubt of the possibility that we had really gained so much from the English government.

It is a great actuality whose full effect will only become apparent in the discussion about the report of the Alien Immigration Commission. Unfortunately, an attempt is being made through the short-sighted and arrogant scribbling of a few insignificant Jews in the letter section of the *Times* to throw an unfavorable light on the matter. It is obvious that this attempt will not be successful, for the British government will not let itself be impressed by such inconsequential fellows, when every one of our rallies shows what masses obey our call.

To offset these stupidities of our opponents, which are dictated only by envy, I would have liked to publish your congratulatory telegram if I had been authorized to do so, so that people might see how you feel about a matter that is not to the taste of the little

Jewish letter-writers to the *Times*. But I had better leave it to your own discretion to find a suitable form for your public announcement. Should you wish to send me a letter for publication, a few lines would suffice in which you tell me that you are in sympathy with the East Africa project.

Il va sans dire [It goes without saying] that I shall not publish one word of yours which you haven't given me expressly for that purpose.

I don't know yet when I shall come to London. In any case, I want to speak with the members of the government before I dispatch the expedition to investigate East Africa.

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Herzl

September 12, Alt-Aussee

To the Grand Duke of Baden:

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,
Most Gracious Prince and Lord:

For some time after I had the honor to be received by Y.R.H. on the Isle of Mainau, indisposition prevented me from doing any work. Only now have I become acquainted with a bad notice that circulated through some of the German papers about two weeks ago.

It says that at the Basel Congress I let a shout of *Pfui* [Boo]! go unreprimanded; it was uttered by a Social Democrat when I gratefully mentioned H.M. the German Kaiser's interest in our movement. It is quite clear that this shout was meant only for me, because I wasn't Socialistic enough for the shouter, and I was able to disregard this bit of unmannerliness with contempt.

Y.R.H. would again demonstrate to me your oft-proven kindness by giving H.M. the Kaiser a word of explanation about the true facts in the case.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing special copies of the chief documents which Y.R.H. wanted to send to Baron von Richthofen for his information.

Von Plehwe's letter, which was given to me as an official declaration of the government, reflects that Russia would even agree to an independent Jewish State in Palestine. (We would be satisfied with autonomy under the suzerainty of the Sultan.)

Its ally France will not be able to contradict Russia. England's inclination to help us is evidenced by the letter from Sir Clement Hill.

H.M. the Kaiser will be in Vienna with the Imperial Chancellor within the next few days. Presumably the Oriental question, which is acute again, will be discussed. If H.M. were also to interest the Triple Alliance in the Zionist Palestine project, we would be close to our goal. The creation of a status of extraterritoriality for the Holy Places of Christianity—as *res sacrae extra commercium gentium* [holy places above the trafficking of the nations] is part of our program.

September 13, Alt-Aussee

To Koerber:

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to enclose a printed copy of a letter which the Russian Minister von Plehwe addressed to me.

This interesting document may have escaped Your Excellency's attention, because the Vienna papers have kept silent about the Basel Zionist Congress and its attendant circumstances, sometimes for comical reasons. You see, there are several papers which don't want to admit the existence of a Jewish Question. Years ago I had an opportunity of reporting to Your Excellency about the Zionist movement, and thereafter you bestowed a friendly judgment on it. In point of fact, the Jewish Question exists in Austria too in an acute and embittering enough form, even though after the anti-Semitic victories in the elections a partial surface calm has come

about for the present. Thus our movement, which aims at a permanent solution, has gradually grown in Austria—more in the provinces than in the capital, and in Vienna more in the outlying districts than in the center. To be sure, thanks to a grossly false representation in the Jewish Communities this state of affairs is not quite apparent. (I anticipate presenting to Your Excellency on some other occasion my views on the incredible, scandalous situation in these Communities and their possible remedy by a more honest election system.)

At any rate, Austria is seriously involved in the distress of the Eastern Jews, not only in the frightful, enormous Galician reservoir, but also as the most immediate place of refuge of the persecuted Russian and Rumanian Jews.

I feel that I may regard all this as granted, and I should like to base what follows on it.

It follows from von Plehwe's letter, which was given to me as an official government declaration, with the consent of and on instructions from H.M. the Emperor of Russia, to be published as I saw fit, that the Russian government has assured the Zionist movement of its support. Therefore the question is likely to be brought closer to the Austro-Hungarian government as well, through diplomatic channels.

For this reason I beg Your Excellency to be kind enough to inform H. Exc. Count Goluchowski of what I thought I should herewith submit to you first.

After all, this solution of the Jewish Question is the concern of both domestic and foreign policy, and while domestically it will eliminate a latent, but constantly erupting trouble, it will in no way injure any foreign interests of the monarchy.

A settlement of Jewish masses in Palestine can only mean a stimulation and increase of the commercial relations of the monarchy which are not developed to any notable extent in that area at the present time.

The only non-material question which can be of importance to a Christian Power is that of the Holy Places. The solution of this question is supplied by the extraterritorialization of all Holy Places

of Christianity: they are to be *res sacrae extra commercium gentium* [holy places above the trafficking of the nations].

During the years in which my efforts everywhere attracted more attention than they did in Austria, I succeeded first in arousing the benevolent interest of the Imperial German government, and finally—almost simultaneously with the Russian support—in obtaining England's magnificent offer of help for the needy Jewish people.

Under these circumstances I may hope for the support of the government of my fatherland, too, in an undertaking which, proceeding from Jewish interests but not confined to them, aspires to the universally human goal of great help for great distress.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect, I am

Your very obedient servant,
Theodor Herzl.

September 15, Alt-Aussee

Circular letter to the I.C.A. people:

Dear Sir:

Perhaps I may assume that you have followed the deliberations of the Sixth Zionist Congress at Basel.

In any case, I am enclosing a resumé which will inform you about a few major happenings.

On our road to Palestine, which we continue to pursue steadfastly and with all our energy, we have achieved an interim result. The British government has offered us an autonomous colony in East Africa (cf. Sir Clement Hill's letter of August 14th of this year).

This truly magnanimous offer was acknowledged by the Congress unanimously and with the deepest gratitude; and it was decided by majority vote first to send out an expedition to explore the territory offered.

After a report is received, a special Congress will be called to decide on the question of settlement.

However, on the basis of the literature and of the government reports, this much is already certain: this territory is fertile and well suited for the settlement of Europeans. It may therefore be assumed that the long-sought place of refuge for the most unfortunate among our fellow Jews, who are suffering material distress and roaming about homeless, has been found—although, as I remarked in my opening address, "it is not Zion and never can be."

On the occasion of the El-Arish project, which unfortunately came to naught, I had the pleasure of speaking with the majority of the members of your Board of Directors; and unless I am mistaken, all of you view the thought of creating such a place of refuge with favor, since it is the task of the I.C.A. to colonize Jews. You, to be sure, say "anywhere," whereas my friends and I say "in Palestine."

The way things are at present, and without encroaching in any way upon the political decision of our next Congress, I believe that I am acting in the spirit of the purely philanthropic cause that you serve when I ask you whether you would care to participate in raising the funds for the expedition. No matter how the political decision may turn out, this preliminary work will in no case be valueless for relief work on a large scale. The various funds of our organization must not be drawn on to defray the expenses of this expedition, since no Palestinian territory is involved.

Therefore the Actions Committee is faced with the task of raising these expenses in some other way. Our El-Arish expedition cost about £4000. Since here an area even remoter from civilization is involved, and since, utilizing the two dry seasons, two expeditions will probably have to be sent out—first a predominantly scientific one, then a predominantly practical one—the expenses are likely to be substantially higher.

Given the state of affairs described above, I do not consider it appropriate to establish a *Société d'études* [Study Commission], as is usually done when one has business ends in view. On the other hand, there is also something dubious about accepting donations

for a project which, because of its size, is bound to assume a business character later. When the time comes, we shall either refund the contributions of those donors who came forward immediately after the Congress, or donate the money to the National Fund. Therefore I envision the contribution of the I.C.A., which I budget at about £8000, as a deposit on the separate account of the East African Expedition at the Jewish Colonial Trust in London. If it is decided later to set up a Jewish East Africa Company—and the I.C.A. would also be invited to join in founding it—the Company will pay back the contributions for the expedition.

Should no such company be set up, the I.C.A. will have to regard its contribution as lost, but will presumably find sufficient compensation in the results of the expedition, because the assurances of the English government will have created a great foundation for philanthropic colonization in any case.

If the I.C.A. contributes to the costs of the expedition in the manner outlined above, it will receive a detailed accounting as well as the reports of the expedition.

I am sending an identical copy of this strictly confidential letter to all members of the Board of Directors in order to expedite the matter.

With deep respect,

Yours faithfully,
Th. Herzl.

September 22, Alt-Aussee

Colonel Goldsmid writes that he has been invited to Balmoral by the King. I am wiring him: *

Try to get him for our previous scheme in which you collaborated. A combination of both the former and the present scheme would be a complete success, being a satisfaction for ideal as well as material interests.

Tell him also that I shall come to England at end of October.

* Original text.

Please dont spare telegrams; there may be a necessity of quick decisions.

I remain still Alt-Aussee Styria.

Benjamin.

September 23, Alt-Aussee

Two days ago I had a visit from H. Steiner whom I am sending to New York as *manager*.* I have pushed through the branch office and him against all opposition, because I think he is capable. I have paved his way to a great material future and right off have given him the best-paid position we have ever had. I am curious to see how ungrateful he will be.

* * *

Yesterday Kurt Toeppen, from German East Africa, came to see me. An East Prussian who in appearance and tone reminds me of Philipp Eulenburg. He seems to be capable, intelligent, unaffected, and a mercenary soldier type. He married an Arab girl and became a Mohammedan. I think he would become a Jew, too. Yet his matter-of-fact clarity made me like him. He shall be the quartermaster of the expedition, even if Aaron of Johannesburg should equip and run the expedition.

This would relieve me of the financial worries of the expedition, and I wouldn't need the I.C.A. any more.

October 19, Alt-Aussee

I am still being detained here by my wife's illness.

* * *

Dr. Margulies (Florence) has seen the King of Italy, asked him to receive me (the King already knew all about the Congress from the

* In English in the original.

newspapers), and received as an answer: "*Se verrà a Roma, lo vedrò volontieri* [If he comes to Rome, I shall be glad to see him]."

I want to induce the King of Italy first of all to declare himself in favor of Zionism, i.e., to permit me to publish our conversation, and afterwards to call a conference on the subject of Turkey.

* * *

When I return to Vienna, I will try to see Goluchowski and ask him for an introduction to the Pope.

October 19, Alt-Aussee

Letter to Kireyev:*

Your Excellency:

I am very happy to know that my book was of interest to you. Would you kindly get H.M. the Empress to read it?

I have heard nothing from M. de Hartwig, and this waiting is a burden on me. I would like to act, do something, put a stop to this immense Jewish suffering, make good and beautiful things grow out of the rejuvenated old earth, useful not only to us. But without the aid of the Russian government I can do nothing.

I shall return to Vienna soon. My address is *Haizingergasse 29, Vienna-Währing.*

Begging Your Excellency for your continued good-will and assuring you of my gratitude and high esteem, I am

Very devotedly yours,
Th. Herzl.

* * *

Letter to Leven (I.C.A.):

Dear Sir:

To my regret I can only regard your reply, dated September 25, to my circular letter to the gentlemen of the I.C.A.'s Board of Directors as a rejection of my proposal.

* In French in the original.

In Point 2 you make your participation dependent on the project's having no political character. It has been known for years that our movement does have a political character. Therefore you make an impossible condition.

Of course, the scheme, if we finally carry it out—our next Congress will decide this—also contains a big relief project, many times greater than all previous ones combined.

I am offering you the opportunity to participate in it without imposing any condition upon you that might run counter to your established principles. You, however, wish to impose such a condition upon us—that is, you refuse.

Respectfully yours,
Herzl.

* * *

October 24, on the train to Vienna

To Plehwe:*

Your Excellency:

In the letter which you did me the honor of addressing to me under the date of Oct. 5/18 you ask me for information about the attitude of the Russian Zionists at the last Congress at Basel.

To my knowledge—and I say this on my word as an honorable man—not one of the Russian delegates to the Congress neglected his moral and legal duties as a Russian citizen.

If any such fact had been called to my attention, I would not have hesitated to stir up immediately a general, public protest by our followers, because nothing would be more contrary to the interest of our movement, especially after the promise of the Russian government, which I was very happy to be able to announce at Basel.

Naturally, a place like the meeting-place of the Congress, in a country like Switzerland, is accessible to everyone. It is the gathering-place of very distinguished writers and the merely curious, of

* In French in the original.

representatives and missionaries of every stripe, and, above all, it is the gathering-place of my political and personal enemies. Y.E. will not wish to hold either me or our movement responsible for the acts, discussions, even the unseemly remarks which can occur in such international and intersocietal surroundings. But that is neither here nor there. The Zionists do not allow themselves to turn from their path so long as they have hope of reaching their proposed goal.

Moreover, Y.E., with your great knowledge of affairs and of men, will know how to separate the true from the false in reports which are sometimes biased. One cannot reply to vague, anonymous accusations. If there is some specific accusation, I beg Y.E. to let me know it in complete confidence, and I have no doubt that I can answer it, so sure am I of the loyalty of true Zionists, even those who oppose me.

The fact is that everyone is now waiting with great anxiety for the outcome of the promised action. The form of support which I took the liberty of submitting for Y.E.'s approval was drawn from my observations and experiences in the East. H.I.M. the Sultan will scarcely be affected by a less weighty recommendation. The Sublime Porte is used to receiving recommendations, and even notices, that do not change the course of events in the slightest. It is only at the peremptory order of H.I.M. the Sultan, who would be invited by his powerful friend H.M. the Emperor of Russia to issue it, that the Ottoman government would devote its serious attention to the matter which offers financial benefits to the Imperial Treasury. Nevertheless, I shall not take the liberty of insisting on the form of the intervention, though the one I have proposed is the only one that would give me cause to hope for any result.

Y.E. will perhaps see fit to send for me in order to present me to H.M. the Emperor, and after that audience, which would be made known to H.I.M. the Sultan, I would go to Constantinople to negotiate.

At any rate, I am at Y.E.'s orders and I am waiting for decisions. It is not on my own account that I am impatient. The discontent and misery of our poor people grow from day to day. What a mis-

fortune it would be if in their despair they let themselves be seduced by subversive ideas.

But permanent emigration is the way to resolve all the difficulties; yet the only possible kind is that directed toward Palestine.

I beg Y.E. to accept the expression of my deep respect.

Th. Herzl.

Dated October 28, 1903

* * *

Vienna, November 25

To Gen. A. Kireyev:*

Your Excellency:

First of all, please accept my very sincere thanks for your great and enduring kindness.

Not having seen anything come, I already had some suspicion that our affairs were going badly.

It is probably hard to hunt several rabbits at once, even in Turkey. The proposed intervention now certainly has a humanitarian character that everyone ought to recognize, and then it would be a rare case when one good act can only be performed at the expense of the other.

But one might object:

1) that since you are at it, you could perfectly well solve both questions at once, killing two birds with one stone;

2) that action in favor of Zionism would permit the solution of the Jewish Question, which is one of the great domestic political worries of your country, as H.E. M. de Plehwe himself has told me.

If you can, Your Excellency, do make these considerations carry some weight, I beg of you. And in any case, maintain your good will.

Yours respectfully and faithfully,
Th. Herzl.

* * *

* In French in the original.

December 3

To Plehwe:*

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform you that my friend Dr. N. Katzenelsohn of Libau will in the near future request the favor of an audience with Y.E. I have asked him to go to St. Petersburg.

He deserves every confidence.

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my high regard.

Th. Herzl.

* * *

To Mme. Korvin:*

Dear Madam:

Thanks for your kind letter. I have asked my friend and confidential agent, Dr. Katzenelsohn of Libau, to go to St. Petersburg.

I do not answer for other people who might now try to meddle in our affairs. It might be useful to warn your great friend that Katzenelsohn is the only man I have commissioned to represent the Central Committee and myself.

I thought I should advise you of this, because I suppose that your great friend has time only for serious conversations.

I remain, dear madam,

Your very grateful servant,
Th. H.

December 4, Vienna

The Russian members of the A.C., particularly Ussishkin, Jacobson, etc. are in open rebellion.

* In French in the original.

They want to give me an ultimatum: I must drop the idea of East Africa (although, or because, at Edlach I showed Belkowsky the letter I wrote to Plehwe on September 5th).

They have first acquired all the bad characteristics of professional politicians.

I shall first of all mobilize the lower masses against these inciters to rebellion; I have sent instructions to Awinowitzky in Odessa.

In addition, I shall cut off their supply of money, etc.

December 5

Mme. Korvin writes that the Russian members of the A.C. are trying to get to Plehwe through her. Plehwe has instructed her to tell me that within the next few days the ambassador at Constantinople will intervene in our behalf.

I am wiring her:*

Thanks for news. My friend Katzenelsohn of Libau will come to see you soon. Receive no one but him or else our friend Jasinovsky. I remain yours gratefully and devotedly,

Herzl.

December 11, Vienna

To Goluchowski:

Your Excellency:

I beg to request Your Excellency for an audience—on the subject of the Zionist movement, about which I reported to H.E. Prime Minister von Koerber, on September 12th, with the request to inform Your Excellency. A copy of the reply I received is enclosed herewith.

I should now like to report to Your Excellency on the present state of affairs, particularly on the support which may be expected

* In French in the original.

from the Russian, German, and English governments, and on the basis of documents which must be treated as confidential and which I can present only in person.

Begging Y.E. to accept the expression of my deepest respect,

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

* * *

To Plehwe: *

Your Excellency:

The letter which you did me the honor of addressing to me under the date of November 23/December 6 has arrived. I have first of all to express my deep gratitude for the action in favor of Zionism at Constantinople and also for the trust with which you write me. It is of course understood that I shall not make that letter public without authorization. But then, how will it be known that this action has been taken? For I must confess in all sincerity that I have few illusions about the actual effect of intervention in that form, being familiar with the ways and customs of Turkey's very clever diplomacy.

The Russian ambassador's intervention, well-intentioned though it may be, stands a very good chance of joining the documents of other fruitless interventions in the archives of the Sublime Porte. In my humble opinion, the only effective way to make H.I.M. the Sultan take the matter seriously would be a personal act of H.M. the Emperor of Russia, either in a letter to the Sultan or in an audience granted to me, which I would be authorized to make public. But although I mention this idea once again, I can only bow respectfully if it is brushed aside.

Nevertheless, my desire to work toward the soothing of tempers persists; that is why I suggest that Y.E. authorize me to make public the letter of November 23/December 6, suppressing the passage which obliges me to keep it secret, or else send me a letter that may be made public.

* In French in the original.

Thereby everyone would see at least the Imp. govt.'s excellent intentions to help resolve the unfortunate Jewish Question by the great humanitarian measure of Zionism, and that would produce a certain effect on universal public opinion right at this moment.

I beg Y.E. to accept the expression of my great esteem and devotion.

Th. Herzl.

December 12, Vienna

To Izzet:*

My dear friend, if we reach an agreement, I shall place ten thousand pounds at your disposal the day it is signed.

I am prepared to put this promise in any legal form you may choose to indicate; for example, in the name of your son or anyone at all.

* * *

Letter for public display with which I am enclosing the above:*

Your Excellency,

Permit me to ask you the news about my most respectful proposal addressed on February 16, 1903 to your August Master and to His Highness the Grand Vizier.

I thought I understood that considerations of foreign policy, particularly with regard to Russia, had prevented the Imp. Govt. from taking up the question. For this reason I have striven, with the help of friends that I have in every country, to dispel these difficulties. That has been done. These difficulties no longer exist, and you will shortly have official confirmation of this, if you have not already received it.

So I now repeat my proposal which offers in addition to the

* In French in the original.

creation of a new source of income for the Imperial Treasury—a possibility for the basis of a loan—other benefits as well: in a word, the economic reorganization of your fine country which I am so fond of.

A territory we can find elsewhere. We have found it. You have undoubtedly read in the papers that the English government has offered me a territory of 60,000 to 90,000 square leagues* in Africa, a rich, fertile country, excellent for our colonization. But nevertheless, I come back once more to my plan for finding the salvation of the Jewish people among the brothers of our race and our co-religionists who live under the sceptre of the Caliph, bringing to them what we have, that is to say, the spirit of enterprise, industry, economic progress.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my great devotion and high esteem,

Th. Herzl.

*Translator's Note: Roughly 180,000 to 270,000 square miles.

Book Eighteen

Begun in Vienna
December 12, 1903

December 12, Vienna

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,
Most Gracious Prince and Lord:

Dated December 14

The hint contained in Y.R.H.'s most gracious holograph letter of September 30th of this year—that a great deal is likely to depend on Russia's intervention on behalf of Zionism at Constantinople—I have since then regarded as setting the direction for my efforts, and today I permit myself to report respectfully that we have made a bit of progress. I am informed that the Russian ambassador at Constantinople within the next few days will—if it has not already happened—present to the Sublime Porte the desire of his government that agreement for a settlement in Palestine be concluded with us.

May I now turn to the often-proved graciousness of Y.R.H. with the request to come to our aid again at this important turning point in our movement? The support of the German Empire would perhaps induce the hesitating Sultan to make a decision in the matter. Herr von Marshall's intervention would be of the greatest significance now.

England's sympathies may presumably be counted upon, after her generous offer of land in East Africa.

Entrusting my endeavors once again to the kindness and wisdom of Y.R.H., I remain with deepest respect and most heart-felt gratitude

Your obedient servant,
Dr. Theodor Herzl.

December 16, Vienna

Greenberg wants me to withdraw from the East African plan in an open letter to Francis Montefiore.

I am wiring him: *

* Original text.

Letter received. I shall not publish your draft. Gasters meeting is no sufficient reason. I have only to consider my situation with Mandel and Basel. I can neither accept nor withdraw. My point is that Mandel has to withdraw his offer or to give something else. Am writing instructions for Sunday. Am not frightened of such a blunder.

December 16, Vienna

Greenberg, whom I instructed to play down East Africa when he was here, appears to have already committed himself too much to the English government before they gave us something else. For the time being I am not releasing them from their word.

I won't let myself be intimidated by demonstrations, whether they come from Gaster or from Ussishkin.

* * *

The situation is perhaps more favorable now than ever. If Russia really helps us in Constantinople, we may be in clover.

Two days ago I ran into General Shükri Pasha, the Turkish military attaché and son of the Minister of War, on the street. He walked along with me. *Almanaccando* [thinking out loud] I asked him to write his father that I have eliminated the international obstacles and that Russia would no longer make any trouble for us, but would in fact support us. He promised to do so.

Then, *choses et autres* [one thing and another]. We spoke about Djevdet and the ambassador whose face he had slapped. Shükri inveighed frightfully against Mahmud Nedim. I ought to get him out of Vienna. If I managed to do so, he, Shükri, would be my friend forever and willing to perform any counter-service. I promised to consider it.

* * *

Margulies reports today that he has received a letter from the King of Italy through the Adjutant-General: the King will be glad

to receive me any time I come. However, Adjutant-General Brusati recommends January as the best time.

J'aime autant ça [I like this very much], because just now another opportunity has opened up to become head of a newspaper, which requires my presence in Vienna at Christmastime and New Year's.

December 18, Vienna

Greenberg reports: *

Hope you do not think I was so stupid as to suggest publication without getting something from Mandel.

The question is only what he has received from Mandel (F.O.).

* * *

Katzenelsohn has been summoned to St. Petersburg to see Plehwe.

Perhaps things will start rolling now.

December 25, Vienna

My letter to Nordau in Bluebook II contains the facts about the latest events, the attempt on Nordau's life, etc.

* * *

Shükri Pasha called on me today and asked me for a memorandum for his father, the Minister of War.

Shükri will be my friend if I get rid of Mahmud Nedim.

I am giving him the memorandum of February 16, 1903, Bk. XIV.

The scheme may be summed up as follows.**

The Proposal.

All we ask is to colonize the Sanjak of Acre, along with the crown lands. In return for a charter of colonization, granted to the Jewish

* Original text.
** In French in the original.

Colonial Trust of London for the aforesaid Sanjak of Acre, we pledge ourselves to pay an annual tribute of 100,000 Turk, pds. This annuity could be the basis for a loan which we will procure for the Imp. Govt.

The colonists will become Ottoman subjects.

In addition, we are ready to found a new bank, with registered offices at Constantinople and London, to serve the financial interests of Turkey.

Also, a covering letter to Shükri:

Your Excellency:*

It seems to me that it is best to formulate the essence of the project in a few words. The details will follow if they wish to go into it.

I remain Your Excellency's sincerely devoted

H.

December 26, 1903.

December 26, Vienna

To Sinoviev:*

Your Excellency:

Permit me to introduce myself by letter until such time as I may have the honor of presenting myself in person. I am the leader of the Zionist movement which seeks a solution of the distressing Jewish Question by colonization in Palestine. At St. Petersburg I was fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of the Imp. Govt. H. E. the Minister of the Interior has, upon orders from H.M. the Emperor, set down a resumé of our conversations in a letter dated July 30/August 12, which I have been authorized to make public.

Under date of November 23/December 6, 1903, H.E. M. de

* In French in the original.

Plehwe did me the honor of addressing the following very confidential communication to me:

". . . Count Lamsdorff and I have agreed to inform the Sublime Porte, through the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, of the friendly reception which the Imp. Govt. has given the Zionists' project to resettle their co-religionists in Palestine.

"In the dispatch which the Minister of Foreign Affairs will address to this effect to the Acting Privy Councillor Sinoviev there is mention of the fact that in favorably receiving the Zionist request the Ottoman Porte attests to the bond of friendship that exists between the two Empires."

As regards us Zionists, all we ask of the govt. of H.I.M. the Sultan is a Charter of Colonization for the Sanjak of Acre.

In return for this Charter we are willing to pledge ourselves to pay to the Ottoman Treasury an annual tribute of one hundred thousand Turkish pounds.

May I now be permitted to ask Your Excellency whether you have already been good enough to approach the Sublime Porte, and with what result.

I am quite ready to go to Constantinople if it becomes necessary, and then I shall not fail to solicit Y.E.'s good will.

Begging Y.E. to accept the expression of my high esteem,

Dr. Th. H.

December 27, Vienna

Telegram to Cowen and Greenberg:*

Couldn't you arrange tonight at Meeting Cavendish Rooms someone to ask Gaster strongly, upon what grounds he pretends I went submissive hat in hand to Ica.

Force him to answer immediately, because it is a lie and I shall publish next Friday my correspondence with Ica.

Benjamin.

* Original text.

December 27, Vienna

[To Plehwe:]*

Your Excellency:

Permit me to thank you sincerely for having given so kind a reception to my friend, Mr. Katzenelsohn. He has given me a report of his conversations with Y.E., and I have certainly encountered in it all the benevolence with which you honor me.

Mr. Katzenelson writes me that Y.E. is surprised that I have not already left for Constantinople. I cannot go there without having been invited by the Sultan, because on three occasions I have gone there only upon his invitation. I would be giving the impression of wanting to obtrude myself, and that would spoil the matter right at the start. No, I must wait, and I wait without great hopes, although I am infinitely grateful for all the trouble Y.E. has taken in this direction. Only yesterday I inquired of H.E. M. Sinoviev by letter whether he has already taken any steps on our behalf, using as justification Y.E.'s very confidential communication. I took care to have this letter reach him by a confidential agent.

I must also thank Y.E. for the promised assistance in the matter of the Russian branch of our Jewish Colonial Trust.

This branch must in effect be the financial instrument of the emigration; and if we obtain the territory, the instrument of the emigration must be all ready. At the same time, the members of the board of directors of this branch will be able to serve as representatives of our movement, without which it would be necessary to work out complicated political regulations. It goes without saying that the branch's by-laws will in all points conform to Russian law and usage.

I have the honor to propose the following as representatives:

Dr. N. Katzenelson of Libau
Dr. M. Mandelstamm of Kiev
Mr. Jasinowski, attorney, of Warsaw

* In French in the original.

Mr. L. Schalit, businessman, of Riga
Mr. Ben Jacob, businessman, of Vilna
Mr. Louis Loewy, engineer, of Kursk
Mr. Reines, rabbi, of Lidda.

The last-named represents the Orthodox element. All are honest people and deserving of absolute trust. If I nevertheless mention one of them in particular, it is because he has recently been the object of attacks in the newspapers. It is Dr. Mandelstamm, the best of men, with a heart of gold, honest, unselfish, level-headed. He is a scholar of advanced years, and we all venerate him.

Y.E. will accept or reject the proposed members at your discretion. Once they have been approved, I shall ask them to go to St. Petersburg and ask Y.E. for a group audience in order to submit the request for the authorization of the branch.

May I also be permitted to direct Y.E.'s attention to a piece of news which obviously is a fabrication, but is now making the rounds of the European press. The rumor is being circulated that there will be more massacres at Kishinev on the occasion of the Russian Christmas celebration. To me, this is an abominable falsehood; but I think it is my duty to advise you of it, now that I am acquainted with your very humanitarian views.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my high esteem and sincere gratitude,

Th. Herzl.

December 27

December 30, Vienna

To Mme. Korvin.*

Dear Madam,

Unknown people are circulating the rumor in the European and American press that there will again be massacres at Kishinev. As far as I am concerned, this is a stupid and abominable falsehood.

* In French in the original.

I am telling this point-blank to the English and American journalists who are coming to interview me, so that they may publish it. In acting this way and striving to soothe tempers, I believe I am paying a debt of loyalty to your great friend who is himself doing his best for the only possible solution. However, up to this moment nothing has come from Constantinople.

Have you received my book?

I hope it gives you pleasure. I kiss your kind, beneficent hand and remain

Yours gratefully and devotedly,
Th. Herzl.

Sent off on January 1, 1904, in revised form.

December 31

*To Joe:**

My good Joe,

don't make me meschugge [crazy], *my labour is hard enough. My colleagues of the A.C. are for the publication of the East-African scheme's failure, and so is Nordau. Others are for continuation of the negotiations.*

But what good would that do? Mandel won't give up Samson. I guessed that as early as October. Kindly re-read the letter I wrote to *you* on *October* 14th. How good and wise it would have been if you *triumviri* [triumvirate] in London had acceded to my wish and followed my advice. But no, you thought that I wasn't seeing things right. Today it is clear that I did, and that my idea was the right one. When Greenberg assured me that Mandel would keep his word, I told him that *I* wasn't going to give it up voluntarily. But 3 weeks ago, when he was here, Greenberg reported to me that Mandel had already given up Samson. All that was left to do then was to salvage what one still could from it.

You must never forget how terribly difficult my position is. I won't yield to the threats of the Kharkov people, but even those

* Salutation and first paragraph in English in the original.

loyal to the Congress may seriously reproach me if I suppress such important news for weeks.

I have no sufficient information from Greenberg. I literally don't know where we now stand, and yet I am pressed from all sides to make decisions.

Four days ago Greenberg was at Brown's in Birmingham and wired me: *"interview very satisfactory."** Nothing else. How can I make decisions on the basis of that? What Greenberg finds *very satisfactory,** I may perhaps not find so.

In short, the difficulties are becoming greater and greater, and then my best people (e.g., Joe) write me irritated letters into the bargain.

Naturally it would be good if I had the central office in London. But surely that could be done only if I had my livelihood there. That I should ever let myself be supported by our movement, in any way whatever, is the most ridiculous idea.

In the first place, I don't have the character required for this.

In the second place, even if I had the character, may God graciously protect and preserve me from it.

*Happy new year!**

Your loyal
Benjamin.

January 4, 1904, Vienna

To Plehwe:**

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to submit to you the information that I obtained at Constantinople.

The confidential representative whom I charged with trans-

* In English in the original.
** In French in the original.

mitting my letter to H.E. M. Sinoviev, the Russian ambassador, received this reply: "They have written me about it from St. Petersburg; but up to now I have not done anything, and it will not be easy to do anything."

Under these circumstances, and despite my good will, I cannot do anything on behalf of the emigration, and the situation of the Jews will remain as sad and distressing as it has been up to now.

Moreover, the reply of H.E. M. Sinoviev proves the accuracy of the considerations which I permitted myself to submit to Your Excellency. An ordinary intervention with the Sublime Porte offers so little hope that the Ambassador was not even willing to attempt it.

Begging Y.E. to accept the expression of my high esteem and my devotion,

Th. Herzl.

January 4, Vienna

To Mme. Korvin:*

My Dear Madam,

Bad news from Constantinople.

I sent a confidential agent to your representative down there, and the latter replied that he hadn't done anything yet; he doesn't seem inclined to attempt a serious intervention. What to do next?

I am in a very embarrassing situation, especially since I have telegraphed to America about the favorable disposition which people now have in your country to make permanent emigration easy, saying that steps have already been taken to this end. This must make me look like an impostor.

What do you think of all this?

Perhaps you could make inquiries of your great friend.

I am

Very gratefully and devotedly yours,
Herzl.

* In French in the original.

[Pasted in].

The solution of the Kharkov riddle:

Rosenbaum's resumé.

Various circumstances and Prof. Belkovsky's report at Kharkov have made us recognize these two main points:

1) That you no longer want us.

2) That your views on the Zionist idea differ from ours, and that you want to work for Palestine as only one of a number of possibilities.

Vienna, January 4, 1904

S. Rosenbaum.

January 20, 1904 on the train,
approaching Florence

I was extremely busy in Vienna until the very last minute; then a 24-hour breathing spell in Venice.

Truly a blue Monday.

In the evening I couldn't be bothered to put on my dinner jacket for the 1½ Englishmen in the Grand Hotel, so I went to Bauer's Austrian Beer House.

As I entered, someone leaned forward in a corner where a party was sitting. I didn't immediately recognize him. Then a waiter came over and asked me whether I was Herzl of Vienna.

In order to be left in peace, my first impulse was to say no, but then I did admit my identity.

And so there came to my table—the painter and papal count, Lippay.

In this way something started that may have great consequences.

After five minutes Lippay said to me: "Come on to Rome and I will present you to the Pope." He obviously said this out of *vantardise* [a desire to brag].

I didn't answer, *"J'allais vous le demander* [I was just going to ask you to do so], but, "Hm, hm, that may be something to talk about."

Over the years I have learned to control my first impulses.

Lippay remained at my table an hour and a half, unpacking more and more of his connections, *en homme ivre de ses relations* [like a drunk talking about his connections].

I was such a good listener that he kept babbling away. He wants to reconcile Rampolla with Austria, and as an unofficial agent—something between an ambassador and a courier—he is bringing 22 decorations to Rome.

He is going to confer them only on those whom the Pope approves of.

He and the Pope are friends, ever since their days in Venice.

L.'s wife is a Venetian.

He wants to present me personally to the Pope and act as our interpreter. All I have to do is to send him the following telegram on Wednesday (today):

Conte Lippay, pittore di Sua Santità,
Anticamera Vaticano.

Pregola insistentemente ottenermi udienza presso Santo Padre. Aspetto sua risposta Firenze Grand Hotel. [Count Lippay, Painter to His Holiness, Vatican Ante-Chambers.

Urgently request you to obtain audience with Holy Father for me. Awaiting your reply Grand Hotel, Florence].

I sent the wire this morning from Bologna.

Yesterday morning I traveled with Lippay from Venice to Ferrara. On the train he told me some more state secrets; and I in turn showed him Koerber's reply to my letter of September 12th.

Lippay asked me whether he might tell the Pope that Koerber wanted me to be received.

"Under no circumstances!" I replied most emphatically.

He also told me that he was intervening on behalf of Hilsner, and against the ritual-murder charge. A question which he asked me in this connection, how I stood with the Vienna Rothschild and with Guttmann, opened up certain vistas for me.

"I don't know the Vienna Rothschild at all. To Guttmann I can introduce you any time you want."

This was agreed upon.

At Ferrara I visited my friend Ravenna. In his home we had a feast like the one that was served in the house of the Levite.

The rooms, to be sure, had an Italian coldness and bareness, but the hearts were warm.

The Zionists (the executive committee) of Ferrara, Ravenna's father from Bologna, and Donati from Modena were all on hand.

The atmosphere reminded me a little of Vilna.

January 22, Rome

When I arrived at the Hotel du Quirinal, Count Lippay was already waiting for me and confirmed the message he had wired me at Florence, that my audience with the Pope was assured.

I am going to see Secretary of State Merry del Val this forenoon, and perhaps the Pope as well before the day is over.

Lippay informed me he had already told both of them a good deal about me, and had relegated other matters to the background. It had made an especially fine impression that I had expressed myself "so favorably" about Jesus Christ. (That was at the beer-hall in Venice, when I had explained to him my artistic and philosophic attitude toward the touching figure of Jesus, whom, after all, I consider a Jew.)

He said I should tell Merry del Val that mine was the Catholic point of view.

"That, sir, I shall not!" I replied categorically. "The very idea! After all, I am not going to the Vatican as a proselyte, but as a political spokesman for my own people."

Then he tried something else: I should ask the Pope to assume the protectorate.

Nothing doing there either!

"I don't intend to ask for anything that might embarrass him. I shall only request what is possible. Let him state in an encyclical that he has no objection to Zionism, provided the Holy Places are extraterritorialized."

The Count—whom I am getting to like more and more and who, while evidently out to make a little money, seems, as an artist, to be moved by the beauty of our cause—also told me that he was willing and able to work on my behalf at Constantinople as well.

"What will I get for that?"

"Whatever you like! Name your price!"

We agreed that we would discuss this after the audience.

January 23, Rome, 5:00 a. m., in bed

My sleep gets worse and worse.

Yesterday morning I was supposed to go with Lippay to the Vatican. He had all sorts of things to take care of, and it was 11:45 by the time we drove up to the Porta di Bronzo. The Swiss guards and the lackeys all knew him. Like a mighty man he strode up the steps and through the loggias of his fellow artist Raphael. He announced me to the Secretary of State, Merry del Val, and then took me to the ante-chambers of the Pope, where he left me to myself. As he disappeared he said: "I am on my way to the Pope."

The wait—an hour long—was nevertheless not boring. There was entertainment in the coming and going of the guards, chamberlains, prelates, and the lackeys in their red damask-silk liveries. All the colors harmonized magnificently. The world's greatest painters had collaborated on this.

In the first ante-chamber, where I was sitting, two tall grenadiers stood on a carpet, being bored. They had their backs turned to a large, beautiful bronze crucifix which rested on a console, flanked by two bronze saints at prayer. After a while the grenadiers started moving and marched up and down, up and down in step, holding their sabers at a horizontal tilt. Then they stood again, with their backs to the crucifix.

Ladies gowned in black and beribboned gentlemen in swallow tails emerged from the second ante-chamber, where I could see a red carpet. They were coming from the Pope.

There certainly was something court-like about it all.

And the crucified figure, pitiful, suffering, the image of human misery, looked down from his bronze form upon the marble walls and the court life that was unrolling here in his name, and has been unrolling for many hundreds of years now.

If he could have foreseen it all when he cried from the cross, "*Eli, Eli* [My God, my God]!"—would it have made dying easier or harder for him?

Then Lippay returned and took me back to the apartments—the Borgia, if I'm not mistaken—occupied by the Secretary of State.

Here one can see the beautiful, devout, naive frescoes of Pinturicchio: the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, the divine child in the lowly manger—*nous en sommes loin* [we are far removed from it].

When the waiting came to an end I was taken into the next room, the council chamber of the Sacred College. A green table, surrounded by red and gold armchairs. In the background, once again the tortured God upon the Cross.

Various ambassadors were waiting for the Secretary of State.

My turn came last.

Lippay ushered me in, kissed Cardinal Merry del Val's hand, and introduced me. Then he took his leave, kissed the cardinal's hand a second and a third time, and left.

Merry del Val bade me be seated, and soon the conversation, which I conducted in French, was in full swing.

As we talked I took a good look at him.

Merry del Val is 38 years old, tall, slim, aristocratic. Fine, large, brown, serious, inquiring yet not unreligious eyes in a still young, but already grave face.

The hair at his temples showed the first streaks of grey.

I told him what I wanted: the good will of the Holy See for our cause.

He said: "I do not quite see how we can take any initiative in this matter. As long as the Jews deny the divinity of Christ, we certainly cannot make a declaration in their favor. Not that we have any ill will toward them. On the contrary, the Church has always protected them. To us they are the indispensable witnesses to the

phenomenon of God's term on earth. But they deny the divine nature of Christ. How then can we, without abandoning our own highest principles, agree to their being given possession of the Holy Land again?"

"We are asking only for the profane earth; the Holy Places are to be extraterritorialized."

"Oh, but it won't do to imagine them in an enclave of that sort."

"But is the present state of things more satisfactory to Christendom, Your Eminence? Don't you think that it would be more in keeping with the religious sentiments of all Christian denominations if a different order were established?"

"The College of Cardinals has never taken up this question. Of course, the existence of such a movement is known through the newspapers; but surely the College as such could not go into the matter in detail unless a memorandum were submitted to it."

"It would be consonant with the great policy of the Church, Your Eminence, if the Holy See declared itself in our favor—or, let us say, as not against us. I have always admired the Catholic Church, which I know through its law and its art, for its great vitality and its large perspectives. You could achieve a great moral conquest here."

"Certainly," he said, "a Jew who has himself baptized out of conviction is for me the ideal. In such a person I see the physical characteristics of descent from Christ's people united with the spiritual elements. A Jew who acknowledges the divinity of Christ —*mais c'est St. Pierre, c'est Saint Paul* [but that is St. Peter, that is St. Paul]. The history of Israel is our heritage, it is our foundation. But in order for us to come out for the Jewish people in the way you desire, they would first have to be converted."

"Think of the wanderer and his cloak, Your Eminence. The wind couldn't take it away from him, but the sun smiled it away from him. We have withstood the persecutions, we are still here today."

"Undoubtedly that is an argument which could carry some weight. Still, I see no possibility of our assuming the initiative."

"No one is asking you to, Your Eminence! The initiative will

be taken by one of the Great Powers. You are simply to give your approval. If I were only interested in the material, temporal aspects—I have gone from one Power to another and secured their consent. Proof of this is Plehwe's (last) letter to me. But I also wish to obtain the spiritual approval of the Roman Church."

He read through Plehwe's letter thoughtfully, the first page twice, as though he were memorizing it.

Then he promised *prise en considération* [consideration] of my request.

He gave me permission to come again. I begged to be allowed to place my respects at the feet of the Holy Father. He promised to ask the Pope to grant me an audience.

The conversation, to Lippay's astonishment, had lasted three-quarters of an hour (past the Cardinal's dinner time).

January 23, Rome

Today I had my audience with the King.

I killed time at the hotel until 10:30. Then I instructed my *coupé de remise* [hired carriage] to take a *giro* [leisurely drive] and land me at the Quirinal at 11:05.

On the drive through old-new Rome I got the idea of building a street in Jerusalem which shall be called Diaspora Road and display the architectural styles of all the ages and nations through which we have moved. Building regulations are to be given out for each section of this street, and sites are to be allotted (gratis?) only to people who pledge themselves to build in the style of their particular section.

At 11:05 I drew up before the King's wing of the Quirinal.

The staircase elegant, but not magnificent.

I caught my breath after the long climb in the adjutant's room. A general and a captain introduced themselves to me and were very nice. We had an animated conversation—in Italian, to the extent of my knowledge of it.

At twenty past eleven a monk wearing a cardinal's cap came out of the King's room.

Right after that I was called in. The captain went ahead of me and called out my name through the doorway—I believe he opened both wings of the door. In the audience chamber the King came up to me, wearing a general's uniform without a sword, and with a friendly smile held out his hand to me, as if to an acquaintance. He is very short, but he has broad shoulders and a very trim military bearing.

He pointed to an armchair: "*Déposez votre chapeau* [Put down your hat]!"

Then he sat down close beside me on the sofa; or rather, he hoisted himself up from behind and slid down onto it, as a child might do. In that position his feet were well above the floor.

His small stature seems to be the sorrow of this King, who in other respects gave me the impression of being no insignificant man. He is clever, highly educated, very amiable, and very modest. Once he is seated, he no longer cares about being imposing. *Il me mit à mon aise* [He put me at my ease], and in fact I most affably chatted away a whole hour with him. There isn't a trace of affectation of majesty about him. He has *son franc parler* [his frank way of speaking] and a very lively mind.

Often both of us spoke at the same time—that is how animated our (French) conversation was.

It also jumped so much from one thing to another that now, one day later, I can no longer reconstruct it.

I told him all the essential things, and he talked about all sorts of subjects—e.g.:

"In our country there is no distinction between Jews and Christians. Jews can become anything, and they do. The army, the civil service, even the diplomatic corps—everything everywhere is open to them. In Parliament there are 18 of them—although on a population basis they ought to have only one seat, perhaps half a one. Almost every cabinet has included a Jew—at present Luzzatti. There used to be Gen. Ottolenghi and Wollemborg. Not to speak of lesser posts. We are the only nation to admit Jews into the diplomatic service."

"America does too, Sire!"

"I am speaking of the European monarchies. Among us the Jews are completely Italian." (He mentioned a whole string of names.) "Nor is there a distinction drawn anywhere. Except for one city: Leghorn. Because there they are too rich. But that has nothing to do with religion and the like. *Tout ça sont des bêtises* [Those are all stupidities]." He was fond of using the words *bêtises* and *imbéciles,* pronouncing them with a strong Italian accent. *"Ce monsieur que vous venez de voir sortir est le deuxième en quatre ans qui est venu me voir* [That gentleman whom you just saw leaving is the second to call on me in four years]."

Then we got onto Palestine, I forget how.

"I know it well," he said; "I have been there several times. One occasion was just when my father was assassinated. The land is already very Jewish. It will and must get into your hands; it is only a question of time. Wait till you have half a million Jews there."

"They are not allowed to enter, Sire!"

"Bah, everything can be done with *baksheesh."*

"But I don't want that. Our project means investments and improvements, and I don't want them undertaken as long as the country isn't ours."

He laughed and quoted an Italian saying, meaning something like: "Oh yes, that would be like making improvements *in casa di altri* [in someone else's house].

"First I would like to win over the Sultan."

"The only thing that has an effect on him," said the King, "is money. If you promise him, in return for the Jordan valley, half the profit it yields, he'll let you have it."

"Yes, but we need autonomy."

"He won't want to hear of *that.* He dislikes the word."

"I'll be satisfied with the thing, Sire! Let them call it anything they like. Now then, I will permit myself to tell you what I am requesting of your kindness."

He laughed: "All right, I'm listening."

I now showed him the letters from Plehwe and the Grand Duke, so he could see to what extent the ground had already been prepared.

When he came to the confidential passages in Plehwe's letter, he said with a smile:

"Je ne dirai rien. Sono una tomba [I shan't say a word. I am as silent as a grave]."

When he had finished the letter he said: "This represents a great success. I am surprised that they gave you such a document."

He asked me to translate the Grand Duke's letter for him, because he had a hard time with German. He had learned it only from his governess, and not particularly well.

I explained everything to him, and finally made my request: "Sire, your personal intervention with the Sultan could help us a great deal. Write him a letter."

He said: "I would gladly consent; only, I cannot do what I please. To give you a promise now and later on fail to keep it—surely that would not be the way a *galantuomo* [gentleman] acts. I must first take counsel. Speak with Tittoni, too. I am seeing him tonight and shall prepare him for your visit. I am promising you only my good will, not any action."

Then we were suddenly back in Palestine. I told him about my plans for its future, about *Altneuland*. He asked me for the book, if possible not in German. For him to read it in German would be tough work. We spoke of the Jordan, of the Dead Sea Canal. He remarked, quite rightly: "But what would you do with the salt?"

I said: "That is something for the technicians' imagination."

Then we were on the subject of the Sultan again.

He said: "I know him. He is shrewd."

I: *"Mais ombrageux. Il a peur de tout* [But suspicious. He is afraid of everything]."

He: *"Ha paura di sua pelle* [He trembles for his skin]. He fears that someone will kill him. He distrusts everybody."

Then, all at once, we found ourselves talking about Sabbatai Zevi, whose story he knew well. While on this subject he also told me the following:

"One of my ancestors, my grandfather eleven or twelve times removed, one Charles Emmanuel, conspired with Zevi. He wanted to become King of Macedonia, or Cyprus, I'm not sure—some sort

of King, anyway. *Il était un peu fou, mais il avait de grandes idées* [He was a bit cracked, but he had big ideas]."

Next he spoke of messiahs (with understandable roguishness), and asked if there were still Jews who expected a Messiah.

"Naturally, Your Majesty, in the religious circles. In our own, the academically trained and enlightened circles, no such thought exists, of course."

At this point it turned out that originally he had taken me for a rabbi.

"No, no, Sire, our movement is purely nationalist." And to his amusement I also told him how in Palestine I had avoided mounting a white donkey or a white horse, so no one would embarrass me by thinking I was the Messiah. He laughed.

What else?

He related how General Ottolenghi had once vainly tried to get together a *minyan* for prayer in Naples.

He spoke of the Jews in Eritrea, in China, etc.

He told me how interested he was in our ancient race.

"But I also have Jewish callers who get visibly nervous when the word 'Jew' is used. That is the sort I don't like. Then I *really* begin to talk about Jews. What I like is someone who doesn't try to appear other than he is."

What else?

I explained to him my original Sinai scheme.

Then Uganda.

He said: "I am glad that you have given up Uganda. I like this love for Jerusalem. I even like the attempt upon Nordau's life, although it was the act of a criminal and a fool. But it does show love for an idea. I myself have seen Jews weep at the Wailing Wall. I used to think it was play-acting, until I saw it with my own eyes. Not beggars, but men like yourself were weeping."

Then he spoke of Napoleon's Sanhedrin in 1806 (I think it was 1804). An Ottolenghi—Moise, of Padua—took part in it.

"Napoleon had ideas about restoring the Jewish nation, Sire!"

"No, he only wanted to make the Jews, who were scattered all over the world, his agents."

"An idea I found in Chamberlain, too."

"It is an obvious idea," said the King.

And finally I broached my Tripoli scheme also: *"de déverser le trop plein de l'immigration juive en Tripolitaine sous les lois et institutions libérales de l'Italie* [to channel the surplus Jewish immigration into Tripolitania, under the liberal laws and institutions of Italy]."

"Ma è ancora casa di altri [But that again is someone else's house]," he said.

"But the partition of Turkey is bound to come, Your Majesty."

"When? True, a people such as yours can wait even a hundred years. But you and I, we shall no longer be alive."

And so we spoke about many other things that have already escaped me—that's how volatile our conversation was.

At a quarter past twelve he dismissed me. He had work to do. I must be sure to send him the book. *"Et quand vous reviendrez à Rome, faites vous voir* [And when you come to Rome again, let me see you]."

He accompanied me as far as the door and gave me his hand. At parting I repeated: "Italy can do a lot for us, for the Sultan is afraid of Italy."

He stood in thought. "Do you think so? Perhaps we are in his way.—Well, have a talk with Tittoni. I can't promise you anything definite. But whenever I meet a Turk, I will bring up your cause."

Another handshake, a smile, and I was outside.

* * *

Letter to the Grand Duke at Berlin:

Rome, January 25

Y.R.H.'s continuing kind interest in the Zionist movement makes me hope that the following disclosures, too, will meet with friendly interest.

Two days ago I had the honor of being received by the King of Italy, and in a lengthy conversation which touched upon all aspects of the question, H.M. showed himself very benevolently disposed toward the cause.

Today I shall have the honor of being received by the Pope in private audience. I have already had a gratifying conversation with the Cardinal who is the Secretary of State. Tomorrow I shall also see the Italian Foreign Minister, Sen. Tittoni.

Thus, unless I am mistaken, the cause has taken a forward step in the Quirinal and the Vatican. After what I was able to report to Y.R.H. a few months ago about the attitude of England, Russia, and Austria, particularly after the declaration of the Russian government which was given me for publication (express consent to the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine), the major part of those difficulties which, almost six years ago, made it impossible for Germany to go to the end in this matter seem now to have been overcome.

I would be very happy if I were permitted to give an oral presentation of the current state of affairs to H.M. the Kaiser.

Perhaps Y.R.H. will deem it appropriate to ask the Kaiser whether I may come to Berlin for this purpose. A reply will reach me in Vienna by February 1st.

With the sentiments of most heart-felt respect and deepest gratitude, I remain

Y.R.H.'s loyal servant,
Dr. Th. Herzl.

January 26, Rome

Yesterday I was with the Pope. The route was already familiar, since I had traversed it with Lippay several times.

Past the Swiss lackeys, who looked like clerics, and clerics who looked like lackeys, the Papal officers and chamberlains.

I arrived 10 minutes ahead of time and didn't even have to wait.

I was conducted through numerous small reception rooms to the Pope.

He received me standing and held out his hand, which I did not kiss.

Lippay had told me I had to do it, but I didn't.

I believe that I incurred his displeasure by this, for everyone who visits him kneels down and at least kisses his hand.

This hand kiss had caused me a lot of worry. I was quite glad when it was finally out of the way.

He seated himself in an armchair, a throne for minor occasions. Then he invited me to sit down right next to him and smiled in friendly anticipation.

I began:

"Ringrazio Vostra Santità per il favore di m'aver accordato quest'udienza [I thank Your Holiness for the favor of according me this audience]."

"È un piacere [It is a pleasure]," he said with kindly deprecation.

I apologized for my miserable Italian, but he said:

"No, parla molto bene, signor Commendatore [No, Commander, you speak very well]."

For I had put on for the first time—on Lippay's advice—my Mejidiye ribbon. Consequently the Pope always addressed me as *Commendatore.*

He is a good, coarse-grained village priest, to whom Christianity has remained a living thing even in the Vatican.

I briefly placed my request before him. He, however, possibly annoyed by my refusal to kiss his hand, answered sternly and resolutely:

"Noi non possiamo favorire questo movimento. Non potremo impedire gli Ebrei di andare a Gerusalemme—ma favorire non possiamo mai. La terra di Gerusalemme se non era sempre santa, è santificata per la vita di Jesu Christo (he did not pronounce it *Gesu,* but *Yesu,* in the Venetian fashion). *Io come capo della chiesa non posso dirle altra cosa. Gli Ebrei non hanno riconosciuto nostro Signore, perciò non possiamo riconoscere il popolo ebreo* [We cannot give approval to this movement. We cannot prevent the

Jews from going to Jerusalem—but we could never sanction it. The soil of Jerusalem, if it was not always sacred, has been sanctified by the life of Jesus Christ. As the head of the Church I cannot tell you anything different. The Jews have not recognized our Lord, therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people]."

Hence the conflict between Rome, represented by him, and Jerusalem, represented by me, was once again opened up.

At the outset, to be sure, I tried to be conciliatory. I recited my little piece about extraterritorialization, *res sacrae extra commercium* [holy places removed from business]. It didn't make much of an impression. *Gerusalemme,* he said, must not get into the hands of the Jews.

"And its present status, Holy Father?"

"I know, it is not pleasant to see the Turks in possession of our Holy Places. We simply have to put up with that. But to support the Jews in the acquisition of the Holy Places, that we cannot do."

I said that our point of departure had been solely the distress of the Jews and that we desired to avoid the religious issues.

"Yes, but we, and I as the head of the Church, cannot do this. There are two possibilities. Either the Jews will cling to their faith and continue to await the Messiah who, for us, has already appeared. In that case they will be denying the divinity of Jesus and we cannot help them. Or else they will go there without any religion, and then we can be even less favorable to them.

"The Jewish religion was the foundation of our own; but it was superseded by the teachings of Christ, and we cannot concede it any further validity. The Jews, who ought to have been the first to acknowledge Jesus Christ, have not done so to this day."

It was on the tip of my tongue to say, "That's what happens in every family. No one believes in his own relatives." But I said instead: "Terror and persecution may not have been the right means for enlightening the Jews."

But he rejoined, and this time he was magnificent in his simplicity:

"Our Lord came without power. *Era povero* [He was poor]. He came *in pace* [in peace]. He persecuted no one. He *was* persecuted.

He was *abbandonato* [forsaken] even by his apostles. Only later did he grow in stature. It took three centuries for the Church to evolve. The Jews therefore had time to acknowledge his divinity without any pressure. But they haven't done so to this day."

"But, Holy Father, the Jews are in terrible straits. I don't know if Your Holiness is acquainted with the full extent of this sad situation. We need a land for these persecuted people."

"Does it have to be *Gerusalemme?*"

"We are not asking for Jerusalem, but for Palestine—only the secular land."

"We cannot be in favor of it."

"Does Your Holiness know the situation of the Jews?"

"Yes, from my Mantua days. Jews live there. And I have always been on good terms with Jews. Only the other evening two Jews were here to see me. After all, there are other bonds than those of religion: courtesy and philanthropy. These we do not deny to the Jews. Indeed, we also pray for them: that their minds be enlightened. This very day the Church is celebrating the feast of an unbeliever who, on the road to Damascus, became miraculously converted to the true faith. And so, if you come to Palestine and settle your people there, we shall have churches and priests ready to baptize all of you."

Count Lippay had had himself announced. The Pope permitted him to enter. The Count kneeled, kissed his hand, then joined in the conversation by telling of our "miraculous" meeting in Bauer's Beer Hall in Venice. The miracle was that he had originally planned to spend the night in Padua. As it happened, I had expressed the wish to be allowed to kiss the Holy Father's foot.

At this the Pope made *une tête* [a long face], for I hadn't even kissed his hand. Lippay went on to say that I had expressed myself appreciatively on Jesus Christ's noble qualities. The Pope listened, now and then took a pinch of snuff, and sneezed into a big red cotton handkerchief. Actually, these peasant touches are what I like best about him and what compels my respect.

In this way Lippay wanted to account for his introducing me,

perhaps to excuse it. But the Pope said: "On the contrary, I am glad you brought me the *Signor Commendatore.*"

As to the real business, he repeated what he had told me: *Non possumus* [We can't]!

Until he dismissed us Lippay spent some time kneeling before him and couldn't seem to get his fill of kissing his hand. Then I realized that the Pope liked this sort of thing. But on parting, too, all I did was to give him a warm hand-squeeze and a low bow.

Duration of the audience: about 25 minutes.

In the Raphael *stanze* [rooms], where I spent the next hour, I saw a picture of an Emperor kneeling to let a seated Pope put the crown on his head.

That's the way Rome wants it.

* * *

Supplement:

Day before yesterday I called on Senator Malvano, a Jew, the actual head of the Foreign Office, although he is not the Minister.

He couldn't very well refuse to see me, since I had been received by the King. However, he had told my good Ravenna that he wanted to discuss only art and science with me, for he was an anti-Zionist.

A dirty, dusty little man, with a foul breath. He talked fast, without stopping, about everything: trade treaties, reminiscences of Victor Emmanuel II, the Unification of Italy, the Entry into Rome and into this very *consulta* [council chamber] (where we were sitting), which only a few hours before the Entry had been full of cardinals and Papal soldiery.

He acted the part of a *modesto impiegato* [humble employee]—evidently to keep me from asking him for anything—but that is just what he is. He is a clerk in the wholesale firm of Italy.

He is reputed to be very taciturn ordinarily. Fear of Zionism made him talkative.

I prepared to leave. I hadn't said a word about Zionism.

He said: "I have witnessed so many historic events. One thing I have neglected to do: to keep a diary."

"I keep one!" I said and looked at him, laughing.

Here he is in it, the Jew Malvano.

Whom a writer has thus confined, no God can ever rescue.

January 27, Rome

Dreamt of the German Kaiser last night. He and I were alone on a bark at sea.

* * *

Yesterday, with Foreign Minister Tittoni.

A buttoned-up, slim, black frock coat. Above it, a short grey beard, an over-sized Roman nose, and a policeman's piercing eyes which peer out from under strangely protruding, puffy lids.

The conversation lasted only ten minutes, but it was excellent. The valiant King had already arranged for everything; his intelligence and chivalry are as great as his stature is small. He had promised me nothing definite. Tittoni, however—obviously on instructions from the King—declared himself ready to do anything he could. He intends to write to the ambassador at Constantinople to proceed jointly with the Russians. Naturally, the King's personal intervention couldn't be risked until it had been ascertained that it would be accepted.

He said I should send in a *mémoire* [memorandum] on the subject.

I promised to send one from Vienna.

Finally I asked him to procure an audience for me with Prime Minister Giolitti.

He promised.

Courte et bonne [Short and sweet.]

* * *

Supplement to the Papal audience:

He spoke of the Temple at Jerusalem. It had been destroyed forever. Did I suppose that one ought to reconstruct it and perform the sacrificial services there in the ancient way?

He also talked about Josephus Flavius and quoted him; but I didn't quite understand that.

* * *

Addendum to the King.

When I mentioned Plehwe's statement to me that the Jews could not have their restrictions removed because then they would soon have all the official posts, the King replied:

"That is a great compliment to your people. Oh yes, I too remember: when I was still a prince and went around handing out school prizes in Upper Italy, it struck me how many Jews there always were among the prize-winners. Almost always the majority."

* * *

Greenberg wires that he has now received a Charter for East Africa!!

January 28, on the train, beyond Pistoia

I was unable to talk with Prime Minister Giolitti, because they were having a long cabinet meeting. Giolitti sent me his regrets through Tittoni. When I return to Rome he will be happy to see me.

Balance-sheet for Rome—good nevertheless.

* * *

Little Benedikt has once again suppressed something. De Fiori telegraphed him a report about my audiences with the King and the Pope. Benedikt put the dispatch in his pocket.

It is a hard fate to continue to be dependent on such a *canaille* [scoundrel].

* * *

On the afternoon of my audience with the Pope, "Conte" Lippay presented me with his bill.

He has worries. He needs money. (*Je m'en doutrais* [I could

imagine it].) A lot of money! (Oho!) A stack of thousand-lire notes! (Tell me more.) He said he had got himself in a hole with his portrait. He had already run up about 30,000 guilders expenses. He owed that much on the picture. Did I know of anyone who could advance him this amount? I advised him to go to an art-dealer. No, no, only a Rothschild or a Gutmann could handle something like that. Would I be willing to speak to Gutmann about this "loan"? Certainly, but I couldn't guarantee success.

Just my promise sufficed him for the moment; and as a matter of fact I do intend to speak with Gutmann when I get to Vienna, although there *is* something distasteful to me about this. I only hope that all these people are sufficiently aware of my own purity in financial matters.

This is a clever move on Lippay's part. Borrowing money from Jews against security is no disgrace. What are Jews for, anyway? The fact that the security isn't worth as much as the loan doesn't do any harm either. Why are Jews such fools?

February 4, Vienna

Yesterday I went on my errand, certainly a hard one, to Gutmann to raise money for Lippay.

I said—without mentioning Lippay—that it was a matter of thirty thousand guilders to establish a connection in Rome. When I saw the coal-dealer's frozen expression, I said that I might be able to raise one-half with the help of some of my friends, but that he couldn't share in it for less than 15,000 guilders.

He had a magnificent excuse—one can always learn something new from these people: the amount was too . . . small for him. The prospect I held out was so valuable that people would give large sums for it. When I broached the subject, he had expected me to mention a million.

Naturally, to anyone who asked for a lot he would say that it was too much.

February 4, Vienna

Letter to Tittoni*

Your Excellency:

In the course of the audience which you did me the honor of granting me in Rome you invited me to formulate the Zionists' request. I therefore permit myself to submit the following observations to Y.E.

The Zionist movement, represented by annual congresses attended by delegates from all countries, has as its aim the creation of a legally assured homeland for the Jewish people.

As chairman of the Actions Committee I have established contact with all governments interested in this question. I have tried most of all to establish a relationship with the Ottoman govt. H.I.M. the Sultan has received me in private audience and has invited me on various occasions to return to Constantinople. I did not fail to go there, but negotiations have not made noticeable progress. Looking to international reasons as an explanation for this delay, I have striven to obtain the consent of the interested Powers. It was in Germany that the Zionist idea found its first support. Receiving me as well as a Zionist deputation in formal audience at Jerusalem in 1898, H.M. the Kaiser promised us his good will. The benevolent attitude of the German govt. has not changed since then. This is affirmed by the letter addressed to me by H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Baden on this subject on September 30th, 1903.

The English government has shown itself so favorably disposed toward the Zionist movement that it has officially offered us a large territory in the British possessions in East Africa for our colonization.

In Austria the govt. views our efforts with benevolent interest, as Prime Minister Koerber says in the letter he wrote me under date of September 28th, 1903.

But the most important support comes to us from Russia.

* In French in the original.

In August of 1903 Minister von Plehwe wrote me a letter a printed copy of which you will find enclosed herewith. Von Plehwe added that this governmental declaration was transmitted to me on orders from H.M. the Emperor with authorization to make it public. On November 23rd/December 6, 1903, the Russian govt. informed me that the Russian ambassador at Constantinople had already received instructions to intercede with the Sublime Porte on behalf of the Zionist proposals.

The declaration by the Russian government of July 30th/August 12th goes farther than our own formula. We had not asked for an independent Jewish State in Palestine, being aware of the difficulties which such an objective would encounter. All we ask is that the Jewish people be settled in Palestine under the suzerainty of H.M. the Sultan, but under conditions of legal security. The administration of our colonies would devolve upon us. In deference to the sensibilities of all believers, the Holy Places are to be exempted and to receive the character of extraterritoriality forever.

All we ask of the Ottoman govt. is a Charter of Colonization for the Sanjak of Acre. In return for this Charter we will pledge ourselves to pay the Ottoman treasury an annual tribute of 100,000 Turkish pounds.

Our proposal therefore does not lack substantial advantages for the Ottoman govt., but if it is easy enough to enumerate them, it is hard to tell without emotion of the wretched situation in which our poor Jews in Russia, Rumania, Galicia, etc., are languishing. Emigration to America is not a remedy. Everywhere they find themselves again in the same political, social, and economic distress, even in the free countries, which, moreover, are beginning to close their ports to this immigration.

Anti-Semitism makes their lives hard everywhere.

For Italy these struggles and miseries are only a distant echo. Italy is completely untouched by the Jewish Question, and it is precisely for this reason that its government could perform a great service for humanity by lending a hand to the solution of this question which is so fraught with sorrow.

A letter from His Majesty the King of Italy to H.M. the Sultan, recommending our proposals and giving the friendly counsel that they be taken into consideration, would have a decisive effect on the re-opening of our negotiations.

The Jewish people, dispersed but erect despite all misfortunes, would vow its eternal gratitude to Italy and its chivalrous King.

Pray accept, Y.E., the expression of my high regard and devotion.

Dr. Th. Herzl.

Vienna, February 13, 1903
To H. E., Senator T. Tittoni, Min. of For. Aff., Rome.

February 9, Vienna

Greenberg telegraphs: *

Events in house last night render collapse of government very probable even within next few days. Do please authorise me to at once accept for you Foreign Office's offer subject to approval of terms of Charter and report of commission and to say that you will arrange for commission to start forthwith.

Otherwise fear we shall lose all.

* * *

I am replying: *

You may accept Mandels (F.O.) offer subject to approval of terms of jam (Charter) and report of bettler (commission).

But I give you this authorisation only on condition that absolutely nothing will be published upon the matter before we approve jamterms. Please wire me this promise.

Benjamin.

* Original text.

February 12, Vienna

Last night a wire from Greenberg saying that he had informed the F.O. of the acceptance on the same day, the 9th, on which he had received my wire of authorization.

Whereupon I wired back asking him to send me the postal receipt of the 10th for the A.C.

In the meeting on the 10th Dr. Kahn and Marmorek agreed with my view that the present proposal is identical with the one that had been before the Congress, even though the area is not located on the railroad.

Kremenezky and Kokesch thought it was a new proposal.

If it is the East Africa proposal—as it undoubtedly is—I was entitled and obligated to accept it, i.e., with the reservations that I made.

Nevertheless I will not let Greenberg force my hand.

* * *

Count Lippay, who is now presenting his bill again and asking me to obtain the "loan" for him from the Paris Rothschild (letter to Alex, Bluebook), told me on this occasion that the story went around in diplomatic circles that I had twice received 60,000 guilders from the Sultan, from which amount, to be sure, I had deducted only my expenses and given the rest to the movement. I branded this as a wretched lie and gave him the facts about the two £200 purses which had been forced on me and which I had immediately given to the poor. Lippay seems to have his information from Section Head Suzzara.

* * *

During the night I thought of a letter which I plan to send to Goluchowski. Something like this:

On . . . I took the liberty of requesting you for an audience. To my astonishment no reply came, not even a polite refusal saying that you have no time.

At first I attributed it to the Delegations, to the inauspicious time. But then . . .

Objective reasons? Surely the desire of the Jews to re-establish the Jewish Realm is no less respectable even to outsiders than the Poles' longing for the restoration of Poland.

The Zionist movement employs no illegal or immoral methods. Then, too, in Austria—apart from a few Jewish papers—neither Christians nor Jews deny that this solution—emigration of some and complete assimilation of others—would be a genuine solution. At any rate, the matter is one worth discussing.

There remains, then, the personal element.

As I have read a number of times, I am one of the best-known writers of Austria. The leading statesmen of England, Germany, Russia, and Italy have readily received me as the head of the Zionist movement. So have emperors and kings. It is bound to strike me as strange that a Minister of my fatherland should refuse to see me when I request him to.

As a gentleman Your Exc. will understand that I want particulars about this.

Have you been told anything detrimental about me? If so, what?

One of the fatuous lies about Constantinople, perhaps, that I have been bribed with money by the Sultan or by the Turkish government?

February 13, Vienna

Telegram to Greenberg: *

I must urgently beg you not to reopen by a single word upon Mandels attitude the now sleeping discussion. It was my formal condition before accepting.

Benjamin.

February 20, Vienna

Cav. Ugo Brusati Maggior Generale,
1° Aiutante di Campo Generale di S.M. il Re d'Italia, Roma.

* Original text.

[H.E. Major-General Ugo Brusati, 1st Adjutant General of H.M. the King of Italy, Rome].

Dear General Brusati:*

His Majesty the King has done me the honor to accept my book *Altneuland*. Since His Majesty prefers to read English, I have sent for the translation which appeared in an American periodical, and I am taking the liberty of sending it to you for the King.

Pray accept, General, the expression of my high regard.

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

February 23, Vienna

The following wire from De Fiori:

Minister says that in absence of indispensable preliminary conditions matter cannot be taken up in form you suggested.

De Fiori.

February 24, Vienna

Yesterday I had a most curious visitor: "Ali Nuri Bey, Ex-Consul Général de Turquie," it said on his card which he first sent in to me at the *N. Fr. Pr.*

He is the husband of a "Turkish princess" who is giving lectures here on harem life.

His good German surprised me. He explained that he was a Swede who had gone to Turkey at the age of 18 as Strousberg's representative and had become a Mohammedan.

Today a man of 41, he looks quite Turkish, reminds one of the other Nuri Bey with his red beard and eyeglasses, but he is somewhat stronger, with his head set deep between his shoulders.

His proposal, which he made me in my house between 9:30 and 12:30 yesterday, comes to this: Sail into the Bosporus with two

* In French in the original.

cruisers, bombard Yildiz, let the Sultan flee or capture him, put in another Sultan (Murad or Reshad), but first form a provisional government—which is to give us the Charter for Palestine.

A novel or an adventure?

The two cruisers will cost £400,000, the rest £100,000.* The whole stroke would cost half a million pounds. If it fails, we would have lost the money and the participants their lives.

All this presented quite coolly and calmly, like an offer to buy a load of wheat. He said he would make the voyage and go ashore himself.

The scheme could be carried out with a thousand men. Preferably during the *selamlik*.

The cruisers would pass through the Dardanelles at night and could bombard Yildiz by morning.

I answered:

"My point of view has always been that I could negotiate only with the existing government of the land, not with a prospective one. I will consider whether it is possible to concern myself with such a matter at all, even in an informal conversation."

My scruples, which I didn't tell him about, were these:

1) That I must not participate in such a plot at all, if it amounts to murder and robbery (although he said that they would shoot in the air and no one need be wounded in it);

2) That in case of failure the Zionist movement would be discredited for decades to come;

3) That it might lead to Jews being massacred in Turkey afterwards;

4) That the "participants" cannot enter into any legally binding obligations. If they don't keep their word, where shall I sue them?

5) To have him give me a list would be ill-advised. I might be held responsible for any breach of confidence that someone might commit.

I prefer not even to know whether Ali Nuri Bey is just raving or

* Translator's Note: Since *Kreuzer* means both "cruiser" and a small Austrian coin, Herzl may have intended a pun here.

has some basis. Only if his group succeeds the present one in Yildiz could he perhaps be used as an intermediary. That way I would already have some connection with the coming power.

March 2

The scoundrel Crespi was here and said he wanted to work for me again. *Il faut faire flêche de tout bois* [One must use every means to attain an end].

I promised to write him a letter for public display. This is it:*

Dear Sir:

As I told you when you visited me, I would be inclined to consider two schemes:

1) The renting of the Sanjak of Acre for a number of years by one of our financial syndicates;

2) Having my friends make the loan you told me about.

With kindest regards,

Herzl.

March 5, Vienna

Yesterday Ali Nuri Bey came to see me again.

Again the Bosporus plan.

But he is at any rate a most intelligent conspirator and adventurer. A Viking in formal dress.

Very pretty, the way he intends to have the two cruisers in the Dardanelles shielded by merchantmen sailing between them and the forts. "One of those skippers will do that for 50 or 100 pounds."

Also, he is already mentally cutting telegraph lines, etc.

What he reports about the Khedive is interesting, too. He is ambitious and might like to become Sultan. The Arabian Nights! Then: There is an Arab movement which intends to make a descendant of Mohammed Caliph. The Caliphate was stolen by

* In French in the original.

Sultan Selim. Now it ought to be restored, as a sort of papacy with Mecca as Rome!

The Khedive, he said, had originally supported this movement.

March 7, Vienna

I inquired about Ali Nuri Bey from the Swedish colonel Melander, a likable soldier, who called on me today.

Melander shrugged his shoulders and said he only knew him by hearsay. Ali Nuri's name in Sweden was Nordling.

March 12, Vienna

To Crespi (reply to his letter of the 4th inst.):*

Dear Sir:

I sincerely regret that my letter should not have been sufficient to start your activities. I explained to you, however, that I could not give authorizations of the kind you wish.

I may soon send a representative to Constantinople to give me a report on the situation and to see whether it is really worth my while to trouble myself once more.

My confidential agent will stay there only a few days, but you will be able to get in touch with him.

With kindest regards,

Herzl.

Authorization for Kahn.*

To Dr. L. Kahn, attorney.

Dear Sir:

In my capacity as chairman of the Council of the Jewish Colonial Trust of London I hereby authorize you to enter into negotiations

*In French in the original.

with the Imp. Ottoman Govt. as my representative for renting the administrative revenues of the Sanjak of Acre and for a loan to be obtained for the Imperial treasury.

With kindest regards,

Th. Herzl.

March 18, Vienna

To De Fiori:

Ask him what he intends to do after failing to take the only effective step I requested of him.

* * *

To Kahn, Orient Express, Sofia:

Please read the letters I gave you carefully once more. Wire me on your arrival. I shall write you by the Austrian mail.

Benjamin.

March 18, Vienna

Reply from Tittoni, dated March 16:

Il ne peut que s'en remettre a la haute sagesse de son Auguste Souverain [He can only defer to the lofty wisdom of his august sovereign]!

(Quant à la lettre au Sultan [In reference to the letter to the Sultan]).

March 22, Vienna

I have sent Kahn and Levontin to Constantinople.

If they return *bredouille* [empty-handed], there will follow Tell's second arrow: Ali Nuri.

* * *

The road to Goluchowski:*

Dear Mr. Kozmian:

Are you in Vienna? Have you still not completely forgotten your humble servant? I have something to tell you.

Will you give me the great pleasure of meeting with me?

You can telephone me at my house, No. 17 147, any day until noon, or at the *Neue Freie Presse* between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Ever yours sincerely and devotedly,
Th. Herzl.

March 30, Vienna

I was going to use Col. Goldsmid as a cover for the Turkish business.

But Goldsmid died in Paris two days ago. A loss.

April 10, Vienna

After mature deliberation—I can't discuss the matter with anyone—I have rejected Ali Nuri's proposal in my own mind.

Even though Kahn returned from Constantinople completely *bredouille*. What decided me was the consideration that if the undertaking failed a horrible massacre of the Jews would take place in Turkey.

I am now wondering whether I could not get some benefit out of Ali Nuri after all.

If, for example, he were to launch through the revolutionary

*In French in the original.

papers the idea of approaching us for financial aid, this might have an effect on the Sultan.

* * *

To Jacob Schiff, Frankfurt:

Dear Mr. Jacob H. Schiff:

Having heard from Mr. Th. H. Schlesinger of Frankfurt that you are in Europe, I asked him to arrange a meeting between us.

Last year, when I had the colonization of El Arish (the northern half of the Sinai Peninsula) in mind, Lord Rothschild told me that he had written you about it—or did he say he was going to write you about it? And then didn't bother to do so when the project came to naught? My memory may have let me down on this point.

In any case, I would like to speak with you on the subject of Jewish emigration. I have heard a great deal, and good things, about your efforts on behalf of our poor brethren. I will therefore make a projected trip to Paris earlier than I had intended so that I may meet with you. I plan to leave for Paris in the course of next week and shall stop at the Hotel Chatham, rue Daunou.

However, should I be unable to get away next week, I shall perhaps go to London on May 6th where, I hear, you intend to stay until May 10th. We would then have our meeting at Lord Rothschild's. I would be grateful to you for letting me know exactly how long and at what hotel you plan to stay in Paris and in London.

With a respectful greeting,

Yours faithfully,
Th. Herzl.

April 19, Vienna

To Ali Nuri Bey:

Dear Sir:

I regret being unable to consider your proposal.
With respectful greetings,

Yours faithfully,
Herzl.

April 29, Vienna

Dear Lord Rothschild:

I plan to come to London in June, because I have a few things to straighten out with the English government. I also hope to see you on this occasion. Since we last spoke with each other I have achieved a number of things, but unfortunately I have as yet been unable to provide any definitive relief for the monstrous misery of our masses.

There still is, alas, much reluctance on the part of those who could help us. That is why some leading figures ought to be won over.

Last year, when I was planning colonization on the Sinai Peninsula, you told me you would write to Mr. Jacob Schiff in New York and get him to take part in the financing if anything came of the matter. As you know, the Sinai scheme ran aground at that time; but when I heard recently that Mr. Schiff was in Europe, I let him know that I would like to talk with him. In any case, I wanted to enlighten him about my endeavors, which are so often misunderstood by the public, so that he might be available to us if ever a major project got to the point of implementation. He gave me a fairly willing answer, and I intended to get together with him soon in Paris or in London. But now, unfortunately, something important prevents me from going to London. Therefore I request that, if Mr. Schiff should visit you, you win him over for collaboration on the Jewish cause, in principle for the time being. He will learn the practical details from you or from me later, in due time.

I hope that you are well, dear Lord Rothschild.
With cordial regards, I remain

Sincerely and respectfully yours,
Herzl.

April 27, Vienna

Dear Mr. Schiff:

This will acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your kind letter dated Berlin, April 21st. You say that you are prepared "to the best of my ability" to give practical aid to our oppressed and unfortunate people. Coming from you, that is a big statement, and I am happy to have received it. Do not believe, however, that I intend to make some fatuous attempt to lure you onto all my paths. I would simply like to have your help, which I value very highly, on that stretch of the road which is common to both of us. Don't jump to the conclusion, for Heaven's sake, that I want to *shnorr* some money from you for our cause. No! All that can be accomplished with alms here is to raise a wonderful breed of *shnorrers*. What I would like to obtain from you is your participation in each individual case which you are to examine first.

I was going to submit my practical proposals to you in person. Unfortunately I now have reason to fear that I shall be unable to get away from here either this or next week. My professional duties are detaining me here.

However, since I do want to give you thorough information before you return to America, I am sending you one of my best personal representatives, Dr. Katzenelsohn of Libau, and beg you to be kind enough to receive him in London on May 2nd.

Considering the extreme modesty of this man as well as the fact that you will see him for the first time, it may not be out of place to draw your attention to his worth. He was originally a scientist—Helmholtz' assistant—and upon the death of his father took over the latter's large business establishment. His fortunate material circumstances have not made him insensitive to the

sufferings of our unfortunates, and I esteem him as one of our best men. That is why I also named him as my representative to the Russian government when Minister Plehwe asked me to give him the name of such a man.

With Dr. Katzenelsohn you can discuss everything in complete confidence, and he has been given full information by me.

My only regret now is that I shall not meet you, dear Mr. Schiff, in person. Let me hope, however, that we shall get closer to each other in a work which is as great as the moral and material distress to be alleviated is horrible.

With respectful and friendly greetings,

Very faithfully yours,
Herzl.

April 29, Vienna

Kozmian came in yesterday and brought me a message from Goluchowski to the effect that the latter would receive me between 3 and 4 today or tomorrow.

Kozmian had told him with reference to myself:

"Il a vu tous les souverains, même le Pape, et maintenant désire vous voir [He has seen all the sovereigns, even the Pope, and now wishes to see you]."

Goluchowski replied that he thought he had known me in Paris and added, smiling: *"Ah, le Sionnisme* [Ah, Zionism]!"

Well, we shall see what he meant by that. *Pourvu qu'il n'y ait pas un ambassadeur chez lui, quand je viens* [Provided there is no ambassador with him when I come].

May 2, Vienna

The day before yesterday, April 30th, I had a big and possibly consequential discussion with Goluchowski. This is my first chance to record it, for immediately afterwards I had to attend a consul-

tation of my physicians who are sending me to Franzensbad for 6 weeks on account of my heart trouble.

I had been feeling tired for a long time, but kept going.

Goluchowski—half diplomatist, half financier, with grey whiskers and deep blue eyes—impressed me more favorably, particularly with respect to his intelligence, than I had expected.

He had a superficial acquaintance with our cause, and we talked about it at length.

To please him I spoke French. He speaks it as well as I do; but he occasionally uses the intonations of the Comédie Française—pronouncing, e.g., *considération* with a very broad *á*.

I can't claim credit for winning him over to Zionism, for in the course of our conversation he plainly became persuaded by his own arguments, and in the end went much further than I had dared hope.

I began by saying:

"Tant que je n'avais rien de bien sérieux a vous apprendre, je n'ai pas voulu importuner V. Exc. [As long as I had nothing of real importance to tell you, I didn't wish to trouble Y. Exc.]."

Then I showed him the Grand Duke's latest letter to me, as well as Plehwe's letter of December. He glanced through the first; the second he read over twice, with well-concealed astonishment.

Then—since Russia was in favor—he immediately was quite *d'accord* [in agreement] with me.

For a time the conversation was carried on only in arabesques. He voiced surprise over two things.

1) That such a powerful anti-Semitic movement was able to arise in France, with fifty or sixty thousand—a hundred thousand, at the most—Jews out of a population of 38 million.

I accounted for it by Drumont's talent and the hatred aroused by the Rothschilds.

He referred to the Dreyfus case and its explosive character, and in appreciation of what I had said about Drumont, remarked that Lueger, too, was not *le premier venu* [the first on the scene].

Moreover, he stated that he had an antipathy for anti-Semitism,

as he disliked everything exaggerated and unhealthy, although naturally he felt closer to a Christian than to a Jew.

2) He was surprised at the small number of Jews. If, for instance, the total population at the time of Christ was only 100,000, and it doubled every fifty years, there surely ought to be one billion Jews by today.

(I think this calculation is a bit fantastic.)

But I remarked gravely:

"Nous avons subi des pertes cruelles au cours de notre histoire, surtout au moyen-âge [We have sustained grievous losses in the course of our history, especially during the Middle Ages]."

To this he said:

"Mais les chrétiens aussi ont été persécutés. Les premiers chrétiens par example [But the Christians too have been persecuted. The early Christians, for example]."

I countered:

"Les premiers chrétiens étaient des Juifs [The early Christians were Jews]."

But if we couldn't get together on the philosophy of history, we were all the more *d'accord* on practical matters.

He told me about the misery of the Jews in Galicia with which he, as a Galician land-owner, is well acquainted. *"Ils crèvent de faim et de misère* [They are perishing of hunger and destitution]."

"Mais avant de mourir," I said, *"ils s'en iront aux partis revolutionnaires* [But before they die they will go over to the revolutionary parties]."

"Ils y sont déjà [They have already gone]," he confirmed.

So he is in favor of my solution. Only, he feels that there must be no petty or half-way measures. If it were a question of only one or two hundred thousand Jews, the Great Powers could not be stirred into action. But they could if we asked Turkey for land and legal rights for 5-6 million Jews.

"Je ne demande pas mieux [I don't ask for anything better]," I exclaimed. "Will Your Excellency take the lead in this move?"

"This is not the right moment. We are not through with Macedonia yet. The Mürzsteg reforms have not yet been carried out.

That would have to be taken care of first. Also, we would have to have a concrete plan for carrying it out."

"How do you envision the implementation, Your Excellency?"

"Ah, we would have to give this some thought. It should be given thorough consideration."

I briefly presented my scheme:

The J.C.T. receives the concession, on the basis of which it founds the Land Company with sufficient capital.

The Land Company administers the territory in the name of the Sultan, pays him a *redevance* [tribute], and collects the taxes. The settlers become Ottoman subjects, the Holy Places are extraterritorialized.

He liked it all. Still, he would prefer it if England took the initiative. He would also like me to secure support in Hungary. When I told him that Koerber was sympathetic to the cause, his reply suggested a shrug, but all he said was: "You must secure supporters in Hungary; speak with Count Tisza."

"Count Tisza may be afraid of offending his influential Jewish magnates who provide him with his Liberal elections."

"But you'll still have to win over the Hungarian government. It is indispensable."

I then spoke briefly and satirically about the attitude of the Jewish big-wigs in Austria.

Here in Austria, I said, our cause was little known, due to the silence of the *N. Fr. Pr.* Explanation: Benedikt denies the existence of a Jewish people, whereas I affirm it. *"La preuve c'est que j'en suis* [The proof is that I am one of them]."

"Et lui," asked Goluchowski, *"qu'est-ce qu'il est? Protestant* [And he? What is he? A Protestant]?"

"Non. Il appartient a une espèce que je n'ai jamais vue: il est Autrichien. Je connais des Allemands, des Polonais, des Tchêques —je n'ai jamais vu un Autrichien [No. He belongs to a species which I have never seen: he is an Austrian. I know Germans, Poles, Czechs—but I have never seen an Austrian]."

The Austrian Foreign Minister smiled in agreement.

And we reached an understanding that I would court Hungary

and try to induce England to take the initiative and make a proposal.

He considered the project of leading the Jews to Palestine so praiseworthy that he said, in his opinion, every government ought to support it financially!

Imagine the faces of the "patriotic" well-to-do Jews if they could have heard him say that!

It was further understood that I should call on him again after the Delegations; and when he saw me out into the ante-room, he shook my hands three times: *"Au revoir!"*

The *valetaille* [band of servants] gave me special treatment after this long audience.

May 13, Franzensbad (*broken down*)*

To Plehwe:**

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to communicate the following facts to you.

Quite recently I put my friend Dr. Katzenelson of Libau in touch with a very important American banker on Zionist business. On this occasion M. Katzenelson learned certain things which, in my humble opinion, would be rather interesting to the Imperial Government. I have advised my friend, who came here from London to give me a report about his conversation, to request an audience with Y.E. immediately. M. Katzenelson, whom Your Excellency knows, is modest and retiring, and is afraid of importuning you. If it were not for my shattered health, I would have wired Y.E. and requested an audience for myself—so much do I believe that this matter could assume importance in your hands.

If M.K. is granted an audience, he will at the same time give the reasons why I have still not been able to go to Constantinople for negotiations with the Ottoman govt.

* In English in the original.

** In French in the original.

Begging Y.E. for your continued benevolence, and with the expression of my high regard,

Th. Herzl.

* * *

At the same time I am writing to the hesitant Katzenelson.

For Katzenelson had reported to me that J. H. Schiff would be prepared to negotiate a Russian loan (strange to say, at the request of Lord Lansdowne and the English government), provided that something were done for the Jews in Russia. But it is understood that this good deed would also have to bring him (Schiff) more than the standard rate of interest.

To that Katzenelson had replied: What we need has been formulated by Dr. Herzl in his conversation with Plehwe. Schiff then asked for my "points," as he wanted to place them before the King of England with whom he was going to have an audience; Katzenelson gave him the points and brought me a copy here.

May 14, Franzensbad

To Lippay:

My very dear Friend:

Unless I am mistaken, you told me that Archduke Eugen was interested in our cause and would be willing to see me. I have just learned that he is coming to Carlsbad within the next few days. Would you inform him that I shall be taking the cure here until the beginning of July and would go to Carlsbad at his request at any time?

Once more, good luck for your journey to Rome.

From your kind letter of yesterday I see with regret that you are financially embarrassed again. I am sincerely sorry that I can't place more at your disposal now than I already have.

It would be a different matter if you could achieve something

definite for us in Constantinople. Then I could draw amply on our movement's funds for your benefit, and you will believe that I would not lack the heart and the amicable disposition for it.

With cordial regards and sincere devotion,

Herzl.

May 14, Franzensbad

To Suzzara:

My Dear Mr. Section Head:

It will probably be a few weeks before I have patched up my heart a bit here, since it is in need of repair. But as I may now assume a friendly interest in the Zionist cause on your part, I wouldn't want to wait until my return to Vienna to draw your attention to a few things.

Count Goluchowski was kind enough to promise me his assistance if the matter were great enough to warrant concerted action on the part of the Powers. Consequently, Turkey would have to be asked for a settlement area in Palestine and the vicinity large enough for five to six million Jews.

For various reasons Count Goluchowski does not care to place himself at the head of this campaign for the time being.

He would prefer it if the initiative came from England. If some steps were taken by England, Count Goluchowski would fall into line; and I was in a position to show him a secret document from the Russian government, addressed to me, which indicates that Russia too will follow the English initiative. Similarly, the consent of Germany and Italy may already be regarded as assured.

I shall show you, my dear Mr. Section Head, all these confidential documents.

The question now is how the whole thing may be formulated diplomatically. I made the following draft, which met with Count

Goluchowski's approval. Through one of the institutions which we founded some years ago to prepare for this eventuality, the Jewish Colonial Trust of London, a *Land Company** with sufficient capital will be created. We are already assured of the participation of leading bankers in England and America in this venture.

This *Land Company** undertakes the settlement of the previously mentioned territories, and handles the administration, under the sovereignty of the Sultan.

The *Land Company** pays an annual tribute, amount to be determined, to the Turkish treasury and covers itself by collecting the taxes.

Those settled by the *Land Company** will become Turkish subjects.

The Holy Places will be declared extraterritorialized.

The Sanjak of Acre is envisioned as the staging area for the settlement.

These, roughly, are the main features.

Since Baron Calice is in Vienna at present, it would probably be of the greatest value to inform him and enlist his active sympathy. Likewise, it would be of the greatest benefit to brief Count Mensdorff now for dealing with Lord Lansdowne where, as far as I gather from his conversations with the Lord, he is likely to find smooth sailing.

I really don't know to what extent I may be bothering you with these suggestions. My excuse is the very friendly reception with which you have gratified and honored me.

Pray accept, my dear Mr. Section Head, the expressions of my deepest respect.

Your devoted servant,
Th. Herzl.

* In English in the original.

May 16, Franzensbad.

To Schiff:

Dear Mr. Schiff:

My friend Dr. Katzenelsohn came here from London and told me of the extremely friendly reception you accorded him. Permit me to thank you most warmly for this. Dr. K. also told me that he gave you a copy of my confidential instructions, an action I belatedly sanction, since I have absolute confidence in your discretion.

This entire matter is and must remain secret, particularly as far as the gentlemen of the I.C.A. are concerned. For the present, anything may be expected from this quarter sooner than a readiness to help. Certainly there are some excellent people among the directors of the I.C.A.; but as a body they have hitherto always shown themselves hostile whenever we have suggested truly great measures to meet a truly great need. I don't know why these gentlemen prefer to fritter away the Hirsch money in numerous petty and purposeless undertakings which represent anything but Jewish colonization. If it weren't for the fact that our masses are perishing in misery and filth while a remedy remains unutilized, one might really make humorous reflections about it. E.g.: The greatest enemy of a last will and testament is its executor. Or this: Hirsch's relatives now at least have the satisfaction of knowing that the poor Jews aren't getting anything out of his money either.

Actually, I long ago stopped dwelling on the I.C.A. and its blunders. The gentlemen will come running after us when they are no longer needed.

You are now acquainted with my line of thinking from Dr. K. and by my letter.

[Here the Diary breaks off.]

Contents

Volume V

Preface

Preface

The present and concluding volume of *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* contains the annotations written by the editor; the list of code-words used by Herzl, compiled by Dr. Oskar K. Rabinowicz; and the index prepared by Miss Pearl Silver and Mr. David Goldberg.

The annotations, arranged alphabetically, contain brief biographies of practically all the individuals mentioned in the *Diaries*. In a few cases the reference made by Herzl to a person is so vague that it was impossible to identify him. These individuals, however, were as a rule of no significance in the work of Herzl, nor are they important for an understanding of the *Diaries*.

In addition to the individuals, the annotations also include short identifications of the place names and other geographical names appearing in the *Diaries*, either in the datelines or in the entries themselves. Names of newspapers, periodicals, publishing firms, institutions, organizations, foreign monetary units and measures, months and feasts, important public buildings and monuments, orders and decorations, ethnic groups, sects, legal terms, *objets d'art*, and operas are also explained in brief items. Foreign terms and expressions (in German, Yiddish, Hebrew, French, Hungarian, Turkish, Russian, Italian, Spanish) are explained in the annotations only if they did not lend themselves to simple translation. If they did, they are followed in the text of the *Diaries* by the translation in square brackets. It was, moreover, felt necessary to explain in separate notes some of the political, diplomatic, or historical incidents referred to by Herzl when there was reason to assume that they might no longer be familiar to the English-reading public in the second half of the twentieth century. Titles of books and plays,

whether by Herzl or other authors, are also annotated. The use of double dates (such as "Oct. 5/18," q. v.) is explained. Occasional curiosities (such as the "Prophetic months," q. v.) are cleared up. Whenever the reader comes across a name, term, or expression which gives him pause, he is advised to turn to the annotations where he will find the minimum information he desires.

The preparation of the notes was made difficult by a number of circumstances. Herzl's work brought him in contact with hundreds of individuals all over Europe and the Near East. Many of these were not sufficiently important in their own right to warrant their inclusion in encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, or other reference works. To track them down in many cases required special efforts and patient detective work in the libraries of New York City—especially the Zionist Archives and Library, The New York Public Library, the Columbia University Library, and the library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art—all of whom should be most heartily thanked for their courtesy and helpfulness.

Several hundreds of names could not be located at all in New York City, despite diligent search. In these cases foreign resources had to be tapped. Contacts had to be established for this purpose with institutions and individuals in no less than eighteen countries, retracing, in effect, the almost world-wide lines of communications established by Herzl during the nine years of his Zionist work. A journey the editor undertook in the summer of 1959 to Israel, Turkey, several other Mediterranean countries, and Holland was of considerable value in initiating such contacts in personal discussions; other countries were approached in writing. The list of acknowledgments concluding this Preface indicates the extent of these contacts.

A difficulty of a different nature was caused by the fact that Herzl not infrequently misspelled the names of individuals. The main reason for this was that in the course of his extended travels over the length and breadth of Europe and in the Near East, he often could not be sure of the correct spelling of the names of the many individuals whom he met. He was introduced to an Englishman, a

Russian, a Swede, a Turk, he heard a mumbled name, and in the evening, or whenever he made his diary entry for the day, he wrote down the name as he heard it, having had no chance in the midst of his busy and often overcrowded schedule to check the correct spelling. In some cases Herzl's spelling was close enough to the proper form of the name so as not to cause any problem (e.g., De Balzo for Del Balzo; Eckartstein for Eckardstein; Frei for Frey; Kaiser for Kayser; Lurie for Lourie). In others the discrepancy was considerable, and the identification consequently more difficult (e.g., Herzl spells Breit for Beit; Okin for Okun; Bruniant or Buriant for Bruyate; Kemeth or Kehmetz for Klehmet; Nordling for Nording; Mühling for Mülinen). Similar problems were caused by the misspelling of some foreign place-names or terms (e.g., Herzl writes Chesireh for Ghesireh [English spelling Ghezireh]; Ifrikar for Iftihar; Köpek for köpec [pronounced köpetz]).

In yet other cases Herzl first spelled a name as he heard it, or as he assumed it was spelled, and later, when he learned the correct spelling, he changed over to it (e.g., he first spells Gastyne, then Garstin; first Galib, then Ghalib); or he alternated between two spellings (e.g., Newlinsky-Newlinski; Löbel-Löbl; Natchewich-Natchowitch).

Occasionally difficulty was caused in the identification of a person mentioned in the *Diaries* because when jotting down his notes Herzl referred to the person in question by his last name only (and more rarely by his first name only), and without any additional clue as to his identity. Thus, he refers to the family physician who first diagnosed his heart ailment as "Dr. Beck." But there were at least five Drs. Beck practicing in Vienna in those days and it would be very difficult to determine who was the one who attended to Herzl. In another entry in 1897, Herzl says that he saw the paintings of Maris exhibited in the *Rijksmuseum* in Amsterdam. But there were three brothers Maris, all of them painters, and inquiry at the *Rijksmuseum* disclosed the fact that two of these, Jakob and Willem, had paintings on exhibition when Herzl visited the museum.

The *List of Code Words* includes not only those appearing in the *Diaries,* but also the code words Herzl used in the letters and tele-

grams exchanged between him and his friends and helpers. It is divided into two parts: code names substituted for the names of persons and places; and code words standing for entire sentences or phrases.

A word of explanation may be required in connection with the sudden jump in the date (on p. 24) from May 1895 to April 16, 1896, and back (on p. 25) to June 3, 1895. In May, 1895, when Herzl decided in Paris to keep a diary, he bought nine copybooks of about 7 by 9 inches in size, each containing about 280 pages, with the map of France on the inside. These constitute the first nine books of the *Diaries*. From Book Ten on he used smaller copybooks, of 5½ by 9 inches in size, and containing much fewer pages. However, he originally wrote his diary notes on loose slips of paper he carried with him wherever he went, and later he transcribed these into the copybook. Soon, however, he found that he did not have the time to copy his notes into the diary, and, on June 23, 1895, he began to write his notes directly into a new copybook which constitutes Book Two of his Diary (see pp. 187ff.). The notes taken during the four or five weeks preceding June 23, 1895, remained uncopied, on slips of paper which were dated. Almost a year later, on April 16, 1896, Herzl asked his father to copy those notes into the first book. But before handing the book over to his father, he made an entry, explaining the procedure. This entry, duly dated April 16, 1896 (pp. 24–25), therefore, interrupts the consecutive dating of the entries.

When a copybook was filled, he started a new one, and numbered it Book Three, Book Four, etc. In a few cases, however, he left a few pages empty at the end of a copybook in order to start a new one with the record of what he regarded as a significant turn of events. This was the case, e.g., toward the end of Book Two (see p. 322), and Book Four (p. 560). As to Book Eight, he finished it in order not to take it with him "to the land of the mail-robber" (p. 1097). Similarly, when he set out on his trip to Russia, he started a new book (p. 1515), Book Seventeen.*

* * *

* For these observations on the copybooks the editor is indebted to Mr. Joseph Wenkert of the Zionist Central Archives, Jerusalem.

There remains the pleasant duty to thank all those who helped me in preparing the present edition of *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl.* First of all, I wish to thank Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Chairman of the Theodor Herzl Foundation, who originated the idea of a full and annotated English edition of these *Diaries,* and who stood by me with advice, help, and encouragement throughout the two years this edition was in the making.

Valuable help was rendered by a considerable number of individuals and institutions scattered in many lands. They are listed here alphabetically with a very brief indication of the nature of the assistance for which I am indebted to them:

Dr. Paul Abel, London, for data on Austrian individuals; Abb. Anselmo M. Albareda, O.S.B., head of the Vatican Library, for biographical data on Italian clerics; Dr. Z. Asaria, Rabbi of the Jewish Community, Cologne, Germany, for data on the *Schaaffhausen Bankverein;* Dr. Erich Baum, police councillor and head of the press office of the Viennese Police Department, for biographical data on Austrian officials; Dr. Paul Beck, New York; Mr. A. Behr, of Antwerp, Belgium; Dr. Alex Bein and his staff of the Central Zionist Archives for their untiring help in supplying me with information, data, photostats, etc.; Prof. Meir M. Bravman of Columbia University Library, New York, and the Dropsie College, Philadelphia, for advice on linguistic problems; Dr. Abraham Berger and his staff of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library for help; Hofrat Max Birnstein, Vienna, for biographical data on Josef Grünfeld and Siegmund Mayer; Mlle Marthe Chaumié, Conservateur á la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for French biographical data; Mr. Saadia Cherniak, Executive Director of the American Friends of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* New York, for help in connection with French data; Mr. J. L. Cleveringa of the *Rijksmuseum,* Amsterdam, Holland, for data on the painter, Maris; Prof. Abraham Cronbach, of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio, for information on Siegmund Cronbach; Mr. Drake De Kay, Senior Editor, the Encyclopedia Americana, New York, for advice on bibliographical

problems; Dr. Paul Diamant, of Jerusalem, for calling to my attention a misprint in the German edition of The *Diaries;* Mr. I. Dijour, Director of Research and Statistics of the United Hias Service, New York, for biographical data on *Justizrat* Lachmann; Mr. Majid Elass, of the Research Department of the Arabian-American Oil Co. (Aramco), New York, for help on Arabic terms; Dr. Herbert Elias, New York; Mr. Nuri Eren and his staff, of the Turkish Information Center, New York, for Turkish biographical data; Dr. Fritz Fellner, lecturer at the University of Vienna, for help in connection with Austrian data; Dr. David Finch, Librarian, French Institute, New York, for help in connection with French data; Mr. Joseph Fraenkel, of the Jewish Agency, London, for data pertaining to England; Mr. Friedrich Fritz, student at the University of Vienna, for several dozens of biographies of Austrian individuals; Dr. Silvio Furlani, director of the library of the *Camera dei Deputati,* Rome, for supplying the biographies of several Italian statesmen; Mr. V. Gligoric, secretary of the Serbian Academy of Sciences in Belgrade, for supplying the biography of Dr. Milicevic; André Goldet of Paris, for supplying biographical data on Henri Becker; Mr. P. Graetz of the Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem; Mr. Kurt Grossman of the Jewish Agency, New York, for help in connection with German data; Mr. Julius Haber, of New York; Dr. Emilio von Hofmannsthal of New York, for Viennese data; Prof. Halil Inalcik of the University of Ankara, Turkey, for help in connection with Turkish data; His Excellency, Gunnar Jarring, Ambassador of Sweden in Washington, for biographical data on Ali Nuri Bey; Dr. Edward W. Jelenko, New York, for help in connection with biographical data on Viennese personalities; Dr. Israel Klausner, of the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, for Palestinian data; Mrs. Sylvia Landress, Director of the Zionist Archives and Library, New York, for bibliographical advice; Dr. Emil Lehman, director of the Herzl Institute, New York, for Viennese data; Miss Ruth P. Lehmann, librarian of the Jews' College, London, for help in connection with English data; Prof. Emil Lengyel, of New York University, for help in connection with Hungarian linguistic problems; Mr. Edmond-Maurice

Levy, member of the Central Committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* Paris, for help in connection with French data; Library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for help in connection with artists' biographies; Mr. João de Lucena, Minister-Counselor of the Portuguese Embassy at Washington, D.C., for the biography of Count de Paraty; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Madrid, Spain, for biographical data on Don Diego Lastras; Dr. Edward Neufeld, Rabbi of Congregation Ahavas Israel, Grand Rapids, Michigan, for the elucidation of some legal terms; Dr. S. Noble, director of the YIVO, New York, for help in connection with Yiddish problems; Mr. J. Philips of the Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, for information on several individuals mentioned in the *Diaries;* Dr. Oskar K. Rabinowicz of Scarsdale, New York, for his help, and for preparing the list of code-words used by Herzl; Dr. Isaac Rivkind, of New York, for Russian biographical data; Mrs. Rose Schechtman, of the Zionist Archives and Library, New York, for translating Russian source material; Prof. Alexander Scheiber, Director of the Rabbinical Seminary, Budapest, for biographical data on Hungarian individuals; Mr. Murray Silberman, New York, for important help as my research assistant; Miss Pearl Silver, my secretary, for her editorial assistance; Rabbi Zevi Tabori, head of the Torah Culture Department of the American Zionist Council, for help on religious questions; Rabbi David Telsner of the Torah Culture Department of the American Zionist Council, for help on religious questions; Mr. C. H. Thompson, Curator of the Government Archives and Museum, Zanzibar, for biographical data on Said Ruete; Dr. Johannes Ullrich, head of the Political Archives and Historical Collections of the Bonn Foreign Office, for biographical data on German officials and statesmen; Faik Resit Unat Bey, of the Ankara University, for biographical data on several dozens of Turkish individuals; Prof. Hugo Valentin, of Uppsala, Sweden, for data on Swedish individuals; The Vatican, the Secretariat of State, for help in connection with biographies of Italian priests; Leon Vogel, M.D., Achéres (S & O), France, for information on several French indi-

viduals; Mr. Joseph Wenkert of the Central Zionist Archives of Jerusalem, for references to the original manuscript of the *Diaries* and other help; Dr. Alfred Werner, art historian, of New York, for help on artistic questions; Dr. Otto Zucker, of New York, for information on Commercialrat Zucker.

Notes

Notes

AARIF BEY. See Arif Bey, Mehmed.

A. C. See Actions Committee.

AARON. South African Jew, resident of Johannesburg.

ABDUL HAMID II (1842–1918), became Turkish sultan in 1876. He was a despotic ruler, who, after his defeat in 1877 by the Russians, became more and more inaccessible even to his ministers. In 1878 he suspended the constitution and lost Cyprus to the British. Tunis was occupied in 1881 by the French; Egypt in 1882 by the British; and Crete, following the Greek-Turkish war of 1897, was placed under the control of the European Powers. Internally, the Sultan and his ministers played one minority group against the other; this led to a series of uprisings and reprisals, of which the bloodiest were the Armenian revolt in 1894 and the subsequent massacre of Armenians by Kurdish irregulars and by Turks in several cities of Anatolia. The military revolt of 1908 led to a temporary restoration of the constitution, but a year later, after renewed fighting, the sultan was deposed.

ABDURRAHMAN PASHA, NUREDDIN (1836–1912). Turkish statesman. A scion of the old and noble Germeyanoğlu family. Entered the imperial service in 1860, and, from 1873 to 1880, served as governor of Prizren, Tuna, Bulgaria (at the time a part of Turkey), Ankara, Baghdad, and Diyarbekir. In 1882 he was appointed Grand Vizier with the title of Prime Minister, and after two months was sent to Kastamonu, again as a governor.

In 1891 he became governor of Aydin (Smyrna), and in 1893, of Edirne. In 1895 he was appointed minister of justice in which capacity he served until the restoration of the Constitution (1908). His second son, Arif Hikmet Pasha, married one of the Sultan's daughters.

ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL (1858–1925). Jewis author, historian, lecturer; reader in Rabbinic and Talmudic literature at Cambridge University; was editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1888–1908), founder and first president of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies, co-founder and president of the Jewish Historical Society of England. Authored a large number of historical studies of which the most important is his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1896, 1903, 1932). Although greatly interested in Palestine as a Jewish cultural center, he was opposed to Herzl and his political Zionism.

ABUKIR OR ABU QIR. Town in Egypt located on the Mediterranean seashore some 10 miles to the north-east of Alexandria.

ACHERON. The name of the river of Hades (the nether world). Cf. Virgil, Aeneid VII:312.

ACHIASAF CALENDAR. A literary year book, published by the Hebrew publishing house of Achiasaf in Warsaw.

ACRE, SANJAK OF. In Turkish times Palestine was divided into several *sanjaks* (districts). One of these was the *Sanjak* of Acre which included the entire Galilee. Acre is a port-city lying to the north of Haifa at the northern end of the Haifa Bay.

ACTIONS COMMITTEE. For the period between the sessions of the Zionist Congress, the latter elected a committee composed of from thirty to fifty members chosen from among all groups and trends in Zionism, to carry on the work of the Zionist Organization. From this group, referred to as the Greater Actions Com-

mittee, a smaller committee of five to seven members was chosen to act as an Executive. This smaller committee was called the Inner Actions Committee.

ADIL BEY. Constantinople attorney, of Jewish origin.

ADLER, CYRUS (1863–1940). American Jewish educator and orientalist. Was a founder of the Jewish Publication Society of America (1888), editor of the *American Jewish Year Book* (1889–1905, 1916), organizer of the American Jewish Historical Society (1892) and its President (until 1922), President of Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning (1908–1940), editor of the new series of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1910–1940), presiding officer of the United Synagogue of America (1914–1918), acting President (1916) and President (1924) of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, President of the American Jewish Committee (1929), a non-Zionist co-chairman of the Council of the Jewish Agency for Palestine (1929). He published several books on Oriental and Jewish topics and contributed numerous articles to journals and encyclopedias.

ADLER, ELKAN NATHAN (1861–1946). English Jewish writer, traveler, lawyer and manuscript collector, son of Nathan Marcus Adler, chief rabbi of England, half-brother of chief rabbi Hermann Adler. Jointly with Arthur Cohen he drew up the constitution of the *Hovevei Zion* society of England (1891). Between 1888 and 1898 he made three trips to Egypt and Palestine.

ADLER, EMANUEL (1873–1930). Austrian lawyer and financial expert. Received his Dr. jur. and became *Privatdozent* at the German University in Prague. Travelled abroad, lived for a while in Turkey. Settled in Vienna in 1902. Joined the State Treasury in Prague, thereafter worked in the Patent Office. From 1908 to 1921 was official in the Vienna Ministry for Social Affairs, thereafter worked in a bank in Vienna.

ADLER, HERMANN (1839–1911). Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, half-brother of Elkan Adler. He was opposed to Zionism.

AGA KHAN. Title of the hereditary head of a section of the Ismailite sect of Islam whose adherents live mainly in India and East Africa. In Herzl's days the Aga Khan III (real name: Aga Sultan Sir Muhammad Shah) was the head of the sect. He was born in 1877 in Karachi, India, succeeded his father, Aga Khan II, in 1885, and died in Switzerland in 1957.

ÁGAI (misspelled by Herzl: AGARI), ADOLF (1836–1916). Hungarian Jewish physician and author. Founded in 1867, and edited, the satirical weekly *Borsszem Jankó*, the Hungarian equivalent of the English *Punch*. From 1870 to 1879 he edited the journal *Magyarország és a Nagyvilág* (Hungary and the Great World). Was a member of the Hungarian Jewish Literary Society. Published several volumes of essays and historical writings.

AGARI. See Ágai, Adolf.

AGLIARDI, ANTONIO (1832–1915). Italian cleric, was appointed papal nuncio to Munich in 1889, and to Vienna in 1892. He supported the Christian Socialist party and hailed Lueger as "the savior of Vienna," in opposition to the court and Hungarian-Jewish high finance. At the request of the Hungarian government he was recalled from Vienna. In 1896 he was made cardinal and in 1903 vice-chancellor of the Catholic Church.

AHMED MITHAD (Midhat) Efendi (1844–1919). Turkish intellectual and writer. Was an autodidact and in the beginning of his career enjoyed the benevolence of Grand Vizier Mithat Pasha. After publishing a newspaper and several popular books, was banished to the island of Rhodes in 1873 because of the ideas he propagated. In Rhodes he established a private school and wrote novels. Returned to Istanbul in 1876 and in the beginning of

Sultan Abdul Hamid's (q. v.) rule gained the favor of the Sultan with a book he wrote in conformity with the Caliph's ideas. Was appointed director of the official gazette and of the state printing press. Later he became vice-president of the Council of Health and with a subsidy from the Sultan began to publish a daily paper in which he supported the policies of the regime. He also edited many historical and philosophical books, as well as novels. He was known as the "first scholar" among the people. After the 1908 revolution he was appointed professor of history at the University of Istanbul.

AHMED RIZA BEY (1859–1930). Turkish politician and journalist. Graduated from the Galatasaray Lyceum, then went to France to study agriculture. Became supervisor of education in Bursa, Turkey. Because of his liberal tendencies his position became untenable, and he escaped from Turkey and became one of the leaders of the Young Turks in Europe. He attacked the Sultan in his newspaper *Meşveret* (Consultation) and his other writings. He established in Paris a political committee which soon united with a Macedonian anti-Turkish organization under the name of "Progress and Union," 1907. After the 1908 restoration of the constitution, he returned to Turkey, was elected a deputy from Istanbul, and the first president of the National Assembly. In 1911 was appointed senator and in 1918 became president of the Senate.

AKSAKOV, (IVAN) SERGEYEVICH (1823–1886). Russian publicist, head of the Russian Slavophile (Pan-Slavic) movement. In 1852 he published his *Moskovski Sbornik* (Moscow Essays) whose second volume was confiscated by the Russian censorship. Edited several magazines. His works were published in 7 volumes.

ALAWERDOFF. Leader of the Armenians in Tiflis.

ALEX. See Marmorek, Alex.

ALEXANDER III (1845–1894). Czar of Russia. Succeeded to the throne in 1881.

ALEXANDER, BERNÁT (1850–1927). Hungarian Jewish philosopher and aestheticist. Was professor at the University of Budapest, and member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Co-editor of the Hungarian series *Treasury of Philosophical Writers.* Was a member of the Hungarian Jewish Literary Society. Published several books on Spinoza, Kant, Shakespeare's Hamlet, etc.

ALEXANDRIA. The second largest city in Egypt, situated on the shores of the Mediterranean. In the 1880's it had 227,000 inhabitants, including 48,000 foreigners (mostly Greek, Italian and French). Today it has a population of well over a million.

ALGERIA, JEWS OF. Jews have lived in Algeria since the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (70 A.D.). In the 1890's they numbered about 50,000. In 1897 anti-Jewish riots took place, were repeated in 1898, and again in 1899.

ALI NURI BEY DILMEC (1861–1937). His original name was Gustaf Noring (and not Nordling, as Herzl mistakenly states in the March 7, 1904 entry in the *Diaries*). He was born in Sweden, worked as a journalist in Berlin specializing in Near Eastern subjects. Strousberg (q. v.) sent him to Constantinople as his representative. There the Sultan succeeded in winning him over by the promise of a high position. Around 1881 he entered Turkish government service, became a Turkish citizen, converted to Islam, and married a Turkish princess, Hayriye, daughter of General Mahmut Pasha Ben Ayad who was of Tunisian origin. He was appointed Turkish Consul-General in Rotterdam and undertook secret diplomatic missions for Turkey. However, around 1900 he fell in disgrace or became disillusioned, began to work against the Sultan, and later joined the revolutionary Young Turkish movement. *In absentia* he was sentenced to life imprisonment. It was at this time in his life that he met Herzl

and suggested to him the fantastic plan to depose the Sultan by force. Ali Nuri wrote the following works: *Några tankar om orientaliska frågan* (Some Thoughts on the Oriental Question), Malmö, 1877 (10 pp., printed in 10 copies only); *Nasreddin Khodjas upptag och skämt: Turkiska sägner från Timurlenks dagar, berättade av Ali Nouri* (Nasreddin Hodjas Pranks and Jokes: Turkish Stories from the Days of Timurlenk, Told by Ali Nouri), Stockholm, 1902; *Abdul Hamid i karrikatyr: Interiörer fran Yildiz-kiosk i ord och bild* (Abdul Hamid in Caricature: Interiors from Yildiz Kiosk in Words and Pictures), Stockholm, 1903. In the last-named book he reprinted the sentence pronounced against him in Constantinople. He died in Constantinople.

ALIEN COMMISSION. Its full name was Royal Commission for Alien Immigration. It was set up by the British Parliament for the purpose of studying the problem of immigration into Great Britain. The Commission's invitation extended to Herzl to testify before it was due to the fact that a considerable part of the immigration was composed of East European Jews, and that Herzl had the reputation of being an expert on Jewish migration. He appeared before the Commission on July 10, 1902.

ALLA FRANCA. Italian expression meaning "in the Frankish (i.e. European) manner." In the usage of the Turkish orient "Frank" meant European. Herzl uses the phrase in connection with the methods of time-reckoning used in Turkey. The Turkish (Moslem) method was to start numbering the hours at sunup, as against the European (*"alla franca"*) method which counts the hours from midnight to midnight. Twelve noon *"alla franca"* would thus correspond to 6 o'clock Moslem time.

ALLGEMEINE ISRAELITISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT. German Jewish weekly published in Berlin, from 1891 to 1906. Its point-of-view was liberal-religious.

ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG DES JUDENTUMS. German Jewish weekly, with a liberal-religious point-of-view, founded by L. Philippson and published in Berlin from 1837 to 1922.

ALLIANCE ISRAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE. Jewish service organization founded in 1860 in France. Its aims are to work for the equal rights and moral development of the Jews everywhere and to support those who suffer disabilities because of their Jewishness. In Herzl's time its presidents were S. H. Goldschmidt (1881–98) and Narcisse Leven (1898–1915). In addition to political activities, the A.I.U. engages in extensive welfare work, and maintains a network of Jewish schools in Bulgaria, Turkey, practically every Muslim country, and in Israel.

ALLIANZ. See Israelitische Allianz.

ALT-AUSSEE. Austrian resort, near Bad Ischl, to the north of Aussee (q.v.).

ALTMANN. Banker in London.

ALTNEULAND (Old-New Land). Novel by Herzl published in 1902 by H. Seemann Nachfolger, publishers in Leipzig, Germany, and was subsequently translated into many languages. It tells the story of the Jewish society in a rebuilt Palestine in a period which was at the time of his writing 20 years away in the future. It was serialized in the English translation of Jacob de Haas in *The Maccabaean* in 1902–03.

ALTNEUSCHUL. The oldest synagogue in Prague. Legend attributes its construction to exiles who came from Jerusalem after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. They brought with them stones of the Temple and used these for the foundation of the synagogue "on condition" (Hebrew *al t'nay*) that the stones would be taken back to Jerusalem when the Messiah would

come. Hence the name Al T'nay (Altneu) Schul. However, it is more likely that after a renovation of the building it was given the name Alt-Neu Schul (Old-New Synagogue). The first of such known restorations took place in 1142 or 1171. The synagogue must have been about a hundred years old at the time.

AMIENS. City in France. Capital of the Department of Somme, 72 miles north of Paris.

ANATOLIA. The modern name of Asia Minor, the Asiatic part of Turkey.

ANATOLIA HAN (in Turkish: Anadolu hani). A very large building in the main street of Beyoglu (a ward of Constantinople), constructed for rental purposes by Ragip Pasha (q.v.).

ANDERSEN (chess champion). See Anderssen.

ANDERSSEN, ADOLPH (1818–1879). Chess champion.

ANDROCLUS AND THE LION. The story told by Aelian and Gellius of the Roman slave Androclus who escaped from his master and encountered a lion in the desert. He removed a thorn from the lion's paw, and subsequently, when he was recaptured, was thrown into the arena to fight a lion. The lion, which happened to be the animal helped by Androclus, recognized him and he was thus saved.

ANGLO-JEWISH ASSOCIATION. Organization of English Jews, founded in 1871, following the example of the French *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (q.v.). Its aims include the furtherance of social, moral and intellectual progress among the Jews and the defense of their rights. It established a committee for Rumanian Jews (1872) and a Russo-Jewish Committee (q.v.) in 1882. In 1878, together with the Board of Deputies of British Jews, it formed

the Joint Foreign Committee for the aid of Jews in Eastern Europe and the Near East, headed by Lucien Wolf (q.v.). In 1893 the A.J.A. received 3,600 shares (of £100 each) of the Jewish Colonization Association (q.v.).

ANGLO-JEWISH PEOPLE. The reference is to the representatives of the Anglo-Jewish Association (q.v.).

ANGLO-RUSSIAN COMMITTEE. The precise name of this committee was "Russo-Jewish Committee." It was the leading English organization for the aid of Russian Jewish immigrants, founded in 1882 by the Anglo-Jewish Association (q.v.).

ANHALT, DUCHESS ELIZABETH OF (1865– ?). Daughter of Prince Moritz von Sachsen Altenburg. Was married to Grand Duke Constantine Constantinovich (q.v.) in 1884.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE. The reference is to the Annual Conference of the Central Committee of the Zionist Organization which took place on October 28–30, 1902 in Vienna.

ANTHOPULOS PASHA, KOSTAKI (1834–1902). Turkish statesman. Belonged to the Greek minority. Began his career in 1859 as a teacher. Entered government service in 1866. Was appointed judge of the commercial court in 1868 and in 1876 became a member of the Court of Cassation. Was appointed senator in 1877; Attorney-General of the Court of Cassation in 1879. Became governor-general of Crete and was given the rank of Vizier with the title of Pasha (1887). In 1895 was sent as Ambassador to London.

APIKORSIM. Yiddish expression meaning free-thinkers, atheists.

AQABA, GULF OF. The narrow gulf, about 12 miles wide and 100 miles long, leading from the Red Sea (q.v.) up north to a point

where today both Israel and Jordan have each a few miles of shore.

ARABADCHI or ARABAJI (ARABACI in modern Turkish spelling). Turkish carriage or coach driver.

ARABIAN FAIRY TALE. See Dream of the pitcher.

ARCHBISHOP OF VIENNA. See Gruscha, Anton III Joseph.

ARGUS. Press Service in Vienna.

ARGYLL, 8TH DUKE OF. Campbell, George John Douglas (1823–1900). Took active part in politics, was secretary for India from 1868 to 1874, Lord Privy Seal several times. His son, the 9th Duke, married in 1871 Princess Louise (q.v.), daughter of Queen Victoria.

ARIF BEY, MEHMED (1867–1922). Turkish court official. Entered the services of the Sultan as a secretary, and, by 1890, rose to the position of a confidential chamberlain. After a fall from favor he had to flee from Turkey in 1906. While abroad, he fell ill and the Sultan permitted him to return to Turkey insisting that he resume his position. Arif Bey returned to Constantinople but did not re-enter the court service.

ARMENIANS. At the end of the 19th century most of Armenia was under Russian rule. Those Armenians remaining under Turkish rule suffered repeatedly from persecution. The 1878 Treaty of Berlin envisaged certain reforms which, however, Turkey failed to carry out. This resulted in embitterment among the Armenians who thereupon began to organize revolutionary groups both in Turkey and in other countries. In 1887 they formed the secret society of the Huntchakists, and three years later that of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dash-

nakists). An Armenian armed uprising in Turkey took place in 1894 and led to bloody reprisals and to massacres of Armenians in 1894–1896. The European powers felt that it was their duty as Christian countries to come to the defense of the Armenians, but the form and extent of their intervention were dictated as much by political considerations as by humanitarian interests. See also Nazarbek, Avetis.

ARONS, DR. PAUL. German Jewish banker, commercial councillor and early Zionist leader in Berlin.

ARTIN PASHA, DADIAN (1828–1901). Turkish statesman. Born in Constantinople of Armenian parents. Graduated from the University of Paris. Entered the Turkish foreign service in 1855. Became secretary of the Turkish Embassy in Paris in 1862. Was appointed member of the Council of State in 1862 and became under-secretary in the Ministry of Finance. Was twice (1875–76 and 1880–84) under-secretary in the Foreign Ministry. In 1887 was nominated Ottoman High Commissioner in Bulgaria, and in 1888 was again under-secretary in the Foreign Ministry with the rank of a Vizier and the title of Pasha.

ASCHER. Lord Rothschild's (q.v.) private secretary.

ASHFORD. Urban district in Kent, England, 20 miles west of Dover.

ASHKENAZIM. See Sephardim and Ashkenazim.

ATHENAEUM CLUB. Established in 1824 at 10 Pall Mall, London, S. W. 1. Its members are devoted to literature, science, public service and the arts. It still exists today.

ATKIN. Resident of London, interested in the Armenian question.

ATTNANG-PUCHHEIM. Village in Upper Austria, on the Vienna-Linz railroad line.

AUER. On the basis of the brief reference, contained in the January 4, 1901, entry, it was impossible to identify this individual.

AUERNHEIMER, RAOUL (1876–1948). Viennese writer. From 1906 to 1933 member of the editorial staff of the *Neue Freie Presse* (q.v.). Author of successful comedies, and books of social criticism. Wrote an introduction to the second edition of Herzl's *Feuilletons,* published by Benjamin Harz, Berlin-Vienna, 1903.

AUERSPERG, COUNT LEOPOLD (1855–1918). Austrian politician, jurist and industrialist. Became in 1886 district chief (*Bezirkshauptmann*) of Lilienfeld, and, in 1890, of Baden. In 1905 section head in the Ministry of Commerce; 1906–7 Minister of Agriculture; 1907 member of the Austrian Upper House. Was president of an insurance company and of a munitions and metals factory.

AUGUSTA VICTORIA. Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg. Wife of Kaiser Wilhelm II (q.v.), to whom she was married in 1881.

AUSSEE. Resort town in the Austrian Alps.

AUSTIN, ALFRED (1835–1913). Poet laureate of England, critic and journalist.

AUTO-EMANCIPATION. See Pinsker, Leo.

AVIGNON. City in France. Capital of the Department of Vaucluse, 30 miles from the Mediterranean.

AWINOWITZKY, DR. FEIBUSH (1870?–1919). Russian Jewish physician and Zionist. Settled in Odessa in the early 1890's and practiced medicine, but spent most of his time in Zionist activities. In 1903 was elected as vice-rabbi in Odessa, but he was confirmed in

this position by the government only in 1905. In 1903 he stood by Herzl during the crisis over the East Africa proposal.

BABAESKI, a small town in eastern Thrace, in European Turkey, some 30 miles south-east of Edirne, on the railway line linking Kirklareli to the Edirne-Istanbul main line.

BABINGTON SMITH, SIR HENRY, G.B.E. (Knight of Grand Cross Order of the British Empire) C.H. (Companion of Honour), K.C.B., C.S.I. (1863–1923). British representative on the Council of Administration of Ottoman Public Debt (1900); President of Ottoman Public Debt (1901); President of National Bank of Turkey (1903–9); Director of Bank of England (1912–23).

BABO, DR. HUGO FREIHERR VON (1857– ?). German statesman. Chamberlain of the Grand Duke of Baden, Privy Councilor and President of the Privy Council of the Grand Duke's cabinet.

BACHER, EDUARD (1846–1908), a Viennese Jew, together with Moritz Benedikt, editor (1879) and then publisher (1881) of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

BACHOR EFENDI, ASHKENAZI. Turkish Jewish official. Was assistant Lord-Mayor of Constantinople, later member of the Council of State (1899). After the restoration of the Constitution (1908) was appointed Senator.

BACHRACH, DR. ADOLPH (1853–1932). Austrian Jewish lawyer, legal consultant of the imperial house.

BACK. The man by the name of Back whom Herzl met in Palestine in 1898 seems to have been one of the sons of Nissan Back, a printer in Jerusalem, born in Berdichev, who was one of the

heads of the Jerusalem Hassidic community and an energetic and liberal leader of the old Yishuv. Nissan Back, who died in 1890, had three sons: Samuel, Meir and Hayim. Of Samuel it is known that he was born in 1839 and that Sir Moses Montefiore (q.v.) was his godfather.

BACON, SIR FRANCIS (1561–1626). English statesman, philosopher and essayist.

BAD NAUHEIM, OR NAUHEIM. Health resort town in West Germany, 17 miles north-east of Frankfort.

BADEN OF BADEN BEI WIEN (Baden near Vienna). Fashionable spa in Lower Austria at a distance of 14 miles to the south–south-west of Vienna.

BADEN. A grand duchy, became a state of the new German Empire in 1870. Its ruler in Herzl's days was Grand Duke Friedrich (q.v).

BADEN, GRAND DUKE OF. See Friedrich I, Grand Duke of Baden.

BADENI, KAZIMIERZ FELIX, COUNT (1846–1909). Austrian statesman, was born in Sorochow. In 1888 he was appointed Commissioner for Galicia, from 1895 to 1897 was Prime Minister of Austria.

BADI, AVRAM. Turkish Jewish civil servant. Was assistant to the Board of Legal Advisors (1907–1912).

BAGDAD OF BAGHDAD. In Herzl's days the chief city of the Mesopotamian province of the Ottoman Empire; today the capital of Iraq.

BAHR, HERMANN (1863–1934). Austrian poet, dramatist and theatrical critic. Was a fraternity brother of Herzl in the *Albia,* declared himself an adherent of the Pan-Germanic and anti-

Semitic movement in 1883 at a meeting of the fraternity which led to Herzl's resignation from it. From 1894 to 1912 Bahr lived in Vienna, then moved to Salzburg, and in 1922 to Munich.

BAIRAM. See Bayram.

BAKER, SIR BENJAMIN (1840–1907). British engineer. In 1877 designed the ship that transported Cleopatra's Needle from Egypt to London. In the same year became consulting engineer for the construction of the Aswan Dam on the Nile. Designed pneumatic shield for the construction of the first tunnel under the Hudson river, 1888–91. Was co-planner of Firth of Forth Bridge. Was knighted in 1890.

BAKSHEESH, in Persian, Turkish and Arabic BAKHSHISH, gratuity, tip, consideration, bribe.

BALDOV. Abridged form of the Yiddish term *Baldover* (from the Hebrew *ba'al davar*), meaning spokesman, agent, a man of understanding. Herzl uses the term *Baldov* as a code-name for E. Crespi (q.v.).

BALMACHOME, Yiddish expression (derived from the Hebrew *ba'al milhama*), meaning fighter, warlike person, quarrelsome individual.

BALMORAL CASTLE. Private residence of the British sovereign in Aberdeenshire, Scotland.

BAMBUS, WILLY (1862–1904). German Jewish communal worker. Leader of the Berlin *Hovevei Zion*. Was influential in diverting the efforts of the Jewish Colonization Association (q.v.) from Argentina to Palestine. Attended the First Zionist Congress and tried to agitate for the piecemeal colonization of Palestine. In 1901 became general secretary of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* (German Jewish Aid Society), the German counterpart

of the French Alliance Israélite (q.v.). Author of the book *Palästina—Land und Leute* (1898: Palestine, Land and People).

BÁNHIDA. Hungarian town located on the Budapest-Vienna railway line, with 11,000 inhabitants (in 1950).

BARBASH, SAMUEL (1850?–1922). Russian Jewish banker. Settled in Odessa in the early 1880's, founded there a large banking house and became an active Zionist worker. Was a member of the Odessa Committee of Zionists, participated in the work of the *Hovevei Zion* (q.v.), purchased lands in Talpioth near Jerusalem and in Merhavia, attended the Zionist Congresses. At the Third Congress served on the Colonization and Provisional Bank Committees. When the Jewish Colonial Trust was founded he became one of its directors. After the Russian Revolution his fortune was confiscated and he died impoverished, lonely and miserable.

BARBIER. French agricultural expert. Chief agricultural adviser of the I.C.A. (q.v.) and of Baron Edmond de Rothschild (q.v.). Used to visit periodically the early agricultural settlements in Palestine.

BARCLAYS, BEVAN & CO. The correct full name of this bank was Barclay, Bevan, Tritton, Ransom, Bouverie & Co., of London and Brighton. In 1896 they joined with Gurney & Co. of Norwich and with Jonathan Backhouse & Co. of Darlington, to form the Barclays Bank Ltd., one of the largest banks of England.

BARNATO, BARNETT (called Barney; original name Barnett Isaacs; 1852–1897). English financier, made a fortune in diamonds in South Africa. Founded the firm of Barnato Brothers (1880), the unsuccessful Barnato Bank in London, and the Barnato Diamond Mining Company in Kimberley (1881). The latter was amalgamated in 1887 with the interests of Cecil Rhodes (q.v.) as

the firm of De Beers. Barnato died by committing suicide at sea off Madeira.

BARRINGTON, SIR ERIC (1847–1918). British civil servant and politician. Private secretary to Lord Salisbury (q.v.) 1895–1900 and to Lord Lansdowne (q.v.) 1900–05. Later became undersecretary for foreign affairs.

BARTLETT, SIR ELLIS ASHMEAD (1849–1902). English barrister. Member of Parliament for Suffolk 1880–85, and for Ecclesall Division, Sheffield, from 1885. Civil Lord of the Admiralty 1885–86, 1886–92. Served in South Africa 1900. Was knighted in 1892.

BARUCH, JOSEPH MARCOU (1872–1899). Jewish adventurer. Born in Constantinople, studied at the Alliance (q.v.) school there and at the university (from 1893). Following brief sojourns in Austria, France and Algeria, settled in Philippopolis, Bulgaria, in 1895, joined the *Hashahar* Zionist youth movement there and founded and edited its magazine *Carmel* (in French with a Ladino (q.v.) supplement). In 1897 Baruch became the principal of the Ashkenazi (q.v.) school in Cairo, Egypt. Shortly thereafter joined the Greek anti-Turkish armed forces, and rose to the rank of sergeant. His war-diaries, published in Italian translation in a Jewish paper in 1897–98, express his fierce desire to die a hero's death for the liberation of Palestine. There followed a second period of wanderings through Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Smyrna and the Balkans. When he learned about Herzl and political Zionism, he engaged in energetic Zionist propaganda, often walking from one country to another. One of his projects was that the Jews should purchase a small Mediterranean island, declare it an independent Jewish state, and organize from it a military expedition for the armed conquest of Palestine. His strange tenseness caused apprehension in people who met him, as can be gathered from Herzl's Diary statements about him. Following an unhappy love affair he committed suicide in Florence.

BASIL, MATHIEU. See Guesde, Jules.

BATH. City and county borough in Somersetshire, England, 107 miles west of London, on the Avon.

BATTERSEA, 1ST BARON, CYRIL FLOWER (1843–1907). English liberal politician and civil servant. Was for many years Member of Parliament, and Lord of the Treasury under Gladstone's last administration, 1892. Married Constance, daughter of Sir Anthony de Rothschild, in 1877. Was created a baron in 1892.

BATTERSEA, LADY (1843–1931). Constance, the daughter of Sir Anthony de Rothschild, became Lady Battersea through her marriage (in 1877) to Cyril Flower, later Baron Battersea (q.v.). She remained a member of the Jewish faith; founded the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women. Her *Reminiscences* (1922), written jointly with her sister Annie, are an important source of Rothschild family history.

BAUER, JULIUS (1853–1941). Viennese writer, librettist, humorist, journalist and editor. Edited for many years the *Wiener Illustrierte Extrablatt.*

BAUERNFELD, EDUARD VON (1802–1890). Austrian dramatist, universal favorite of Viennese society, whose comedies and drawing-room pieces were extremely successful in the 1830's and 40's.

BAVARIE, PRINCE REGENT OF. See Luitpold.

BAYRAM OR BAIRAM. Two Moslem feasts, one following the fasting month of Ramazan (q.v.) and lasting three days. On this feast it is the custom to give presents. This is why the Sultan was in need of special funds as the Bayram approached.

BAYSWATER SYNAGOGUE. Constituent synagogue of the United Synagogue, located at Chichester Place, Harrow Road, London, W.

2. It was completed in 1863, its first minister was the Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler (q.v.) until his promotion to the Chief Rabbinate in 1891. In 1892 his place was filled by the appointment of the Rev. Dr. H. Gollancz, M.A. (1852–1930), a Hovevei Zionist, and the only rabbi to have been knighted.

BAZIN, RENÉ FRANCOIS NICHOLAS MARIE (1853–1932). French novelist and travel writer, elected member of the French Academy in 1904.

BEACONSFIELD, FIRST EARL OF (Benjamin Disraeli; 1804–1881). British statesman and novelist. His father, Isaac D'israeli, although never formally converted, abandoned Judaism, and his three sons and daughter were baptized in the Anglican church. In 1837, when Benjamin Disraeli was elected a member of parliament, he already had to his credit several novels and political pamphlets. In 1847 he published his novel *Tancred* (q.v.). In parliament he was prominent as leader of the Young England Party, in 1858 became leader of the House of Commons and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1868, and again from 1874 to 1880, Prime Minister. In 1875 he purchased for England 177,000 shares of the Suez Canal company with money borrowed from the Rothschilds, thereby gaining control of the Canal. In 1878 he was created an earl. Throughout his life Disraeli evinced great interest in the Jews, their history and their situation.

BEBEK. Outlying district of Constantinople on the Bosporus.

BECK, DR. There were at least five physicians named Beck who practiced in Vienna in 1896, and any one of whom could have been the family doctor of Herzl's parents. They were Dr. Julius Beck (received his M.D. in 1858); Dr. Bernhard Beck (1858); Dr. Ferdinand Beck (1872); Dr. Ignaz Beck (1873); Dr. Gustav Beck (1880). According to S. R. Landau, *Sturm und Drang im Zionismus,* Vienna, n.d. (ca. 1937), p. 71, the Dr. Beck who treated Herzl was formerly a physician of the Turkish army.

BECKER, HENRI (1861–1932). French Jewish scholar and civil servant, born in Lorraine. Was counsellor of Henry and Emile Deutsch de la Meurthe. Helped Henry Deutsch in the establishment of the *Institut Aérotechnique* of St. Cyr, and Emile Deutsch in the foundation of the Cité Universitaire (University City) in Paris. At the end of his career Becker was honary receiver of finances in Paris. Was member of the *Légion d'Honneur.*

BECQUE, HENRY (Francois; 1937–1899). French dramatist. His first important play was *Les Corbeaux* (The Ravens, 1882), a somber picture of the impoverishment of a middle class family. His second noted play, *La Parisienne* (1885), was an analysis of self-deceiving immorality.

BEER, SAMUEL FRIEDRICH (1846–1912). Jewish sculptor, born in Brunn, studied in Vienna, and from 1875 on lived in Paris. His work is represented in the U.S. by a bust of Washington Irving in the Washington Irving High School in New York, and a relief portrait of Michelangelo at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. A bust of Herzl by him is now in the Herzl Museum on Mount Herzl near Jerusalem.

BEER-HOFMANN, RICHARD (1866–1945). Austrian Jewish poet and dramatist, whose lyric poem *Schlaflied für Miriam* is one of the finest examples of the use of Jewish themes in modern literature. His Biblical drama *Jacob's Dream* was performed in many German theaters, as well as in New York. In 1938 he escaped to Switzerland, and in 1939 settled in New York.

BEER TUVIA (original name Kastinie). Agricultural settlement (*moshava*) near the seashore 25 miles south of Tel Aviv, founded in 1896 by the *Hovevei Zion* (q. v.).

BEERITE. A cement-like facing and binding material, invented by the sculptor Samuel Friedrich Beer (q. v.).

BEGLERBEG. See Beylerbey.

BEHA BEY, DR. Secretary to Memduh Pasha in 1903.

BEIRAM. See Bayram.

BEIRUT. A seaboard city on the eastern Mediterranean. In Herzl's time the capital of the *vilayet* (province) of Beirut in the Ottoman Empire. Today the capital of Lebanon.

BEIRUT INCIDENTS. In September 1903 bloody clashes took place in Beirut between Christians and Moslems.

BEIRUT, VILAYET OF. The *vilayet* (province) of Beirut, a Turkish administrative division of Syria and Palestine, included two *Sanjaks* (districts): The *Sanjak* of Acre (q. v.), and the *Sanjak* of Belqa, the latter including Samaria, the central portion of western Palestine.

BEIT (misspelled by Herzl: Breit), ALFRED (1853–1906). British financier and South African diamond magnate. Of German birth, went to South Africa in 1875, became closely associated with Cecil Rhodes (q.v.).

BEKIR SONHAMI BEY. Resident of Galata (q.v.).

BELGIAN CONGO. Colony of Belgium in south-central Africa with an area of 902,400 square miles. After Sir Henry Morton Stanley had traced the Congo river to its mouth, King Leopold II (q.v.) of the Belgians formed a *Comité d'Études du Haut Congo,* later renamed the International Association of the Congo, and entrusted Stanley with drawing up agreements with the native chiefs in the area and establishing stations. The Berlin Conference of 1884–85 recognized the Association as the independent Congo Free State with Leopold as its sovereign. Following a number of international legal steps, the State was ceded to

Belgium in 1907 and formally annexed a year later. It obtained independence in 1960.

BELKOVSKY, ZEVI (1865–1948). Russian Jewish lawyer, professor and Zionist leader. Studied in Odessa, became professor of law and economics at the university of Sophia, Bulgaria, 1893–97. Upon Herzl's appearance became his faithful adherent and the spokesman of Zionism in Bulgaria. Participated in the first Zionist Congresses. In 1898 settled in St. Petersburg and took a leading part in Russian Zionism. Was the author of several books on Zionism, among them the first Zionist Bibliography (containing ca. 4,000 items). From 1922 to 1924 was chairman of the secret Zionist center in Russia. Was arrested in 1924 and expelled from Russia. He settled in Palestine where he became a member of the Tel Aviv city court of arbitration.

BELLAMY, EDWARD (1850–1898). American author who in his socialistic novel, *Looking Backward* (published in 1888), attempted to solve the problems of economic and political inequality.

BEN JACOB, JACOB (1858–1926). Russian Jewish bibliographer, one of the founders of the *Hovevei Zion* in Vilna. Was a member of the B'nai Moshe (q.v.). One of the early adherents of Herzl, was a delegate to the first Zionist Congresses. In 1903 Herzl was a guest in his house in Vilna. Was a representative of the Jewish Colonial Trust (q.v.) in Russia until 1914.

BEN-YEHUDA, ELIEZER (1858–1922; original name Perelmann). Pioneer of the renascence of modern Hebrew. Settled in Jerusalem in 1881 and edited Hebrew journals, worked as a teacher and, determined to speak only Hebrew, fought for the use of Hebrew in daily life. In 1915–19 lived in the United States. His *magnum opus* is the encyclopaedic dictionary of Hebrew language more than half of whose volumes appeared during his lifetime, the rest after his death.

BENEDIKT, MORITZ (1849–1920), a Viennese Jew, was, together with Eduard Bacher, first editor and then also publisher of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

BENJAMIN. One of the two Hebrew names of Herzl; used also as one of his code-names.

BENNETT, JAMES GORDON (1841–1918). Son of the founder of the New York *Herald*, became its managing editor in 1866, and its proprietor in 1872.

BENTWICH, HERBERT (1856–1932). British Jewish lawyer specializing in copyright law, and leader of the English *Hovevei Zion* movement. In 1897 he organized a Palestine pilgrimage of the members of the Order of the Ancient Maccabeans, a Zionist organization, of which he subsequently (1901–14) became Grand Commander. During the First World War he assisted Chaim Weizmann in negotiating the Balfour Declaration, and following the war he settled in Palestine.

BÉRARD, ALEXANDRE (1859–1923). French politician. Studied law, became a lawyer, then a magistrate; was elected as a radical deputy to the Chamber from 1893 to 1906. In 1908 became a senator. Became under-secretary of state in 1902 and again in 1905. Wrote several books on French history and politics.

BERGER, THÉODORE (1848–1900). French administrator and financial expert. Was administrator of the Imperial Ottoman Bank and had an active part in the financial and administrative reorganization of the Ottoman Empire.

BERGMANN. Viennese Jew.

BERKOWICZ, DR. MICHAEL (1865–1935). Austrian Jewish educator, translator, author, editor and publisher. Born in Borislav, Galicia, educated in Lvov and Vienna, began early to publish translations of the works of Hebrew authors into German,

became active in the Lvov "Zion" Society and contributed articles to Hebrew, Yiddish and German Jewish papers. Founded, together with Ehrenpreis (q.v.), a publishing house for popular books in Yiddish in Lvov. In 1894 became the secretary of the "Zion" Society (q.v.) in Vienna. Upon the appearance of Herzl, became one of his earliest followers, and translated his *Judenstaat* (q.v.) and other writings into Hebrew. In 1898 Berkowicz became the manager of the Yiddish Zionist journal *Yud* in Cracow. When this paper was discontinued he returned to Vienna to the staff of *Die Welt*. From 1906 to 1908, and again from 1912, was on the staff of *Monumenta Judaica*. From 1911 to his death was teacher of religion in the Bilitz, Silesia, high school.

BERLINER, DR. ABRAHAM (1833–1915). German Jewish literary historian. Was called to Arnswalde as teacher and preacher, 1858; later became teacher of the *Shas-Chevra* in Berlin, and in 1873 instructor of Jewish history at the newly founded rabbinical seminary of Azriel Hildesheimer. In 1874 he founded the *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* which he edited until 1893. He was co-founder of the separate Orthodox Berlin community *Adass Isroel*. He wrote studies on the history of the Jews in Rome, on the Targum Onkelos, on the life of German Jews in the Middle Ages, on the daily prayer book, etc.

BERLINER TAGEBLATT and FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG were the two most influential newspapers in Germany. They were not "Jewish papers" in the sense of being devoted to Jewish affairs or addressed to a Jewish readership. They were general dailies, but were to a large extent Jewish-owned and Jewish-edited.

BERNARD L'HERMITE. Probably mistake for *Pierre l'hermite*, Peter the Hermite (ca. 1050–1115), also known as Peter of Amiens, preacher of the First Crusade, who reached Jerusalem at the head of a small band of men in 1099, most of his followers having perished on the way.

BERNE. The capital of Switzerland.

BERNSTEIN, A. German Jewish merchant in Munich. In 1884 entered into a partnership with David Wolffsohn (q.v.) and founded the firm Bernstein and Wolffsohn in Papenburg, which moved to Cologne in 1888.

BERNSTEIN-KOHAN. See Kohan-Bernstein.

BESHIKTASH. Suburb of Constantinople on the European bank of the Bosporus some 3 miles from the Golden Horn.

BETH HAAM. Literally House of the People, Hebrew term used to this day in Israel to designate the lecture and meeting hall in the towns and villages.

BETTELHEIM, ANTON (1851–1930). Viennese Jewish journalist, was first *feuilleton* editor of the *Wiener Presse* and the *Deutsche Zeitung*, then, from 1890, permanent Viennese theater critic of the *Münchner Allegemeine Zeitung*. From 1921 he was editor of the *Neue Österreichische Biographie*. In the review referred to in the *Diaries* he wrote: " . . . the fantastic dream of a feuilletonist whose mind had been unhinged by Jewish enthusiasm . . . We reject Herzl's *Judenstaat* with greater distaste than the meanest anti-Semitic pamphlet."

BEVIS MARKS SYNAGOGUE. Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation located in the London, E. C. 3, district. It was erected in 1701, and is to this day the center of the Sephardi community of England.

BEYLERBEY. A royal palace, located on the Asian bank of the Bosporus, opposite the Dolmabahçe palace.

BIARRITZ. French resort town on the Bay of Biscay.

BIDDULPH. English clergyman.

BIELEFELD, ERNST. Austrian statesman, consul of Austria-Hungary at Karlsruhe.

BIERER, REUBEN DR. (1835–1931). Was one of the early Zionists in his native Galicia; co-founder of *Kadimah,* the first Jewish students' fraternity in Vienna, and, in 1882, with Perez Smolenskin, of the religious society for Palestinian colonization, *Ahavat Zion.* Later he moved to Sophia, Bulgaria, and created there the first national Jewish organizations.

BILLITZER. Viennese Jewish hat maker.

BIRNBAUM, NATHAN DR. (1864–1937; pseudonym: Mathias Acher). Viennese Jewish author and cultural and political leader, founded in 1883 the first Jewish students' fraternity *Kadimah,* and in 1884 the bi-weekly *Selbst-Emancipation,* both with a pro-Zionist, *Hovevei Zion* orientation. In 1896–97 he edited in Berlin the monthly *Zion.* He was the originator of the term "Zionism" and in his writings advocated the solution of the Jewish question through the national renaissance of the Jewish people in its ancient homeland. He was a religiously oriented thinker and several of his essays were addressed in particular to an orthodox Jewish audience. At first an adherent of Herzl, he soon turned against him and advocated a Jewish nationalism in the Diaspora with Yiddish as its medium. In his late years he joined the ultra-religious Agudath Yisrael movement.

BISCHOFSHOFEN. Village in Salzburg, Austria.

BISHOP OF LONDON. The Bishop of London referred to in the *Diaries* was Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram (1858–1946), Bishop of London from 1901 to 1939.

BISHOP OF RIPON. See Boyd-Carpenter.

BISMARCK, HERBERT (1849–1904; full name: Prince Herbert Nikolaus von Bismarck-Schönhausen). Son of Otto von Bismarck, German statesman and soldier, succeeded to his father's title in 1898.

BISMARCK, PRINCE OTTO VON (1815–1898). German statesman, unifier of the German states into the German *Reich,* and Chancellor of Germany.

BLANCKENHORN, MAX LUDWIG PAUL (1861–1947). German geologist. Was member of the 1897–99 Geological Survey of Egypt. In 1905 was appointed professor of geology, in 1908 received the Turkish Liakat medallion and in 1923 the German Leibniz medallion. On the basis of several field trips from 1888 to 1931 he wrote a thorough volume on the geology of Egypt, and laid the foundations for a modern stratigraphy of Syria and Palestine.

BLEICHER, CARL. Viennese free-lance scholar.

BLEYLEBEN, OKTAVIAN REGNER VON (1866– ?). Austrian statesman. Became in 1904 provincial president of Bukowina; from 1911 to 1915 governor of Moravia, then governor of Lower Austria.

BLOCH, JEAN DE; or Ivan Stanislavovich Bliokh (1836–1902). Polish Jewish financier, economist and military critic. Russian Councillor-of-State. Proponent of the plan for the 1899 Hague International Peace Conference. Converted to Calvinism but remained interested in the fate of the Jews.

BLOCH, JOSEPH SAMUEL (1850–1923). Austrian Jewish politician and newspaper editor, was member of the Austrian parliament, and editor of the widely read Jewish weekly, *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift.* He was the author of a considerable number of books on Jewish history, literature, education and apologetics.

B'NAI MOSHE (literally: Sons of Moses). Secret society organized by Ahad Haam (Asher Ginzberg, 1856–1927) in 1889. In 1893 its headquarters were moved to Palestine and its secret character was abandoned. Its aim was to organize a national effort for the regeneration of the Jewish people in Palestine. Its members served as teachers and propagandists, but the organization had to disband in 1896.

B'NAI ZION (Sons of Zion). A Zionist society in England. Founded 1887. In 1898, when the Zionist Federation of England was founded, the B'nai Zion joined it. They disbanded in 1917.

BOARD, THE. Refers to the Board of Directors of Jewish Colonial Trust (q.v.) in London.

BODENHEIMER, MAX ISIDOR (1865–1940). Lawyer and Zionist leader, joined the *Hovevei Zion* in Cologne, Germany, in his youth, and was one of the first to support Herzl. Was member of the committee which approved the Basel Program of 1897. In the following year he accompanied Herzl on his visit to Palestine. From 1897–1921 was member of the General Council of the World Zionist Organization. He was the author of the constitution of the Jewish National Fund, and its Director from 1907–1914. In 1935 he settled in Jerusalem.

BOIS DE BOULOGNE. Park in Paris, covering an area of 2,155 acres, with two artificial lakes, bridle paths, drives, restaurants, playing fields, two race tracks and a zoo.

BOISDEFFRE, RAOUL-FRANÇOIS-CHARLES LE MOUTON DE (1839–1919). French general. Was French military attaché in Russia. Became chief of the army's general staff in 1893. In 1898 resigned in consequence of the Dreyfus (q.v.) affair.

BON-MARCHÉ, a big department store in Paris.

BONCOURT PALACE. See Chamisso, Adalbert.

BONETTI, AUGUSTO (1831–1904). Italian cleric. Became titular bishop of Cardica in 1885; apostolic delegate for the orient and patriarchal vicar for the Latins in Constantinople in 1887.

BORINAGE. A district in the Belgian coal producing province of Hennegan.

BÖRSENWOCHE. The weekly economic and financial section of the *Neue Freie Presse.*

BOSPORUS. The narrow sea-way of great strategic importance between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara which, in turn, connects through the straits of Dardanelles (q.v.) and the Aegean Sea with the Mediterranean. The city of Istanbul (see Constantinople) lies at the southern end of the Bosporus.

BOTOSANI. Rumanian town, in northern Moldavia, with 29,000 inhabitants (in 1950).

BOURGEOIS, LÉON VICTOR AUGUSTE (1851–1925). French statesman. Became Minister of the Interior in 1889, Minister of Public Instruction from 1892–93, and Prime Minister from 1895–96. In 1899 he headed the French delegation to The Hague Peace Conference. In 1902–04 he was President of the Chamber of Deputies, in 1906 Minister of Foreign Affairs. Was first president of the Council of the League of Nations, and in 1920 was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1918–23 he was President of the French Senate.

BOURGOING, BARON OTHON DE (1839–1908). French diplomatist. Advanced to the rank of Ambassador. Resigned and settled in Vienna. Was known as an art collector and organizer of art events.

BOURLIER. Staff member of the Paris *Journal.*

BOUTROS GHALI PASHA, K.C.M.B. (1846–1910). Egyptian statesman. Foreign Minister, later Prime Minister of Egypt. Boutros Pasha, a Copt, was backed by the Khedive.

BOYD CARPENTER, WILLIAM (1841–1918). English clergyman. Following a distinguished ecclesiastic career, became Bishop of Ripon, 1884–1911 and thereafter Sub-Dean and Canon of Westminster. Published a considerable number of Biblical and religious studies. Was honored by several universities with honorary doctorates.

BOYLE, HARRY (1863–1937). English civil servant. Oriental Secretary at Her Majesty's Embassy in Cairo, in 1903.

BRAMLEY-MOORE, REV. WILLIAM. British clergyman. Author of several theological works, among them *Sixty Signs in Confirmation of the Belief that the Work Wrought in 'The Only Holy Catholic Church' and Falsely Called 'Irvingism' is the True Spiritual Work of God, etc.* (London, 1878); *Marturia: or the Testimony of the Ancient Records and Monuments in the British Museum to the Historical Accuracy of the Holy Scripture* (London, 1897).

BRANDES, GEORG (original name: Morris Cohen, 1842–1927). Danish Jewish critic, fought for the recognition of new writers. Was indifferent to Judaism, until he became a fervent Zionist after World War I.

BRAUN, BARON ADOLF VON (1821–1904). Austrian statesman. State councillor, chairman of the Cabinet Office of Emperor Franz Josef I from 1865 to 1899. For a short time was Austrian consul in Egypt.

BRECHER, DR. BERNHARD (1869– ?). Austrian lawyer and banker. Contributed to the manual *Das österreichische Recht* (The Austrian Law), and author of *Lebensversicherungsvertrag nach*

österreichischem Privatrecht (The Life Insurance Contract in Austrian Civil Law). Was the son of I. Brecher, senior member of the banking house I. and A. Brecher in Vienna.

BRECHER, I. AND A. Banking house in Vienna. See Brecher, Dr. Bernhard.

BREGENZ. Town in western Austria, capital of the Tirol-Vorarlberg province. It occupies a beautiful site on a slope rising from Lake Constance.

BREIT. See Beit, Alfred.

BREITENSTEIN, DR. MAX (1855– ?). Austrian Jewish journalist, publisher and bookseller. Worked as a journalist since 1876; was editor of the *Wiener Korrespondenz*. Owner of a large bookstore and publishing house at 5 Währingerstrasse in Vienna. Published Herzl's *Judenstaat* in 1896.

BRESLAU. In Herzl's time Breslau was the chief industrial city of the German (Prussian) province of Lower Silesia. In 1945, at the Potsdam conference, it was assigned to Poland and renamed Wroclaw. An unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Kaiser Wilhelm II was made in Breslau in 1900.

BRESSE. French teacher in Vienna.

BRIEUX, EUGÈNE (1858–1932). French dramatist and journalist. His best play, *La Robe Rouge* (The Red Robe, 1900), established him definitively as a successful playwright. Most of his plays deal with social and moral problems. In 1909 was elected member of the Academy.

BRIGHTON. Popular English seaside resort, 50 miles south of London, in Sussex, on the English Channel.

BRINDISI. The ancient Brundisium; seaport and fortified town in southern Italy, situated on the Strait of Otranto in the Adriatic Sea.

BRISSON, EUGÈNE HENRI (1835–1912). French politician. In 1871 entered the Chamber of Deputies and became a leader of the Radical Party. Was president of the Chamber 1881–85, 1894, 1904, and 1906–1912; prime minister in 1885 and 1898.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA. General term used to designate the following British territories in the central part of the African continent: Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda; and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

BRNO (German Brünn). City in Austria (today in Czechoslovakia), capital of the Brno province in southern Moravia, 70 miles north–north-east of Vienna.

BRODSKY (or Brodski). Russian Jewish family of industrialists. In Herzl's days the family owned the largest sugar refinery in Russia. Lazar B. (1848–1904) and his brother Lev (1852–1923) used much of their fortune for philanthropic purposes. They founded the Polytechnical Institute and the Bacteriological Institute in Kiev; donated 300,000 rubles for the Jewish industrial school in Kiev, built the great synagogue there, and supported Jewish literature. However, the Zionist Organization in Russia was unable to persuade Lev B. to put up the amount required for the purchase of the alley facing the Wailing Wall (q.v.) in the Old City of Jerusalem.

"BROOK OF EGYPT TO THE EUPHRATES." In this form the phrase does not occur in the Bible. The nearest Biblical phrase is "from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates" (Gen. 14:18), describing the boundaries of the Promised Land. The "Brook of Egypt" as the ideal southern border of the land of Israel is mentioned several times in the Bible (Num. 34:5;

Joshua 15:4, 47; 1 Kings 8:65; etc.). It has been identified with the Wadi El-Arish (q.v.).

BROWN, MAJOR SIR ROBERT HANBURY, K.C.M.G. Commander of St. Michael and St. George (1849–1926). English irrigation expert. Inspector-General of Irrigation, Lower Egypt, from 1894 to 1903, Author of *The Land of Goshen and the Exodus* (London, 1899) and of *The Delta Barrage* (Cairo, 1896), etc.

BROWN. A resident of Birmingham, England.

BROZE (or Broza), SAMUEL (1869–1944). Russian Jewish pioneer, born in Mohilev. One of the founders of the settlement of Moza (q.v.) near Jerusalem in 1894. Lived there for 50 years until his death.

BRUCK, DR. ZEVI (1868–1922). Russian Jewish physician, communal worker and Zionist leader. M.D. of the University of Kiev, 1893. Practiced in St. Petersburg and Homel, and following the First Zionist Congress took a leading part in Russian Zionist life. In accordance with the Herzlian slogan of the conquest of the communities, he ran for the position of, and was elected as, the official rabbi of Vitebsk in 1901. In 1905 was elected deputy to the first Russian Duma. In 1914–17 served in the Russian army as a doctor. In 1920 settled in Palestine.

BRÜLL, IGNAZ (1846–1907). Jewish composer, was teacher of piano at Horak's Piano School in Vienna (from 1872 to 1878), and later (from 1881) became its Associate Principal. He composed several operas including *The Beggars of Samarkand* (1864); *The Golden Cross* (1875); *Peace in the Land* (1877); *Bianca* (1879); as well as piano pieces, songs, etc.

BRUNETIÈRE, FERDINAND (1849–1906). Well-known French literary critic with a rather negative attitude to Jews.

BRUSATI, UGO (1847–1936). Italian soldier. Participated in the African campaign of 1895–96, became a general in 1897, and aide-de-camp of the Duke of Naples in 1898. Appointed aide-de-camp of King Victor Emmanuel III (q.v.), 1910; senator, 1912.

BRUNIANT or BURIANT. The name of this individual was mis-heard, and consequently misspelled by Herzl. His correct name was Bruyate (q.v.).

BRUYATE, SIR WILLIAM (EDWIN) K.C.M.G. (1867–1943). English barrister. Entered Egyptian government service in 1898; was Khedivial counsellor, 1903; 1914–1916 Counsel of the Sultan of Egypt; 1921–1924 Vice Chancellor of Hong-Kong University.

BUCHMIL, JOSHUA HESHEL (1869–1939). Austrian Jewish lawyer, author and Zionist leader. Studied in Vienna and France. Under the influence of Herzl, worked among the Russian *Hovevei Zion* for their participation in the first Zionist Congress. Upon his return to France worked there too for Zionism. Was a leader of the Zionist opposition to the Uganda project (q.v.). Until 1921 worked in Russia as a Zionist propagandist. In 1923 escaped from Russia and settled in Palestine. He published a book (in French) on *Problems of the Jewish Renascence* (1936).

BUCHS. Swiss town on the Austrian border with 5,000 inhabitants (in 1950).

BUDAPEST, the capital of Hungary, consisted originally of two separate cities: Buda (Ofen), on the left bank of the Danube, and Pest, on the right bank. Upon their unification, in 1872, the city received its present name.

BUKOVINA. Region on the eastern slope of the Carpathian Mountains. In Herzl's time part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire;

today divided between the Soviet Ukraine in the north and Rumania in the south.

BULGARIA. Country in south-eastern Europe, on the Black Sea. In 1901, there were 33,661 Jews (Sephardim) among a total population of 3,744,283 in Bulgaria. The Turks conquered Bulgaria in the 14th century and held it until 1878. From 1878 to 1908 Bulgaria was an autonomous and tributary principality under the suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan. In the mid-1890's Russian influence increased in Bulgaria with a parallel intensification of anti-Turkish sentiment. It was felt as especially intolerable that Serbia should be an independent state, while Bulgaria, with greater economic and military resources, remained a vassal of Turkey. On October 5, 1908, Prince Ferdinand (q.v.) declared Bulgaria an independent kingdom.

BÜLOW, CARL ULRICH VON (1862–1914). German soldier. Fifth son of Secretary of State Bernhard Ernest von Bülow, and younger brother of Prince Bernhard von Bülow (q.v.). In 1898 he was sent to Vienna as a military attaché at the German embassy in which capacity he served until 1906. At the beginning of World War I he was a Prussian major-general and commander of the ninth cavalry division. He fell in the war, at St. Croix in Belgium on the 5th or 7th of August 1914.

BÜLOW, PRINCE BERNHARD VON (1849–1929). German statesman. Entered the Prussian civil service, 1872, the diplomatic service, 1874. Minister to Rumania, 1888; ambassador to Italy, 1894; foreign secretary, 1897; chancellor of the German Empire, 1900.

BUND. Full name: *Algemeyner Yidisher Arbeyterbund in Lita, Polen un Rusland* (General Association of Jewish Workers in Lithuania, Poland and Russia). Jewish social democratic organization founded at a convention in Vilna in 1897.

BURDEAU, AUGUSTE (1851–1894). French philosopher and politician, was a well-known personality in the days of the Third

Republic. He was a deputy from Lyon, several times Minister, and was President of the Chamber of Deputies at the time of his death, in December, 1894. He translated Herbert Spencer and Schopenhauer into French. He was violently attacked by Edouard Drumont (q.v.), the French anti-Semitic leader. Burdeau died a victim of calumnies, although in a lawsuit in the Court of Assizes he was exonerated completely. The Burdeau-Drumont trial whose sessions were attended by Herzl, took place in 1894.

BURG, or in its full form *Hofburg,* is the name of the palace of the Austrian Emperor in Vienna.

BÜYÜKDERE, a suburb north of Constantinople, on the European side of the Bosporus.

C. Initial of Cohn, code-name for Sultan Abdul Hamid II (q.v.).

CAESAREA. Ancient Palestinian harbor town (about halfway between Tel Aviv and Haifa) built by Herod the Great and named in honor of Augustus Caesar. Following the Crusades it became a scene of ruin, and by Herzl's time practically nothing visible remained either of the town or of its once magnificent harbor.

CAFÉ CHAMPS ELYSÉES. One of the elegant fashionable cafés in Paris, situated on the Champs Elysées, generally regarded as the most beautiful avenue in the world.

CAFÉ LOUVRE, located in the Wipplinger Strasse in Vienna, was the weekly meeting place of the Viennese Zionists in the early period of the movement.

CALAIS. City in France, on the Strait of Dover, in the Department of Pas-de-Calais, opposite Dover.

CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA, Pedro (1600–1681). Spanish poet and playwright best known for his philosophical play, *Life is a Dream.*

CALEB, DR. JOSHUA. Bulgarian Jewish Zionist leader. Lived in Sofia. Attended the First Zionist Congress.

CALICE, COUNT HEINRICH (1831–1912). Austrian diplomatist. In 1857 vice-chancellor of the Austrian consulate in Constantinople; 1864 consul in Liverpool; 1871 consul general and resident minister to the courts of China, Japan and Siam; 1874 diplomatic agent, 1876 envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, and 1880 ambassador, in Constantinople. Was made a Baron in 1873, a Count in 1906.

CALL, GUIDO, BARON OF ROSENBURG AND KULMBACH (1849–1927). Austrian diplomatist. Began his career in the Austrian legation in Teheran, was from 1875 to 1894 attached to the Austrian embassy in Constantinople in various capacities. In 1895 envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Sophia. 1900 minister of commerce in the Koerber (q.v.) cabinet. 1909 ambassador to Tokio.

CAMBON, PIERRE-PAUL (1843–1924). French administrator and diplomat. Following an administrative career in the home government, he became French resident in Tunisia in 1882, ambassador to Madrid in 1886, to Constantinople in 1890, and to London from 1898 to 1920.

CAMONDOS. Well known Jewish family of bankers and philanthropists, first in Venice, then in Constantinople. In Herzl's days, several members of the family lived in Paris and had the title "Count."

CAPORAL. Business agent of Izzet Pasha. (q.v.).

CAPPADOCIA. Ancient country in eastern Asia Minor, extending originally from Cilicia to the Euxine. In Herzl's time the name

was still used to identify that part of Turkey which formerly was Cappadocia.

CARAVAN OF ARCEUIL. The novel *La 19e Caravane des Dominicains d'Arceuil,* by Lhermite (published in Paris in 1894), describes how sixteen young boys form a traveling company and visit Constantinople, Mount Athos and other places in Greece, under the tutelage of four "leaders" one of whom is the author.

CARLSBAD. Town in Austria (today in Czechoslovakia), in northwestern Bohemia, celebrated for its hot mineral springs.

CARNEGIE, ANDREW (1835–1919). American industrialist and humanitarian, whose public gifts amounted to $333 millions.

CAROL I (1839–1914); originally Karl Eitel Friedrich of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen; Engl. Charles). First king of Rumania, proclaimed king in 1881.

CARTON DE WIART, LEON CONSTANT GHISLAIN (1854–1915). English lawyer of Belgian origin. From 1883 in Egypt, barrister at law in Cairo. Took a leading part in many important cases before the Mixed Tribunals after the British occupation of which he was a staunch supporter.

CASIMIR-PÉRIER, JEAN PAUL PIERRE (1847–1907). French statesman, premier and president of France.

CASSEL, SIR ERNEST JOSEPH (1852–1921). British financier and philanthropist. Born of German Jewish parents in Cologne, he went to England in 1869. Became an international banker, financed railroads in Sweden, Mexico and the United States; dams and irrigation canals in Egypt; banks in Morocco and Turkey. He collected old masters, and *objets d'art,* and became a confidential adviser to King Edward VII (q.v.). He endowed hospitals and educational institutions. Was knighted in 1899.

CAUX. Resort in Switzerland, overlooking Montreux and Territet on Lake Geneva.

CAVAIGNAC, JACQUES MARIE EUGÈNE GODEFROY (1853–1905). French politician. Was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1882. In 1885–86 was Under Secretary of War; in 1892 and 1898 Minister of Marine and of the Colonies. In 1898 he forced Lieut.-Col. Henry to confess that certain letters bearing on the Dreyfus case were forgeries, but nevertheless declared his belief in Dreyfus' guilt.

CAVENDISH ROOMS. Premises for social gatherings, meetings, dinners, etc. at 51–53 Mortimer Street, London, W. 1. In 1905, on the same spot, a new building was erected, called "Cavendish House" (shops and offices).

CAVID (DJAVID) BEY, IBRAHIM (1866–1899). Turkish official. Son of the Grand Vizier, Halil Rifat Pasha (q.v.). Graduated from the School of Political Sciences in 1885. Entered the Turkish foreign service in 1886, became member of the Council of State in 1895. Had the reputation of a ruthless and unscrupulous person. Was assassinated, in broad daylight, by an Albanian, on the Galata (q.v.) Bridge.

CEDAR OF HERZL AT MOZA. On the occasion of his visit to Palestine in 1898, Herzl planted a cedar at Moza (q.v.). The tree was cut during the First World War in 1916, but was subsequently replanted.

CELÂLETTIN (CELÂL) PASHA, MEHMED (1852–1933). Turkish lawyer and statesman. Began his career as a clerk of the translation office in the Sublime Porte in 1867, and transferred to the judicial service in 1881. Was appointed Professor of Penal Law in the Constantinople Faculty of Law in 1888. In 1896 became a judge, and in 1898 President of the Supreme Court of Appeals. In 1902 was appointed Minister of Education, and in 1903 Minister of

the Navy with the rank of a Vizier and the title of Pasha. In 1906 was appointed a member of the Council of State. After the restoration of the Constitution (1908) he was removed from office, deprived of his rank, and banished to an Aegean island. In 1911, following the general amnesty, he returned to Constantinople. It was rumored that he was one of the personal spies of Sultan Abdul Hamid (q.v.).

CEMALEDDIN EFENDI (1848–1919). The Sheikh ul-Islam (q.v.) in Herzl's time. Belonged to an old Moslem religious family. Became professor of theology (1867) and was appointed Şeyh ul-Islâm by Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1891). Served in this post until 1908. After the dethronement of Abdul Hamid, he was known as an opponent of the new regime. During the Balkan War (1912–13) he returned to his office but following his unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the government he was obliged to flee Turkey. He spent his last years in Egypt as an exile, and died there.

CEVDET (DJEVDET) DR. ABDULLAH BEY (1869–1932). Turkish physician and writer. First served as an oculist in the Turkish army with the rank of a captain. Joined a secret society against the Sultan in 1890 and was banished to Tripoli in 1892. In 1897 escaped to Europe, and began to publish articles in newspapers which were opposed to the Sultan. Nevertheless was appointed physician of the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, and kept silent for three years. In 1904 established a printing office in Geneva, Switzerland, and began to publish a review and books propagating free thought. In 1905 moved to Egypt and practiced medicine. After the 1908 revolution returned to Istanbul. Wrote, compiled and translated numerous books of literary, philosophical and historical interest.

CHAINE ANGLAISE (English Chain). A dance. One of the figures or movements of the quadrille.

CHALDEA. Ancient name of part of Mesopotamia.

CHAMBERLAIN, JOSEPH (1836–1914). British statesman. Was engaged from 1854 to 1874 in manufacturing screws. Became mayor of Binghamton in 1874, and member of parliament in 1876. In 1880 he became a member of the British cabinet as president of the Board of Trade. In 1891 he became leader of the liberal Unionists in the House of Commons and as such opposed Gladstone. When the Unionists took over the government in 1895, he was appointed Secretary for the Colonies. During this office which he held until 1906, he greatly improved the relationship between the colonies and Great Britain.

CHAMISSO, ADALBERT VON (1781–1838). German writer and naturalist of French origin. His original name was Louis-Charles-Adelaide de Chamisso de Boncourt. He was born in Boncourt Palace in the Champagne in France and devoted to it one of his best-known poems, entitled *The Boncourt Palace.* He described his discoveries in the North and South Pacific in several volumes. His most famous and original work is *Peter Schlemihls Wunderbare Geschichte* (1814), which was translated into English and published as *The Wonderful History of Peter Schlemihl.* It tells the story of the man who sold his shadow. See also Boncourt Palace.

CHARLES, GRAND DUKE OF BADEN, and Napoleon. The version Hechler told Herzl about the origin of the title "Grand Duke of Baden" is based on a confusion of Baden and Hesse. The historical facts are as follows: Grand Duke Charles of Baden (1786–1818), reigning prince in Napoleon's time, was the grandson and successor of Grand Duke Charles Frederick (died 1811). Thus he inherited the title from his grandfather. He aided Napoleon and married his adopted daughter, Stephanie de Beauharnais, in 1806. The man whom Napoleon made a Grand Duke was Landgrave Louis X of Hesse-Darmstadt who, in 1806, assumed the title of Grand Duke Louis I.

CHARLES EMMANUEL II (1634–1675). Duke of Savoy. Succeeded to the duchy in 1638, with his mother serving as regent until her death in 1663. He was a contemporary of Sabbatai Zevi (q.v.) and thus the family-tradition told by King Victor Emmanuel III (q.v.) to Herzl on January 23, 1904, may have had historical foundation.

CHARRIANT. Secretary to Mme Rattazzi (q.v.).

CHARTER. The term used by Herzl to denote the international legal document he tried to obtain from Turkey for the cession of Palestine to the Jews.

CHÂTELET. PLACE DE CHÂTELET, a place in the 1st and 4th districts of Paris, with the *Fontaine de Châtelet* in its midst. On it is located the Châtelet theater, built in 1862.

CHESIREH. See Ghezireh.

CHINA, JEWS OF. By the beginning of the 20th century the old Chinese Jewish community of Kai-Feng-Fu was practically extinct. About the middle of the 19th century a new Jewish settlement came into being in Shanghai, composed first of Jews from India, to whom later Jews from Europe were added. In 1898 Jews began to settle also in Charbin in Northern Manchuria which soon became the largest Jewish center in China.

CHLUMECKY, BARON JOHANN VON (1834–1924). One of the most influential political figures of Austria. Minister of agriculture, 1871; of commerce, 1875; vice-president, 1885, and president, 1893, of the Austrian parliament; member of the Upper House, 1897.

CHODINKO PLAIN. A plain near Moscow, in Russia.

CHORIN, AARON (1766–1844). Hungarian reform rabbi. Was rabbi in Arad from 1789 to his death, and introduced several reform

measures in the synagogue service and the religious life of the community. He wrote a considerable number of scholarly books and treatises dealing with issues of religious reform, all in Hebrew.

CHOTEK, COUNTESS SOPHIE (1868–1914). Was lady-in-waiting at the Viennese court. In 1900 Crown Prince Francis Ferdinand (q.v.) married her in a morganatic marriage and she was given the hereditary title of Duchess of Hohenberg. In 1914 she was assassinated together with the Crown Prince in Sarayevo.

CHRYSANDER, FRIEDRICH (1826–1901). German musical historian. Specialized in the study of Händel. Lived from 1866 in Bergedorf and was thus a neighbor of Bismarck (q.v.). He was a frequent guest in Bismarck's home in Friedrichsruh and occasionally served the chancellor in a secretarial capacity.

CIRCENSES. The meaning of this Latin term is games, entertainment.

CITADEL IN JERUSALEM. See Tower of David.

CLIFFORD, JOHN (1836–1923). English Baptist clergyman, minister of the Praed Street and Westbourne Park churches in London (1858–1915), active in religious and communal affairs, authored several religious books.

COBLENZ. City in Germany, capital of the Rhineland Palatinate (q.v.), situated on the left bank of the Rhine.

COHEN, ALFRED L. (1836–1903). English Jewish communal worker. Vice-President of the Jewish Free School, counsel of the administration of the I.C.A.

COHEN, ARTHUR (1830–1914). British Jewish lawyer, was appointed Queen's counsel in 1874 and a privy councillor in 1905. He was active in Jewish communal affairs.

COHEN, GUSTAV GABRIEL (1830–1906). German Jewish merchant and banker, lived in Hamburg, father-in-law of Otto Warburg (q.v.). Pre-Herzlian Zionist, became a close friend of Herzl. Author of *Die Judenfrage und die Zukunft* (1891 and 1896: The Jewish Question and the Future).

COHN, SALO. Wealthy Viennese Jew, supporter of Jewish writers and friend of Chief Rabbi Güdemann.

COLBERT, KARL (1855– ?). Co-owner and publisher, jointly with Ernst Ziegler, of the fortnightly journal *Wiener Mode* (Viennese Fashion), from 1888 to 1893. Thereafter his name appears only occasionally as that of a contributor to the journal.

COLLAS. French financier; negotiated a loan to Turkey.

COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER (c. 1451–1506). Discoverer of America.

COMMUNARD. Partisan of the Paris *Commune* of 1871. The latter was a revolutionary power installed in Paris following the siege of the city by the Prussians and the insurrection of March 18, 1871. It instituted a number of important reforms.

CONCORDIA (or KONKORDIA) WIENER JOURNALISTEN UND SCHRIFTSTELLER-VEREIN (Concordia, Viennese Union of Journalists and Writers), founded in 1859. The most important society of its kind in Vienna, with a large number of committees and varied activities. Herzl was elected a member of its Ball Committee in 1888.

CONDOTTIERE. Skilled professional soldier in Italy in the 14th and 15th centuries who commanded his own military companies and sold his services to princes and states.

CONEGLIANO. Italian town, about 30 miles to the north of Venice.

CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN ZIONISTS. The reference is to the Sixth Annual Convention of the Federation of American Zionists which took place in Pittsburgh from June 6 to 9, 1903.

CONGO FREE STATE. See Belgian Congo.

CONGO STATE. See Belgian Congo.

CONSTANCE OR KONSTANZ. German city on the southwestern side of the Lake of Constance, forming a German enclave on the Swiss side of the lake.

CONSTANCE, LAKE OF. Lake between Germany, Switzerland and Austria.

CONSTANS, JEAN-ANTOINE-ERNEST (1833–1913). French politician. Was first professor of law. In 1876 was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, re-elected in 1877; named under-secretary of state of the interior in 1879. Minister of the interior in 1880. In 1886 was sent as minister plenipotentiary to China; from 1886 to 1888 was governor-general of Indo-China, and from 1889 to 1890 and 1890 to 1892, again minister of the interior. From 1898 to 1907 he was French ambassador to Constantinople.

CONSTANTINE CONSTANTINOVICH (1858–1915). Grand Duke of Russia. Was head of the Russian military academies and a well-known Russian poet under the pseudonym K.R. Wrote dramas (*Sergeant Manfred,* 1910; *King of the Jews,* 1913), and translated Shakespeare's *Hamlet,* Goethe's *Iphigenia* and Schiller's *The Bride of Messina* into Russian.

CONSTANTINOPLE (today Istanbul). Capital of the Ottoman Empire, located at the southern end of the Bosporus (q.v.).

CONSTANTSA OF CONSTANZA. Rumanian port on the Black Sea. Embarkation point for East European travellers to Palestine.

COOK. The well-known international travel agency, founded in England in 1841.

CORNHILL. A part of London, E.C.3.

COROT, JEAN BAPTISTE CAMILLE (1796–1875). French painter, one of the so-called Barbizon School, excelled in landscapes. In 1867 was made an officier of the Legion of Honor.

CORRESPONDANCE DE L'EST. Viennese daily evening paper, subtitled *Le petit journal,* appeared from 1887 to 1899. It printed mainly international economic news. Its editor-in-chief was Louis Bresse, its publisher, Newlinski (q.v.).

COSMOPOLIS. International monthly review, edited by F. Ortmans (London: F. Fisher, Unwin—New York: International News Company). It appeared from 1896 to 1898 and published articles in French, English and German. Among its contributors were Israel Zangwill, A. Vambery, Arthur Schnitzler, etc.

COTTAGE was the name of a high-class residential section in Vienna.

COUDENHOVE, COUNT KARL MARIA (1855–1913). Austrian jurist. 1882 vice secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture; 1892 administrator of Reichenberg and provincial president of Silesia; 1896–1911 governor of Bohemia. He was a patron of culture and science.

COUNT OF MONTE CRISTO. Novel by Alexandre Dumas, written from 1814 to 1844.

COUSTOU, NICOLAS (1658–1733). French sculptor whose decorative figures adorn the gardens of the Tuileries in Paris.

COWEN, JOSEPH (1868–1932). English Jewish businessman. Attended the First Zionist Congress (1897), and thereafter became

one of Herzl's most efficient aides in England. He accompanied Herzl to Constantinople in 1902, served on the Board of Governors of the Jewish Colonial Trust (q.v.), and from 1919, as its chairman. He helped Chaim Weizmann in the latter's negotiations for the Balfour Declaration (1917), and was a member of the Zionist Commission sent to Palestine in 1918. From 1921 to 1925 was member of the Zionist Executive, and for several years president of the English Zionist Federation. Cowen served as the prototype for the figure of Joe Levy in Herzl's *Altneuland* (q.v.).

CRAILSHEIM, COUNT FRIEDRICH AUGUST Ernst Gustav Christoph Krafft (1841–1921). Bavarian statesman. Was appointed Bavarian Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1880; from 1890 to 1903 Chairman of the Bavarian Council of Ministers. Previously a baron, in 1901 he was created a count. He was one of the last representatives of official liberalism in Bavaria.

CRESPI, EDUARD. Served as Herzl's confidential agent in Constantinople.

CRETAN REBELLION. The Mediterranean island of Crete, under Turkish rule, was the scene of a rebellion in February, 1896, organized by the Greeks with the intention of annexing the island. The European powers intervened, and their ambassadors to Turkey drafted a series of reforms which were accepted by both the Sultan and the Greek insurgents in the summer of the same year.

CREUSOT. French city, capital of the Saône-et-Loire district. In it are located the famous metal works of the Schneider Brothers, founded in 1837.

CROMER, LORD (1841–1917). Evelyn Baring, first Earl of Cromer. British colonial administrator, was private secretary to Lord Northbrook in India (1872–76), and became, in 1877, British

commissioner of the Egyptian public debt office. His report of Egypt's bankruptcy brought about Khedive Ismail Pasha's abdication in 1879. From 1880 to 1883 Cromer served again in India. In 1883 he returned to Egypt as British agent and consul general and minister plenipotentiary. As such he was to all practical effects the lord of Egypt until his resignation in 1907. He reorganized Egypt's finances and taxation, introduced sanitation, built an irrigation system, etc. He installed Abbas II, an Anglophile, as Khedive. He was created a baron in 1892, viscount in 1898, and earl in 1901.

On March 28, 1903, Cromer wrote to Sanderson (q.v.) about Herzl: "He is a wild enthusiast."

CRONBACH SIGMUND. German Jewish publisher and book dealer in Berlin.

CROWN LAND. In Arabic and Turkish *miri* (i.e. princely or royal) land. Agricultural land in the Ottoman Empire owned by the Sultan (or the state) and given by him to his subjects in usufruct.

CRYPTOGAMS are plants bearing reproductive organs other than flowers, such as algae, fungi, lichens, mosses, ferns.

CUNCTATOR. See Fabius Cunctator.

CYPRUS. The third largest island in the Mediterranean, 60 miles west of Lebanon and 40 miles south of Turkey, with an area of 3,572 square miles. It was under Turkish rule from 1571 to 1878 when it was ceded to Britain, although Turkey officially recognized the seizure only in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). It attained independence in 1960.

CYPRUS PROJECT. Several Zionists, led by Davis Trietsch (q.v.), advocated the settlement of the island of Cyprus by Jews, as long as Palestine cannot be obtained from the Sultan.

CZERNOWITZ (Cernauti, Chernovtsy). Russian city, capital of the region of the same name in the Ukraine, ca. 140 miles south-east of Lvov.

CZORTKOW (Chortkov). Russian town, in the Ukraine, 100 miles south-east of Lvov.

DAADE. Herzl's nickname for David Wolffsohn (q.v.).

DAILY CHRONICLE. London daily paper, founded in 1876 (as *Clerkwell News* in 1855).

DAILY GRAPHIC. London daily paper, illustrated. Founded in 1890.

DAILY MAIL. London daily paper, founded 1885.

DAILY NEWS. London daily paper. Founded in 1846.

DAILY TELEGRAPH. London daily paper, founded 1855. In 1937 it merged with the *Morning Post*, to form the *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*.

DANIEL DERONDA. The well-known novel by George Eliot (q.v.). Published originally in four volumes (1874–76). Tells the story of Daniel Deronda, who was brought up in ignorance of his Jewish parentage, but, upon learning the truth about his birth, returns to Judaism and works for the creation of a national center for the Jews.

DANUBE PRINCIPALITIES. In 1878, the Danube principalities of Bulgaria, Rumania and Serbia, formerly under Turkish domination, achieved independence.

DANUSSO. Resident of Constantinople. Helped Newlinski (q.v.) and later Herzl directly, in their activities at the Sublime Porte. Was close to Artin Pasha. (q.v.)

DAOUD EFFENDI (David Molho Pasha) (1845–?). Turkish Jewish official. His father was a money-changer. Entered the foreign service in 1861. Became director of Important Affairs (1878), then chief assistant-translator at the Sublime Porte (1880). Was promoted to the upper class official rank (1893).

D'ARBELLA, DR. ISAAC (1847–1910; originally named Gregory Amcislevsky). Born in the Ukraine, studied medicine. Became physician in the court of the Sultan of Zanzibar, where he changed his name. From 1887 practiced as a doctor in Rishon le-Zion and subsequently was the director of the Rothschild Hospital in Jerusalem where he belonged to the circle of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (q.v.). He left Palestine and died in Tunis.

DARDANELLES. The straits between Europe and Asia, connecting the Aegean Sea with the Sea of Marmara. Its strategic importance as a waterway between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea equals that of the Bosporus (q.v.).

DARMSTADT. Town in Germany. Capital of the Republic of Hesse, 104 miles south-east of Cologne.

DARWINIAN MIMICRY. Darwin (as well as other contemporary naturalists) observed, and commented upon, the mimicry of certain animals, and especially insects and spiders, which exhibit an amazing likeness to leaves, bits of twigs, stones, etc. This mimicry serves as a protective device facilitating the species' struggle for survival.

DAUDET, ALPHONSE (1840–1897). Well-known French novelist.

D'AUMONT, DUC, was the initiator of the four-horse carriage in which the horses were led by two postilions. The expression "a la D'Aumont" was born in the days of the French restoration, and refers to driving in state after the manner of the Duc d'Aumont.

DAVID, HEINRICH (1856–1935). Swiss lawyer and statesman. Was elected state attorney in Basel, 1887. Became president of the criminal court and member of the Great Council, 1890–96. Member of the government council, first as head of the Education Department, 1897; then as head of the Finance Department, 1902; and finally as head of the Police Department, 1905. From 1899 to 1908 also represented Basel in the National Council. Was Vice Chancellor in Bern, 1910–18. Retired to Zurich and devoted the last years of his life to historical and literary studies.

D'AVIGDOR, SYLVIE CLAPCOTT (1872–1954). English Jewish writer. Daughter of Elim D'Avigdor, a founder of the English Lovers of Zion Association. Married to C. B. Clapcott. Translated Herzl's *Judenstaat* into English (*The Jewish State;* published in London, 1896 by David Nutt). Also translated most of the addresses Herzl delivered in England. Author of the poems "To the Jewish People in England," and "The Colonization of Palestine," usually read at meetings of the English Hovevei Zion.

DE FIORI, ROBERTO. Italian journalist. Edited the nationalist *Il Bersagliere.* Was Rome correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse,* 1902.

DE HAAS, JACOB (1872–1937). Zionist leader, author and journalist. Was one of the earliest helpers of Herzl upon whose advice he moved in 1902 from England to America to carry on Zionist work. In England he edited the *Jewish World* (1896–1900). In America he brought Justice Louis D. Brandeis into the Zionist movement, and played a leading role in Zionism. He wrote a two-volume biography of Herzl (1927) and several other volumes of Jewish interest.

DE SOLA, CLARENCE (1855–1920). Canadian Jewish architect and director of steamship lines. Was first president of the Canadian Zionist Federation, 1898.

DEAD SEA. The largest inland sea of Palestine (today divided between Israel and Jordan), about 55 miles long and 10 miles wide. Its surface lies 1,290 feet below the level of the Mediterranean and is the deepest point on earth. Its greatest depth is 1,308 feet. It contains a high concentration of minerals, more than 27 per cent by weight near the surface, increasing to 33 per cent near the bottom.

DEL BALZO, CARLO (1853–1908). Italian politician, lawyer, journalist and writer. Was elected to the Chamber of Deputies where he belonged to the radical-legalist group. In 1878 participated in the literary congress in Paris, and it was upon his motion that the International Literary Society was organized. He edited the *Rivista Nuova* (New Review) in Naples. The speech referred to by Herzl (entry of May 5, 1901) was delivered by Del Balzo in the Italian Chamber of Deputies on May 4, 1901, and ended with the statement: "Turkey must know that Europe cannot support its barbaric system!" See *Atti parlamentari. Discussioni. Sessione 1900–1901, 1° della Legislatura, vol. IV, pp. 3372–73.*

DELAFORCE, E. Wrote a Letter to the Editor of *The Jewish Chronicle,* on "A Jewish Trades Union," which was published in the October 22, 1897, issue of *The Jewish Chronicle.* Mr. Delaforce's address was 22 Princes Square, Bayswater, London, W. 2.

DELCASSÉ, THÉOPHILE (1852–1923). French statesman. Became deputy in 1889, re-elected in 1893 and 1898. Under Secretary of State for Colonies in 1893; Minister of Colonies in 1894. Minister of Foreign Affairs 1898–1905. As such, settled the Fashoda incident (q.v.) with Great Britain in 1899. From 1911 to 1913 was Minister of Marine. In 1913 became French Ambassador to Russia. In 1914 again Minister of Foreign Affairs.

DER ISRAELIT. German-Jewish semi-weekly paper in Mainz. Founded in 1860.

DER JUDENSTAAT (The Jewish State). Title of a booklet written by Herzl in 1895, and published in German in 1896. It heralded the emergence of the Jewish national movement and political Zionism. In the same year it was translated into English by Sylvie d'Avigdor (q.v.) and published in England.

DER ÖSTERREICHISCHE OEKONOMIST. Viennese economic bi-weekly, appeared from 1858 to 1924. Its editors were first Bacher (q.v.) and Benedikt (q.v.), later Ludwig Bondi.

DERENBOURG, HARTWIG D. (1844–1908). French Jewish orientalist, professor of Arabic and Semitic languages at the *École des Langues Orientales* (1875) and the *École des Hautes Études* (1885). Was the author of numerous studies on Arabic grammar, literature, religion, and Semitic manuscripts and inscriptions. He was president of the *Société des Études Juives* and was active in Jewish life. He was a German Jew by extraction. He himself was born in Paris, but his father, Joseph (Naftali) D. was born in Mainz (in 1811) and died in Ems (in 1895).

DERVISH. The Turkish term *dervish,* from the Persian *darvish,* means originally 'beggar,' but is applied, in particular, to a member of one of the numerous Moslem fraternities or religious orders which take vows of poverty and austerity. The Maulawiyah, or 'whirling dervishes,' were frequently encountered all over Turkey up to the Kemalist revolution and reforms. They induced ecstacy by whirling around until loss of consciousness, as a means or 'way' of reaching Allah.

DESSAUER, ADOLPH (1849–1916). Austrian Jewish banker and writer. He became Director of the *Allgemeine Depositenbank* in Vienna in 1892. Under the pseudonym Erwin Balder he pub-

lished the novels *Wahre Liebe* (True Love, 1891) and *Grossstadtjuden* (Metropolitan Jews, 1910).

D'ESTOURNELLES, PAUL HENRI BENJAMIN, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant (1852–1924). French statesman and pacifist. Member of the 1899 Peace Conference at The Hague. Deputy, 1895; senator, 1904. Received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1909.

DETTE OTTOMANE. See Turkish Debt.

DEUTSCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT. Viennese weekly, published from 1883 to 1899, subtitled *Organ für die nationalen Interessen des deutschen Volkes* (Organ for the National Interests of the German People). It was a national-radical paper, published by Josef Russell and edited first by Karl Neisser, and from 1888 by Karl Zeller.

DEVLETH. Armenian, resident in Constantinople.

DIAMANT, HASCHEL (Hermann Gabriel Hersch; 1805–1871). Herzl's maternal grandfather, was born and died in Pest.

DIE WAGE. Viennese satirical paper.

DIE WELT. Official weekly of the Zionist organization founded by Herzl in 1897 (first issue appeared on June 4, 1897). In 1898 it had 2400 subscribers and in May of the same year its distribution, including free copies, reached 10,000. The last issue appeared on July 13, 1914. In 1907 a Hebrew edition was launched under the title *Haolam*. This was discontinued in 1949.

DIE ZEIT. Viennese periodical, founded by Isidor Singer (1857–1927), Austrian Jewish economist, jointly with Kanner. In 1902 *Die Zeit* was converted into a daily paper with a strong anti-Habsburg position.

DILKE, SIR CHARLES WENTWORTH, 2nd Baronet (1843–1911). British politician, traveler and author. Was several times member of parliament; in 1880 undersecretary to the Foreign Office in Gladstone's government, and in 1882 president of the local Government Board. During the early 1870's when Queen Victoria's popularity was at a low ebb as a result of her retirement following Prince Albert's death, Dilke publicly questioned whether the monarchy was worth its cost.

DIMIDOW, PAUL. Pseudonym of Isaac Turow (q.v.).

DIRSZTAY, BARON LADISLAUS. Hungarian Jewish merchant. Honorary Turkish Consul General. The original name of the family was Fischl. The title of nobility (de Dirsztai) was given to Guttmann Fischl in 1884. The family-name was changed to Dirsztay in 1889. Ladislaus Dirsztay was created a Baron in 1905.

DISRAELI, BENJAMIN. See Beaconsfield.

DJAVID OR DJEVAD BEY. See Cavid Bey, Ibrahim.

DJELLAL. See Celâlettin (Celâl) Pasha.

DJEVDET BEY ABDULLAH. See Cevdet.

DÖBLING. A suburb of Vienna (today the 19th district of Vienna).

DÓCZY, BARON LUDWIG VON (pseudonym: Ludwig Dux; 1845–1919). Hungarian-Austrian politician and writer. Became head of the Viennese Press Office, and in 1871 section head in the Foreign Ministry. Was created a Baron in 1901. In the same year he withdrew from state service and devoted himself to literary work. His main achievement was the translation into German of Hungarian classics.

DOGE. Title of the elected head of the independent republic of Venice from 697 to 1797.

DOLMABAHCE, one of the Sultan's palaces in Constantinople, not far from the Yildiz Kiosk (q.v.), on the European shore of the Bosporus (q.v.).

DON QUIXOTE is the hero of the famous satire of the romances of chivalry by Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616); Sancho Panza is a peasant whom Don Quixote takes as his squire.

DONATI. Italian Jew, resident of Modena.

DONAUESCHINGEN. German town, some ten miles north of the Swiss border, located near the origin of the Danube, with 10,000 inhabitants (in 1950).

DONNERWETTER. German exclamation (literally: thunder-weather), meaning something like "I'll be darned!" or "Damn it!" or "Hang it all!"

DORMITION. To the south of the Old City walls of Jerusalem was located the spot where, according to Christian tradition, St. Mary died, fell asleep for ever. This is the origin of the name of the site: Dormitio Sanctae Mariae. In 1898, when Kaiser Wilhelm II visited Palestine, he received this land from the Sultan, and gave it to the Palestine Society of German Catholics for the erection of a church on the site. The church was built in 1910 and has been in the safekeeping of Benedictine monks. It is today within the boundaries of Israel.

DOVER. Parliamentary and municipal borough in England, on the Strait of Dover, 76 miles east–south-east of London and 22 miles from Calais on the French coast.

DR. KLAUS. Title of a German comedy by Adolf L'Arronge (original name: Adolf Aronsohn; 1838–1908), written in 1878.

DRAGOMAN. Official interpreter in the Turkish court, or in a foreign embassy in Turkey.

DREAM OF THE PITCHER. The reference is to one of the stories of the Arabian Nights in which a person dreams that he leaves his tent and overturns a pitcher of water while doing so. Then follows a long and involved adventure tale, covering a time-span of many years, after which the hero returns to his tent. Upon entering the tent he notices that water is still trickling from the overturned pitcher, indicating that in less than a minute of real time he lived through years of dream time.

DREYER, MAX (1862–1946). German journalist, novelist and playwright. His plays, characterized by a measured naturalism and often a fresh humor, deal with modern social problems. His novels give a realistic picture of the Island of Rügen where he lived.

DREYFUS, ALFRED (1859–1935). French Jewish army officer, was on the general staff with the rank of Captain when, in 1894, was arrested on a charge of treason and espionage on behalf of Germany. Dreyfus was court-martialed and sentenced to life imprisonment on Devil's Island. In 1896, Georges Picquart, head of the army intelligence, discovered evidence which pointed to Dreyfus' innocence and the guilt of Major Esterhazy (q.v.). In 1897 Dreyfus' brother, Mathieu, began to work for a new trial. Esterhazy was, in fact, tried but was acquitted. In 1898 Emile Zola published his *J'accuse* and was sentenced to jail as a result. In the same year, Hubert Joseph Henry, an army officer who had been arrested and had confessed to having forged evidence against Dreyfus, committed suicide. In 1899, the Court of Cassation voided Dreyfus' conviction, but in a subsequent re-trial he was again found guilty, although the sentence was reduced to ten years' imprisonment. Somewhat later the French President pardoned him. In 1906 the Court of Cassation completely exonerated Dreyfus. He was reinstated in the army, promoted to the rank of Major, and awarded the Legion of Honor. Dreyfus served in World War I, and became a lieut.-colonel in 1918. The Dreyfus affair was for years a *cause célèbre* in France, involving

anti-Semitism versus liberalism, clericalism versus anti-clericalism, pacifism versus militarism, and hastened the separation of church and state (1905).

DROHOBICZ or DROGOBYCH. Town and district in the western Ukraine, on the northern slopes of the Karpathian Mountains. Until the end of World War I part of Austria.

DRUMONT, EDOUARD ADOLPHE (1844–1917). French journalist and author many of whose published works were violently anti-Semitic in character. In 1886 he published *La France Juive* (Jewish France; in two vols.) in which he sought to prove that France was dominated and exploited by Jews. In 1892 he launched an anti-Semitic newspaper, *La Parole Libre,* which specialized in attacks on the Jewish officers in the French army.

DRUSES. Members of a religious sect, founded in the 11th century by Muhammad ibn Ismail al-Darazi, which regards the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, al-Hakim (996–1021) as the last incarnation of the deity. The Druse sect, regarded as heretical by the Moslems, is represented by about 82,000 adherents in Lebanon, some 95,000 in Syria, and some 15,000 in Israel (1951). The Druses keep their religious doctrines in secret, divulging them only to a few initiates, called *uqqal* ("knowers") while most of them remain in the status of the *juhhal* ("ignorants"). The Druses practice monogamy, and believe in the transmigration of souls.

DRYANDER, ERNST VON (1843–1922). German cleric. Court Preacher at Berlin, with considerable influence on Kaiser Wilhelm II (q.v.) and his court.

DUCLAUX, PIERRE-EMILE (1840–1904). French scientist. Was professor of physics at Lyon, then (1879) at the National Institute of Agriculture. In 1885 became professor of biological chemistry at the Sorbonne. In 1888 was elected to the Academy of Sciences.

In 1895, upon the death of Pasteur, became director of the Pasteur Institute.

DÜHRING, EUGEN KARL (1833–1901). German philosopher who wrote the anti-Semitic *Die Judenfrage als Frage der Rassenschädlichkeit für Existenz, Sitten und Kultur der Völker* (The Jewish Question as a Question of the Racial Damage for the Existence, Morals and Culture of the Nations). The book, published in 1881, preached a racial fight against the Jews.

DUNAM. Turkish land measure, corresponding to about one fourth of an acre.

DUNCKER AND HUMBLOT. Publishers in Leipzig. They published Herzl's book on French politics, *Das Palais Bourbon* (q.v.), but later rejected his pamphlet, *The Jewish State* (see *Der Judenstaat*) because of its Jewish controversial nature.

DUNDEE. The ship "Dundee" on which Herzl returned from Palestine was, according to Lloyd's Register, a 350-ton, orange-carrying vessel.

DWINSK OR DVINSK. City in Russia (today in Latvian U.S.S.R.), on the right bank of the Western Dvina River, 120 miles south-east of Riga.

DZIENNIK POLSKI. Polish language daily paper published in Lemberg, Austria (today Lvov, Poland).

EAST AFRICA PROJECT. See Uganda Project.

EAST END IN LONDON. The "Whitechapel" district in London, E.C. 1, where in Herzl's day the Jewish masses, including the Jewish immigrants from East Europe, lived.

EAST INDIA COMPANY. The English East India Company, formed in 1599, practically controlled India until 1858 when Queen Victoria assumed its government. The Company was dissolved in 1874.

ECKARDSTEIN, BARON HERMANN JOHANNES Arnold Wilhelm Julius Ernst (1864–1933). German diplomatist. 1889 attaché at the German Embassy in Washington; 1891 member of the German Foreign Office, sent in the same year to Madrid and to London. Participated in London in the negotiations concerning the Portuguese colonies (1898) and Samoa (1899). In 1901 was appointed first secretary and councillor of the German Embassy in London. Until 1907 Eckardstein continued to maintain loose relations with the German Foreign Office. He published a number of books on political subjects.

ECKARDSTEIN, BARONESS, née Maple. Wife of Baron Eckardstein (q.v.).

ECONOMIST. See *Der österreichische Oekonomist.*

EDWARD VII (1841–1910). King of England, succeeded his mother, Queen Victoria, in 1901.

EGYPTIAN PALESTINE. Herzl's term for the el-Arish (q.v.) area, the north-eastern part of the Sinai Peninsula (q.v.).

EHRENPREIS, MARCUS (Mordecai; 1869–1951). Hebrew writer and rabbi, born in Lvov. Became an early adherent of Zionism and a helper of Herzl. From 1896 to 1900 was rabbi in Djakovar, Croatia (now Yugoslavia), from 1900 to 1914 chief rabbi of Bulgaria, and from 1914 to his death, chief rabbi of Stockholm. He wrote in Yiddish, Polish, German, Hebrew, Ladino, Bulgarian and Swedish, on Jewish historical, religious and cultural subjects.

EHRLICH, SIGMUND (1853–1932). Austrian Jewish journalist. After earning his Dr. jur. entered the editorial staff of the *Neue Freie Presse* (q.v.) and was from 1890 to 1898 head of its economic section. Later was member of the executive committee of the *Concordia* (q.v.) and from 1909 to 1919 was its president. In 1909 he published a volume entitled *Concordia*, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of that society.

EIFFEL TOWER. In Herzl's days the Eiffel tower in Paris (built in 1887–89 by Alexandre Gustave Eiffel) was the tallest structure in the world. Its height is 984 feet.

EISS, ALEXANDER RITTER VON (1832–1908?). Austrian Jewish soldier. Joined the army in 1848, became a lieutenant in 1855, captain in 1870, major in 1881. Was knighted in 1884, became a colonel in 1890. Retired in 1895. Was made a major-general in 1906. In the last years of his life was an active Zionist.

EISNER VON EISENHOF, BARON. Papal privy-councillor, owner of *Die Information*. See Graf, Joseph.

ELASONA. Town in Greece, north-west of Larissa.

EL-ARISH. Wadi and town at its mouth on the Mediterranean coast of the Sinai Peninsula, located some 30 miles west of the present-day border of Israel. In Herzl's time the term El-Arish referred to the entire area of the Mediterranean seashore both to the east and to the west of El-Arish, as well as its hinterland. See also Wadi el-Arish.

ELECTOR OF HESSE. Electors were those German princes who had the right to elect the King of Germany, in the Middle Ages. Since the 14th century, they constituted the Electoral College. The Elector of Hesse was the only one who retained the title, which was terminated in 1866, when Hesse was annexed by Prussia. The Elector of Hesse, Friedrich Wilhelm, died in 1875.

ELIAHU (ELIAS) PASHA, COHEN (1844– ?). Turkish Jewish physician. Studied in Turkey, Berlin and Vienna. Was appointed professor at the Military School at Haidar Pasha, later was sent to the Monastir headquarters of the Third Army Corps as oculist and chief surgeon. Thereafter was stationed in Constantinople at the Central Naval Hospital (1890–1908). Became court physician, and in 1888 was appointed the Sultan's private physician. In 1894 became member of the newly created Superior Sanitary Commission. In 1900 he became a vice-admiral.

ELIAS, DR. ALFRED. Alsatian Jewish physician and Zionist, resident in Mühlhausen. One of the German Zionist leaders, member of the Zionist Actions Committee. In 1901 he initiated steps against the Frenchifying trend in the Alliance Israélite Universelle (q.v.).

ELIAS, DR. SALOMON (1840–1936). Austrian Jewish lawyer who practiced in Vienna.

ELIOT, GEORGE (pseudonym of Mary Ann or Marian Evans; 1819–1880). English novelist of great repute. Her best known novels are *Adam Bede* (written in 1859); *Silas Marner* (1861); *Romola* (1863); and *Daniel Deronda* (1874–76; q.v.).

ELIZABETH AMALIE EUGENIE (1837–1898), wife of Franz Josef I (1830–1916) Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary.

EL-KANTARA, or El-Qantara. Town on the east bank of the Suez Canal, about halfway between Port Said and Ismailiya (q.v.).

ELLBOGEN. Viennese Jewish lawyer.

ELLIS, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ARTHUR EDWARD AUGUSTUS (1837–1907). Served in Crimea and India. Following a distinguished military career became the Queen's Sergeant-at-Arms in the House of Lords 1898–1901. Was Comptroller in the Lord Chamberlain's

Department to H.M., and Extra Equerry to King Edward VII (q.v.).

EMPRESS OF GERMANY. See Augusta Victoria.

ENGEL, ADOLF VON JÁNOSI (1820–1903). Hungarian Jewish industrialist. Was knighted in 1885. Developed coal mines on his estate in 1892. Died in Vienna.

EPHRUSSI, MICHEL (1846?–1914) French Jewish banker. Married Miss Beer. Lived at 48 Rue Lapérouse, Paris, and owned a *chateau* at Vaux le Pénil (Seine et Marne), and a stable of race horses at Chantilly. Was awarded the knighthood of the Order of Saint Vladimir and the Grand Cross of the Order of Christ of Portugal. His daughter was married to Prince de Faucigny-Lucinge.

ERB, BARON FERDINAND VON RUDTORF (1833–1904). Received the title of nobility in 1887. From 1896 to 1904 was Section Head in the Ministry of the Interior in Vienna.

EREV ROSH HASHANAH (Hebrew: New Year's Eve). In his original manuscript Herzl transliterated these words, in accordance with the so-called "Askenazi" pronunciation then prevalent among the German and other Central-European Jews, and the German orthography, *Erew Rausch Haschonoh.*

ERITREA. A coastal area in the east horn of Africa, on the shores of the Red Sea, of an estimated 47,900 square miles. Following two decades of gradual penetration, the Italians declared Eritrea their colony in 1890. Their attempt to establish a protectorate over neighboring Ethiopia resulted in their disastrous defeat at Adawa in 1896 which checked their further expansion for four decades. Eritrea itself remained an Italian colony until 1941, when it was occupied by the British. In 1952 it was united with

Ethiopia. The number of Jews in Eritrea throughout these decades never exceeded a few hundred.

ERNST, DR. LUDWIG (1829–1911). Austrian Jewish physician. Author of many medical writings, e.g. *Der Hausarzt* (1888: The Family Doctor); *Die Selbst-hilfe* (1887–1903: Self-Help, a medical "how to"); etc. His polemical book against Herzl's *Judenstaat* was published in Vienna in 1896 under the title *Kein Judenstadt, sondern Gewissensfreiheit* (No Jewish State, but Freedom of Conscience).

ERTER. Pseudonym of Dr. Wilhelm Goldbaum (q.v.).

ESKI BABA. See Babaeski.

ESKI SERAI. A palace of the Sultan, located in the old part of Constantinople overlooking the Marmara Sea.

ESTERHAZY, MAJOR COUNT MARIE CHARLES FERDINAND WALSIN (pseudonym Comte de Voilemont; 1847–1923). French army officer. Became commander in the regular army in 1892. In 1894 Capt. Alfred Dreyfus (q.v.) was condemned as a spy for Germany as a result of Esterhazy's forgeries. In 1897 he was tried by a court-martial but was acquitted. Public indignation became so strong that he had to leave France. He settled in England where he eked out a living by working as a translator and writing occasional articles.

ETRETAT. French seaside resort, on the English channel, 15 miles north of Le Havre.

EUGEN, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA (1863– ?). Commanded since 1900 the 14th division of the Austrian army at Innsbruck. In 1908 became inspector general and commander-in-chief for the Tirol and Vorarlberg provinces of Austria. Following the First World War he retired to Switzerland.

EULENBURG, COUNT AUGUST ZU (1838–1921). Prussian diplomat and court official. In 1890 became *Oberhof und Hausmarschall* (chief court and house marshall) to Kaiser Wilhelm II.

EULENBURG, PRINCE PHILIPP OF EULENBURG AND HERTEFELD (1847–1921). German diplomatist and friend of Kaiser Wilhelm II (q.v.). He was German Ambassador at Vienna from 1894 to 1902, and since he himself was a poet and writer, had friendly relations with Viennese authors. In 1900 he was raised to the rank of prince and made a hereditary member of the German House of Lords. He retired from public life in 1909 as a result of a press attack charging him with immorality.

EUROPEAN POST OFFICES. See French mail.

EVANS-GORDON, MAJOR WILLIAM EDEN (1857–1913). British politician, member of Parliament. Was the initiator and member of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, 1902, before which Herzl testified. Author of *The Alien Immigrant* (1903).

EXPOSITION. The reference is to the Paris exposition of 1900.

EXTRAPOST. Viennese Monday-paper, appeared from 1882 to 1921. Its publisher was Singer, and from 1890 Ferdinand Gross; its editor Emanuel Gerber, and from 1890 Julius Leo Wallner. It was a Jewish paper, and published repeatedly radical articles.

EYDTKUHNEN. Small town in the Gumbinnen district of Prussia, Germany, near the (former) Russian border.

EYSSLER, DR. RUDOLPH. Austrian journalist. Editor of the Viennese *Lustige Blätter*.

EYÜP. A quarter in Constantinople located on a hill just northwest of the old city walls overlooking the Golden Horn. It has a beautiful old mosque.

F. O.—Foreign Office (of Great Britain).

FABIUS CUNCTATOR. Quintus Fabius Maximus, Roman statesman and soldier, lived in the third century B.C. (died in 203 B.C.). He was surnamed *Cunctator,* "the delayer," from his cautious tactics in the war against Hannibal.

FAIK BEY. Turkish civil servant. Private secretary to Memduh Pasha (q.v.).

FAMILY COUNCIL. This term, referring to a family council of the Rothschilds, appears the first time in the entry of June 7, 1895, in the Diaries. It is repeated frequently in subsequent entries. Herzl planned to read his projected solution of the Jewish problem to the Rothschild family council.

FANTASIA. Turkish-Arabic (originally Italian) word meaning ostentation, display, and in particular a group performance of horsemanship which was imitated by the early Jewish settlers and watchmen in Palestine.

FARBSTEIN, DR. DAVID ZVI (1868–1953). Born in Warsaw; studied in Switzerland, where he became a Swiss citizen and practiced law in Zurich. A leader in the Swiss Social Democratic Party, he was elected to the Swiss National Assembly. At the First Zionist Congress, he delivered a detailed report on the economic basis of the Jewish problem. He left the Zionist movement after Herzl's death. Author of *Das Recht der unfreien und freien*

Arbeiter nach jüdisch-talmudischem Recht (1896; The Rights of the Slave and of Free Labor according to Jewish-Talmudic Law); *Der Zionismus und die Judenfrage—oekonomisch und ethisch* (1898; Zionism and the Jewish Question—An Economic and Ethical View).

FARQUHAR, GILBERT (1850–1920). English actor. Was the younger son of Sir Minto Farquhar and brother of Lord Farquhar, but he himself was not a Lord as Herzl mistakenly states.

FASHODA INCIDENT. The Sudanese town Fashoda (400 miles south of Khartoum, founded in 1867 by the Egyptian government) was occupied in July 1898 by a French force, but was later claimed for Egypt by the British. The French retired and the town was occupied by Sudanese troops. The British government changed its name to Kodok.

FEILBOGEN, SIEGMUND (1858–1921). Austrian jurist and university professor. Received his education at the Vienna University, his Dr. jur. in 1880 and Ph.D. in 1882. In 1895 became "Privatdozent" at the Law Faculty of the Vienna University and in 1898 was appointed Professor at the Export Academy of the Commercial Museum. He published several studies dealing with problems of economic theory.

FEILITZSCH, COUNT MAX (1834–1913). Bavarian statesman. Was minister of the interior, 1881–1907. He was an outstanding administrator, and was influential in the German *Reich* as well as in his capacity of delegate to the *Bundesrat*.

FEINBERG. French Jew in the employ of Baron Hirsch (q.v.).

FELDMAN, WILHELM (1868–1919). Author and historian. Born in Poland, fought for the assimilation of the Jews of Poland. Edited several journals, among them *Krytyka* (1901–1914),

regarded as the best Polish paper of his time. Born as a Jew, he converted to Christianity.

FELLAHS or FELLAHIN. Arab, and especially Egyptian, peasants who in Herzl's days were often day-laborers or tenant-farmers ruthlessly exploited by their landlords.

FERDINAND I (full name: Maximilian Karl Leopold Maria, 1861–1948), second son of Prince August of Saxe-Coburg, was offered in 1886 the vacant throne of Bulgaria, took the oath to the constitution and the title of prince in 1887. In 1908 he declared the full independence of Bulgaria from Turkey and assumed the title of king or czar. In 1918 he abdicated in favor of his son, Prince Boris.

FERID PASHA, MEHMET (Vlora; 1851–1914). Turkish statesman. Scion of an old Turkish family which lived in Albania for 400 years. Was a member of the Council of State from 1884–1898. Was appointed governor of Konya (1898–1902), and Grand Vizier (1902–1908). During the constitutional regime was nominated Senator and for a short period Minister of the Interior (1909) and President of Senate (1912). After the 1913 coup d'état he left Turkey and spent his last months in Egypt and Italy.

FERRARA. City in Italy, capital of Ferrara Province, 57 miles southwest of Venice.

FEUILLETON, a French term, designating the literary section of a newspaper, was widely used in Europe. The *feuilleton* usually appeared on the lower half of the first page and contained essays, literary criticism, or fiction. Herzl became *feuilleton* editor of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1887, soon thereafter began to contribute *feuilletons* to the *Neue Freie Presse*, and, after his term as Paris correspondent of the *Presse*, became its *feuilleton* editor in 1895. A collection of his *feuilletons* was

published in two volumes in Berlin in 1903 (I. Singer & Co. Verlag, pp. 349, 295).

FINANCIAL NEWS. London daily paper, founded 1884. In 1888 it was incorporated into the *Financial Times.*

FIRMAN. Turkish imperial decree.

FIRTH OF FORTH. An estuary of the North Sea in Scotland, spanned by the famous Forth Bridge.

FIUME. Town and seaport in Hungary (today in Yugoslavia, called Rijeka), 40 miles south-east of Trieste (q.v.).

FLAMMARION, CAMILLE (1842–1925). French astronomer and popular writer on astronomical subjects. His first published book was *La pluralité des mondes habités* (The Plurality of Inhabited Worlds, 1862). After writing several additional successful books, he founded *L'Astronomie,* a popular astronomical monthly in 1882. In 1887 he founded the *Société Astronomique de France.* Several of his popular astronomical books were translated into English.

FLAVIUS, JOSEPHUS (original name Yosef ben Matityahu Hakohen, about 37–100). Jewish historian. Of priestly birth, closely related to the Hasmoneans, he was entrusted with the defense of Jotapata in the Galilee, but surrendered to Vespasian in 67. As a Roman captive he accompanied Titus to Jerusalem and was present in the Roman camp when the city fell, in 70. Taken to Rome, was set free and adopted the Flavian family name. The historical works of Josephus (*The War of the Jews; The Antiquities of the Jews*), his autobiography and his polemic work *Against Apion,* all written in Greek, are extremely important sources for the history of the Jews in the period from the end of the Biblical period to the fall of Jerusalem.

FLEISSIG. Rabbi in Vienna.

FLOQUET, CHARLES ERNEST (1826–1896). Prominent French politician, was repeatedly President of the Chamber of Deputies, and became in 1893 a member of the Senate.

FLORIDSDORF. Village in Lower Austria; one of Vienna's northern suburbs.

FLORIN. See Guilder.

FLUSHING (Dutch Vlissingen). Seaside resort town in the Netherlands.

FOLKESTONE. Municipal borough, popular resort and fishing center in Kent, England, on the Strait of Dover, 7 miles west–southwest of Dover and 70 miles south-east of London.

FRANCIS FERDINAND ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA (1863–1914). Nephew, and after 1896 heir, of Franz Josef (q.v.) to the throne of Austria-Hungary. Contracted morganatic marriage with Countess Sophie Chotek (q.v.) in 1900. His assassination in 1914 in Sarayevo by a Bosnian terrorist triggered the First World War.

FRANCISCANS OF TIBERIAS. Some ten miles north of Tiberias, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee is located the Franciscan hospice of at-Tabigha adjoining the ruins of Capernaum of New Testament fame. The site was purchased by the Franciscans from the Turkish government in 1894.

FRANCKEL, LEO. See Frankel, Leo.

FRANKEL, LEO (1844–1896). Hungarian-French Jewish politician, born in Pest, Hungary. Was at first a jewelry worker, immigrated to France, was sentenced to two months imprisonment for

participating in the *Internationale.* In 1871 was elected deputy of the 13th District to the Paris *Commune,* became a member of the Commissions of Work and of Finances, of the Committee of Public Health and of the Executive Committee. He signed the Manifesto of the Minority. Following the downfall of the communalist movement, he fled to London and was sentenced to death *in absentia.* In 1876 returned to Hungary where he was imprisoned from 1882 to 1884. Thereafter he established himself in Vienna, and in 1889 returned to France, and died in Paris. He contributed to French and foreign socialist journals.

FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG. Important daily paper published in Frankfort on the Main, Germany. See also *Berliner Tageblatt.*

FRANZ JOSEF I (1830–1916). Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary. He became emperor in 1848.

FRANZENBAD. Well-known resort town and spa in Bohemia, Austria, with 12 mineral springs.

FRANZENSFESTE. A fort in Southern Tirol. In Herzl's days belonged to Austria; since 1919—to Italy.

FREDERICK III (1831–1888), emperor (Kaiser) of Germany, who died three months after he was crowned, father of Wilhelm II.

FREI, LUDWIG. See Frey, Ludwig.

FREIBERG, RITTER RUDOLF VON (1843–1902). Austrian journalist, court councillor. In the beginning of his career worked for the *Reichsratskorrespondenz,* later became official of the Prime Minister's office. He advanced to the position of a ministerial councillor and was created a knight (*Ritter*). Under Badeni (q.v.) he became the head of the prime minister's office; but upon Badeni's fall he resigned.

FREIE OSMANISCHE POST. German-language journal published in Constantinople from 1890. In 1898 its name changed to *Wien und Konstantinopel-Freie Post.* Its aim was to supply all types of information about the Orient with special emphasis on economic news. Its publisher and editor was Dionys Rosenfeld.

FREIES BLATT ZUR ABWEHR DES ANTISEMITISMUS (Free Paper for Defense Against Anti-Semitism). Viennese journal edited by Baron Leitenberger (q.v.), published by Zenker, later by Haffner. It was published three times a month from 1892 to 1897. Last issue May 10, 1897.

FREMDENBLATT. Viennese daily paper.

FRENCH MAIL. In the lands of the Ottoman Empire several European powers (e.g. France, Germany, Austria) maintained their own mail services with post offices of their own.

FRENCH PAYMENTS IN 1871. The reference is to the indemnity of five billion francs France had to pay to Prussia after her defeat in the Franco-Prussian war (1870–1871).

FRESKVILLE. English solicitor.

FREY, DR. LUDWIG (1861–1937). Austrian physician. Chief medical councillor. Was a well-known physician in Vienna, active in the field of medical-social work.

FREYCINET, CHARLES LOUIS DE SAULCES DE (1828–1923). French statesman, senator, minister and premier, member of the French Academy. His two-volume autobiography, *Mes souvenirs,* was published in 1911–13.

FRIEBEIS, JOHANN (1855–1923). Austrian official. Was *Regierungskommissär* (governmental commissar) of the city of Vienna in 1895–96.

FRIEDEMANN, DR. ADOLF (1871–1932). German Jewish Zionist and author. Went with Herzl to Egypt in 1902; was member of the Greater Actions Committee and of the board of the J.C.T., 1902–1920. Published several volumes on Palestine and Zionism, including a biography of Herzl and of Wolffsohn (q.v.) Died in Amsterdam.

FRIEDJUNG, HEINRICH DR. (1851–1920) was an Austrian Jewish historian who edited in the 1880's the *Deutsche Wochenschrift* in which young Herzl's short story "Naphtalin" was published. Friedjung was a supporter of the Greater Germany idea (the unification of all German-speaking lands). Later, as editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung,* he aroused the hostility of the National-Germans of Austria. He was the author of *Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland 1859–1866* (The Fight for Hegemony in Germany 1859–1866).

FRIEDLAND. A Jewish student in Moscow.

FRIEDMANN, DAVID MOSES (1827–1903). Hassidic rabbi of Czortkow reputed to be a mircle working saint.

FRIEDMANN, OTTO (1860–1901). Lecturer, later professor, of law at the University of Vienna, and from 1900 on at the University of Prague.

FRIEDRICH, GRAND DUKE OF BADEN (1826–1907), served first as regent in place of his insane brother, then, from 1856, ruled in his own right. His wife was the daughter of Wilhelm I of Prussia and the aunt of Wilhelm II. At the establishment of the German Empire at Versailles in 1871, Frederick made the official proclamation of Wilhelm I as Kaiser. The Grand Duke was the most democratic and liberal prince in Germany, and following his meeting with Herzl he became a staunch supporter of Zionism and a great admirer of Herzl.

FRIEDRICHSRUH. The residence of Chancellor Bismarck (q.v.).

FRIES, VON. Full name Alfred, Baron von Fries-Skene (1870–1946). Austrian statesman. From 1909 section-head in the Ministry of the Interior. From 1913 to 1915 provincial president of Kärnten; from 1915 to 1918 governor of Trieste.

FUAD PASHA (1835–1931). Turkish soldier. Became brigadier-general in 1872. Served as commander-in-chief of the Danubian Armies in the Turco-Russian War (1877–78), became famous as the hero of Elena, and was made a marshal. Was appointed aide-de-camp of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (q.v.), and was sent as an extraordinary ambassador to the Russian court. He was opposed to the Sultan's autocratic regime, was accused of having planned his assassination, and was sentenced to death. The Sultan commuted the death sentence to banishment to Damascus (1902). Following the restoration of the Constitution, he returned to Constantinople and was elected to the Senate (1908). During the Balkan War (1912) he led the defense of Constantinople against the Bulgars.

FULLER, LOIE (1869–1928). American dancer and actress. Had great success in Paris at the Folies-Bergère, in 1892, with her famous serpentine dance. In 1914 she appeared at the Châtelet with the school she had formed.

FÜRTH, MARTIN. Secretary to Baron Hirsch (q.v.) and later to Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria (q.v.). Prior to assuming the latter position he converted to Catholicism.

GABEL, HEINRICH (1873–1910). Austrian (Galician) Jewish lawyer, Zionist leader. Received his Dr. Jur. in Lvov and worked there as a lawyer from 1892. In 1907 was elected a member of the

Austrian *Reichsrat*. He was a convinced Zionist, fought for the participation of Galician Jews in Austrian public life as a national organism. Was president of the Jewish National Organization, and member of the Greater Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization.

GALART, M. DE. One of the French contacts of Herzl.

GALATA. A quarter of Constantinople (today Istanbul), on the European shores of the Bosporus, northeast of the Golden Horn.

GALATZ (Galati). A town in Rumania along the lower reaches of the Danube, 90 miles from the Black Sea, a chief port of Rumania.

GALIB. See Galip.

GALICIA. In Herzl's days an Austrian crownland, to the north-east of the Carpathian Mountains. After World War I, it was joined to Poland, and after World War II it was divided between Poland and the U.S.S.R. A considerable percentage of Galicia's population until World War II was Jewish.

GALILEE. The hilly northern district of Palestine (today Israel), bounded by the Mediterranean in the west, Lebanon in the north, Syria in the east and the Yezreel Valley (Emek) in the south.

GALIP PASHA, MEHMED (1861–?). Turkish court official. Entered the foreign service in 1877. Was secretary of the Turkish Legation in Belgrade. Became Assistant Master of Ceremonies at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1881, and in the following year was appointed Master of Ceremonies by command of the Sultan. In 1906 he became Interpreter at the Imperial Chancery of State and Minister of Ceremonies. Served in these posts until the restoration of the Constitution (1908).

GAM ZU LETAUVO! Hebrew expression meaning "may this too be for the good!"

GAMALAH. Fraternity of Jewish students at the University of Vienna, founded by Sigmund Werner, Markus Ernst, and others.

GAMBETTA, LEON MICHEL (1838–1882). French lawyer, statesman and orator, one of the founders of the Third Republic, president of the Chamber of Deputies (1879), premier (1881). Of Genoese extraction.

GANS-LUDASSY, DR. JULIUS VON (1858–1922). Viennese Jewish journalist, poet and author, was editor of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (1885), the *Fremdenblatt* (1890), the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* (1894), and the *Neue Freie Presse* (1902).

GANZ, DR. HUGO (1862–1922). Austrian Jewish writer; an editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* in the fields of politics, literature, and cultural history.

GARIBALDI, GIUSEPPE (1807–1882). Italian patriot. In the 1859 war he led irregulars against Austria and in 1860 his famous Redshirts captured Sicily and Naples from the Bourbons. In 1870 he fought for the French against Prussia. In Italian politics he was always in opposition.

GARSTIN, SIR WILLIAM EDMUND, G.C.M.G., C.B.E. (1849–1925). English engineer. Inspector General of Irrigation in Egypt; and Under-Secretary of State for Public Works in Egypt, 1892; Adviser to the Ministry of Public Works in Egypt 1904. Since 1907 British Government Director of the Suez Canal Company.

GARTWICH. See Hartwig, Nikolas de.

GASTER, MOSES (1856–1939). *Hakham* (Chief Rabbi) of the Sephardi communities of England from 1887 to 1918, outstanding folklorist, communal leader, pre-Herzlian member of the *Hovevei*

Zion and active Zionist during and following Herzl's leadership. He played an important part in the negotiations for the Balfour Declaration.

GASTYNE. See Garstin.

GAULOIS. See Meyer, Arthur.

GAUTSCH, BARON PAUL GAUTSCH OF FRANKENTHURN (1851–1918). Austrian statesman. In 1874 entered into the service of the Ministry of Education; 1881 became director of the Austrian Military Academy and soon thereafter director of the Oriental Academy. From 1879 to 1893 and again in 1895–96, was Prime Minister of Austria. In 1895 became member of the Upper House of the Austrian parliament, and in 1905–06 again Prime Minister.

GAZETA LWOWSKA. Polish-language daily paper published in Lemberg, Austria (today Lvov, Poland).

GEISLINGEN. German city in Württemberg-Baden, 18 miles north-north-west of Ulm.

GELBHAUS, SIGMUND JOSUA SAMUEL (1850–1928). Austrian rabbi. Was rabbi in Karlsstadt, Nordhausen, Prague and lastly in Vienna, where he also taught as a lecturer at the *Beth-Hamidrash.* He wrote studies on Spinoza and the Kabbala, on Islam and Judaism, on Aramaic sources, religious trends, apologetics, etc.

GENNESARET, LAKE OF, or Sea of Galilee, or Lake Tiberias, in Hebrew*Yam Kinneret,* large sweet water lake in Israel.

GENOA, GRAND DUKE AND DUCHESS OF. Tomaso, Grand Duke of Genoa (1854–1930), and his wife Isabella di Baviera (1863-1924).

GEORGE, HENRY (1839–1897). American economist, developed the theory of "single tax" in his book *Progress and Poverty* (1879). His proposal was "to abolish all taxation save that upon land values," and to base upon this system far-reaching social reforms.

GEORGE, PRINCE OF PRUSSIA (1826–1902). Full name: Friedrich Wilhelm Georg Ernst, Prince of Prussia. Spent most of his life on travels or along the Rhine working on literary projects. Under the pen-name of Georg Conrad he wrote historical plays (published in four vols. in 1870), diaries, etc.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA. Territory between Lake Tanganyika and the Indian Ocean, placed under the protection of the German Government in 1895, proclaimed a German colony in 1897. By the outbreak of the First World War the colony comprised an area of some 380,000 square miles. After the war most of the territory was mandated to Great Britain.

GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN PALESTINE. Members of the Wurttemberg Templer society (a religious society teaching the need for establishing a "spiritual temple," hence the name Templers) began to settle in Palestine in 1868. They established first the agricultural settlements of Sarona and Wilhelma near Jaffa, others near Haifa and Beirut, and in 1878 also a quarter in Jerusalem. All these settlements and urban quarters continued to develop and flourish until the internment of their members (many of whom became Nazi sympathizers) by the British Mandatory Government of Palestine in the Second World War and their subsequent liquidation.

GERSTENBERGK, JENNY VON. German author. The full title of her book mentioned in the *Diaries* is *Ottilie von Goethe und ihre Söhne Walter und Wolf in Briefen und persönlichen Erinnerungen* (Ottilie von Goethe and Her Sons Walter and Wolf in Letters and Personal Reminiscences). It was published by I. G. Cotta Nachfolger, Stuttgart, 1901 (VIII, 123 pp.).

GESTOR. Legal term in the Roman law, meaning manager, representative, chargé d'affaires. See *Negotiorum gestio.*

GHALIB BEY. See Galip Pasha, Mehmed.

GHAZI OSMAN PASHA (1832–1900). Turkish soldier. Graduated from the Turkish Military Academy. Served in the Crimean War (1853–56) as a staff officer and took part in suppressing revolts in Crete (1866–69) and in Yemen (1870–74). Became Brigadier General (1874) and General (1875). In the Turco-Serbian War he won the Zaitchar victory (1876) and was promoted to Marshal. Was Commander of the Turkish Army in the Turco-Russian War (1877–78) and distinguished himself by his heroic defense of Plevne (Pleven) against Russian attacks. Was forced to surrender and went to St. Petersburg as a prisoner of war but Czar Alexander II pardoned him. After peace was concluded, Sultan Abdul Hamid (q.v.) honored him with the title of Ghazi (victorious) and appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial guard, Minister of War (1878–1885) and Grand Marshal of the Sultan's household.

GHETTO. Play by Herzl. See *New Ghetto, The.*

GHEZIREH. Island in the Nile, in Cairo, with sport facilities, tennis courts, etc.

GIBBOR-HAYIL. The operetta, *Der Gibbor Hayil* (The Great Hero), subtitled "or the Vow of the Princess," in 4 acts, was written by Sigmund Feinman and had its premier performance in New York in September, 1895.

GIOLITTI, GIOVANNI (1841–1928). Italian statesman and politician. Became councillor of state and deputy in 1882, minister of the treasury, 1889–90. Prime Minister 1892–93. In 1895 fled to Charlottenburg, returned to Italy and resumed his political career in 1897. Became minister of the interior, 1901–03; presi-

dent of the council of ministers, 1903–14 (with brief interruptions).

GIOUR. Turkish word meaning infidel, and especially Christian.

GIRARDI, ALEXANDER (1850–1918). Austrian actor, son of an Italian immigrant. Was member of the *Theater an der Wien* 1874–1896; of the *Carltheater* 1896–97; of the *Wiener Deutsches Volkstheater* 1898–1900; then, after a period of guest appearances in Vienna, Berlin, Hamburg and Dresden, of the Viennese *Burgtheater* 1918.

GLADSTONE, WILLIAM EWART (1809–1898). British statesman and author, was Prime Minister from 1868 to 1873, from 1880 to 1885, and from 1886 to 1894.

GLANUSK, 2ND BARON, JOSEPH HENRY RUSSELL BAILEY (1864–1928). English soldier. Joined the Grenadier Guards in 1885; received the Distinguished Service Order in 1900; commanded the Guards Depot, Caterham, 1901–03; the 3rd Battery S.W.B., 1905–10; Brecknockshire Batt., 1911–13; London Command Depot since 1916.

GLASER, EDUARD (1855–1908). Bohemian Jewish explorer, travelled all over the Near East, made four journeys to Yemen between 1883 and 1894, discovered many inscriptions, archeological remains and ancient Arabic manuscripts. The reference in the February 4, 1898, entry in the *Diaries* is to an article published by Glaser late in 1897 in the *Berliner Tageblatt*. In it Glaser stated that Zionism was a British attempt at dismembering Turkey and establishing a buffer state for the protection of the overland route to India. Cf. *Die Welt*, 1898, no. 1, p. 1.

GLEICHEN-RUSSWURM, BARON CARL ALEXANDER VON (1865–1947). German author, great-grandson of Friedrich Schiller (q.v.). Wrote a biography of Schiller (1914) and a number of studies,

e.g. *Schiller als ästhetischer Erzieher* (1905: Schiller as an Aesthetical Educator); *Geschichte der Europäischen Geselligkeit* (1911–22, 6 vols.: History of European Sociability); *Reichtum* (1923: Richess). Also wrote several plays. Together with Fr. Wencker he edited a two-volume history of the culture and mores of all times and peoples (*Kultur-und Sittengeschichte aller Zeiten und Völker*, 1929–31).

GLIKIN, MOSES (1874–?). Russian Zionist. Went to Palestine in 1892, worked as an agricultural day-laborer for two years in Ein Zetim, returned to Moscow in 1894 to receive legal exemption from service in the army. In 1899 went to Germany to study at the university of Leipzig, and participated in the establishment of the "Democratic Fraction" in the Zionist movement. In 1908 settled in Palestine, where he managed the Migdal farm on the shores of Lake Genesaret (q.v.) from 1909 to 1934, and where he still lived in 1960.

GLION. Swiss village near Montreux on the shores of Lake Geneva.

GLOGAU, DR. HEINRICH (1855–?). Austrian journalist. Editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* in charge of the economic section, and correspondent of German financial papers. Subsequently director of the Press Bureau of the Austrian government in Vienna.

GMUNDEN. Austrian resort town with 12,000 inhabitants (in 1950).

GOBELINS. An avenue (*Avenue des Gobelins*) in the 5th and 13th districts of Paris.

GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG VON (1749–1832). German poet, novelist, playwright and scientist.

GOLDBAUM, DR. WILHELM (1843–1912). Viennese Jewish journalist and author, served first (1869) in the editorial offices of the *Posener Zeitung*, then (1872) became feuilleton editor of the

Neue Freie Presse in Vienna. He published several volumes of essays and literary studies. He became a fervent supporter of Herzl and contributed weekly articles to *Die Welt* under the pen-names Spectator and Erter.

GOLDBERGER, LUDWIG MAX (1848–1913). Privy Councillor of Commerce, a German Jewish economist, played an important role in the economic life of Germany in the 1890's and 1900's. In 1892 he became chairman of the Association of Berlin Merchants and Industrialists; in 1896 organized the Berlin Trade Exhibition, and was co-founder of the Berlin Chamber of Commerce. He took an active part in Jewish community affairs as well.

GOLDEN HORN is the horn-shaped bay cutting from the Bosporus (q.v.) into Istanbul; one of the famous beauty spots in Europe.

GOLDMANN, DR. PAUL. German Jewish journalist. Began his career in Vienna, later became Paris correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* then moved to Berlin. Was a colleague of Herzl in covering the proceedings at the Palais Bourbon (q.v.).

GOLDMARK, KARL (1830–1915). Jewish composer, born in Hungary, lived in Vienna. His musical works include several operas, of which *The Queen of Sheba* (1870) was the most successful. He also composed a number of symphonies, overtures, etc.

GOLDREICH, SAMUEL (1861–1921). South African Jewish public and communal worker. President of the South African Zionist Federation. Received the right from Lord Milner (the High Commissioner for South Africa) to issue entrance-visas to Jews who had to leave the Boer States during the Boer war and wished to return after the war. Committed suicide in 1921.

GOLDSCHMIDT. Individual whom Herzl contemplated for the position of a secretary in the Labor Exchange of the future Society of Jews.

GOLDSCHMIED, DR. LEOPOLD (1876–1935). Rabbi in Mieslitz, Austria; later in Posen (Poznan).

GOLDSMID, COL. ALBERT EDWARD WILLIAMSON (1846–1904). Son of a converted Jew who brought him up as a Christian. After his father's death, young Goldsmid discovered that he was of Jewish origin, and at the age of 24 he embraced Judaism. In 1892–93 he went to Baron Hirsch's Jewish colonies in Argentina, ostensibly to supervise them, but in actuality in order to imbue them with the spirit of Jewish nationalism. In 1894 he was appointed colonel-in-command of the Welsh regimental district at Cardiff. In the following year he formed the "Jewish Lads Brigade." He was a leader of the British *Hovevei Zion* whom he organized in a military style.

GOLTZ, COLMAR FREIHERR VON DER (1843–1916). German soldier. Born in East Prussia, became attached to the General Staff of the Prussian army in 1868, and teacher of military history at the Prussian Military Academy in 1878. From 1883 to 1895 was given leave to enable him to serve as adjutant to Sultan Abdul Hamid II (q.v.) and head of the Turkish military educational system. Before his return to Germany was given the rank of Field Marshal in the Turkish army. In 1898 was appointed Royal Prussian inspector general of the Engineering and Pioneers Corps and of the fortifications. In 1911 attained the rank of a Field Marshal General. In 1909–10 he received another leave of absence and went back to Turkey to reorganize the Turkish army. In 1914 became Governor General of Belgium, and in November of the same year he was detailed to the Turkish Army Headquarters as adjutant to the Sultan. In April 1915 became commander-in-chief of the First Turkish Army. In addition to German decorations, he received the title Pasha from the Sultan. He died in Baghdad.

GOLUCHOWSKI, COUNT AGENOR VON (1849–1921). Austrian statesman, was foreign minister of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire from 1895 to 1906.

GOMPERZ, THEODOR (1832–1912). Austrian Jewish classical philologist and philosopher, taught at the Vienna University from 1873, and became in 1901 a member of the Upper House in the Austrian Parliament. He continued to voice his opposition to Zionism in occasional articles.

GORDON. See Evans-Gordon, Major W. E.

GOREMIKIN, IVAN LONGINOVICH (1839–1917). Russian statesman. Was minister of the interior from 1896 to 1899.

GORST, SIR JOHN ELDON (1835–1916). English legislator. Civil commissioner of Waikato, New Zealand 1861–63; member of parliament 1866–68, 1875–92, 1892–1906; solicitor general 1885; Undersecretary of State for India 1886–91; financial secretary of the Treasury 1891–92; rector of Glasgow University 1893–94; vice-president of the committee of the Council on Education 1895–1902. In 1903 was British official in Egypt.

GÖRZ (Italian Gorizia; Slovene Gorica). Town in Austria (today in the Italian province of Udine).

GOTTHEIL, GUSTAVE (1827–1903). American rabbi and author, born in Germany. In 1860 became rabbi of the Manchester Reform Congregation, and from 1873 to 1899 served as rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in New York. In 1886 he published the *Jewish Hymn Book*. He was one of the first Reform Rabbis to support Zionism. In 1898 he served as vice-President of the newly formed Federation of American Zionists.

GOTTHEIL, RICHARD JAMES HORATIO (1862–1936). Semitic scholar, son of Gustave Gottheil. In 1886 he became instructor of Syriac language and literature, in 1887 lecturer, and in 1892 Professor of Semitic languages, at Columbia University. In 1896 he became director of the Oriental Division of the New York Public Library. In 1920–21 served as Exchange Professor at the Uni-

versity of Strasbourg. In 1898 he was elected first president of the Federation of American Zionists. Was member of the Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization. Wrote numerous scholarly studies in various fields of Semitics, and in 1914 published a volume, *Zionism,* the first comprehensive account of the subject in English.

GOY. Yiddish term (from the Hebrew), meaning Gentile.

GRABEN. Business street in the center of Vienna.

GRAF, JOSEF (1841–1908). Austrian Jewish journalist. From 1896–1908 publisher and editor of *Die Information,* a private information sheet for embassies, consulates, politicians and financiers owned by Baron Eisner von Eisenhof (q.v.).

GRAND PRIX DE PARIS, an international race for three-year-old running horses, established in 1863 and held annually in June at Longchamp, near Paris, for a purse of 100,000 francs.

GREAT-BECSKEREK (Hungarian Nagybecskerek). Town in southern Hungary, today Petrovgrad (Veliki Beckerek) in Yugoslavia.

GREATER ACTIONS COMMITTEE. See Actions Committee.

GREENBERG, LEOPOLD JACOB (1861–1931). English Jew. In his youth had no interest in Jewish affairs, but, following Herzl's appearance, was attracted by political Zionism and became an important member of the team which helped Herzl in his political work in England and Egypt. He served as Herzl's agent in his negotiations in both countries from 1902 to 1903. In 1903–05 conducted negotiations with the British government concerning Uganda (q.v.). From 1905 to 1907 was a member of the Zionist Executive. Subsequently he had an important part in the efforts which led to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration

(1917). In 1896 he founded the *Jewish Year Book,* and from 1907 edited the London *Jewish Chronicle* (q.v.).

GREGORY, BULGARIAN ARCHBISHOP (1828–1898). His full civilian name was Gregory Nemtsov. Born in the Bessarabian village of Soroka to Bulgarian emigrant parents, he went in 1848 to Sveta Gora (Athos) to the Hilendari monastery and was ordained Friar. In 1863 he graduated from the theological school on the island of Chalki near Constantinople. Took active part in the struggle for church independence. In 1872 was elected Archbishop of Dorostol and Tshervena. When Bulgaria gained independence from Turkey (in 1878), Gregory became President of the Holy Synod and thereby the head of the administration of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, since its titular president, the Bulgarian Exarch Joseph, had at that time his seat in Constantinople. Archbishop Gregory retained his leading position until his death.

GRETEL. A comedy by Herzl in four acts, written in 1899, completed in October 1900. Originally he intended to call it *The Sinful Mother.* It is the story of a mother who has fallen into immoral ways, has been reawakened to a sense of duty by her sick child, and commits suicide for fear that her husband will deprive her of the child. It was performed at the Viennese Raimund Theater in 1900.

GRILLPARZER, FRANZ (1791–1872). Famous Austrian dramatist, whose plays, mostly tragedies, won him the reputation of being heir and continuator of the great German classical tradition. His *Der Traum, ein Leben* (1834), a dream play, has often been called the Austrian *Faust.*

GROPPLER, MME. L., was the wife of Henryk Groppler, diplomatic agent of the Polish National Government-in-Exile. They settled in Constantinople in 1863.

GROSS, WILHELM (Ze'ev; 1857–1928). Jewish merchant, born in Tokaj, Hungary. Moved to Vienna where he founded and managed the commercial firm Jakob Schreiber & Co. In 1888 settled in Jerusalem where he founded the first Jewish export-import business. In 1889 moved to Jaffa where he opened a branch. When he learned of Herzl's work he wrote to him several times, encouraging and supporting him. Participated in the First Congress as a delegate of the Palestinian Jews. It was due to his suggestion that Herzl was invited to stay in the Marx house (q.v.) in Jerusalem in 1898.

GRUND. Russian baptized Jew; an anti-Semite; editor of a paper in Moscow.

GRÜNFELD, DR. JOSEF (?–1910). Austrian Jewish university lecturer, public worker and writer. President of the Union of Austrian Jews from 1886 to 1897. For many years member of executive committee of the Viennese Jewish community. From 1900 to 1907 chairman of the Viennese Jewish Students Aid Society. Wrote a history of the Jewish hospital in Vienna.

GRUSCHA, ANTON III JOSEPH (1820–1911). Austrian priest. Became titular bishop of Vienna in 1878; archbishop of Vienna from 1890 to 1911; cardinal in 1891.

GÜDEMANN, MORITZ (1835–1918). Became Chief Rabbi of the Viennese Jewish Community in 1890. Had great reputation as a rabbi and a scholar. His books on the history of education and culture among the Jews of Western Europe are first-class scholarly studies.

GUDENUS, COUNT LEOPOLD (1843–1913). Austrian statesman. Entered the Austrian diplomatic service and became secretary of the legations in Rome, Paris and St. Petersburg. From 1884 to 1894 was representative of the large estate owners in the diet of Lower Austria and in the *Reichsrat*. In 1893 became Province

Marshall of Lower Austria, in 1894 chief chamberlain of Stephanie, widow of the Crown Prince; in 1897 chief hunt master, and later imperial chamberlain. Was created a count in 1907.

GUESDE, JULES (1845–1922; real name: Mathieu Basil). French socialist, newspaper editor, in 1893 was elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

GUILDER, OR FLORIN. The monetary unit used in Austria in Herzl's day. It consisted of two *Kronen* (crowns) and its value was about half of a U.S. dollar.

GÜNTHER, PRINCE. See Schleswig-Holstein.

GÜNZBURG, BARON HORACE (1833–1909). Russian Jewish financier, became head of the banking house founded by his father. Was president of the I.C.A. Committee in St. Petersburg and made efforts to improve the conditions of the Russian Jews.

GUTMANN, DAVID. See Gutmann, Wilhelm.

GUTMANN, LUDWIG. See Gutmann, Wilhelm.

GUTMANN, WILHELM VON (1826–1895). Austrian Jewish industrialist. Born to poor circumstances, he began, with his brother David Gutmann (1834–1912), to deal in coal and participated in various businesses. He acquired partnerships in coal mines, sugar factories, etc., and became co-owner with Rothschild of the Witkowitz Iron Works. The two Gutmann brothers were knighted ("von") in 1878. Wilhelm Gutmann's son, Max (1857–1930) joined the firm in 1883, and developed the Witkowitz mining and iron industries and the coal mines of Orlau-Lazy. He was a member of the Upper House of the Austrian parliament, received two doctorates *honoris causa* in 1925, and was

president of the Industrial Club in Vienna and of the Austrian Industrialists' Association. David Gutmann's son, Dr. Ludwig G. (1857–1930), was present at the meeting Herzl describes in the *Diaries* (see entry of November 9, 1895).

GUTTENBERG, PÁL (1860–?). Hungarian Jewish educator. Studied in England, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. His major interest lay in the field of adult education. Among his writings is a volume *Iskolai Képek a jövö századból* (School Pictures from the Next Century), and a book *Dán parasztegyetemek* (Danish Peasants' Universities).

HA-AM, a Hebrew bi-weekly, published in Kolomea, Galicia, beginning with 1891. Its editor was David Isaiah Silberbush, and its publisher Arie Leib (Loebl) Taubes. The letter mentioned in the Diaries was written by Taubes on March 7, 1896; in it he spoke of the tremendous impression *The Jewish State* made on the Jews of Kolomea, and asked Herzl for information about the movement and for permission to publish the booklet in Yiddish.

HAAS, JACOB DE. See De Haas, Jacob.

HABRDA, BARON JOHANN (1846–1916). Austrian civil servant. Was chief of police of Vienna from 1897 to 1907.

HADJI. See Haji.

HAFFKINE, WALDEMAR (1860–1930). Polish Jewish bacteriologist. Studied in Odessa, became assistant in Geneva in 1888, and at the Pasteur Institute in Paris (1889) where he produced a serum for cholera and pest. In 1893 he was called to India to fight these two diseases. He stayed on, to work at the laboratory in Bombay

which later was called Haffkine Institute. In recognition of his services he was awarded the C.I.E. (Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire) and received numerous other prizes and distinctions. In 1920 he became a member of the central committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. He left one and a half million Swiss francs for the support of East European *Yeshivot;* this legacy became the Haffkine Foundation with headquarters in Lausanne.

HAGENAU. A novel by Herzl, completed in the summer of 1882. The hero of the novel is Count Robert Schenk von Hagenau, a scion of an ancient line fallen from power and a shy artist.

HAGIA SOPHIA (Saint Sophia). The most famous Byzantine church in Constantinople, originally built under the sponsorship of Emperor Justinian in 532–37. After the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453 it was converted into a mosque. In 1935 it was converted into a museum.

HAHN, SAMUEL RITTER VON (1837–1897). Austrian Jewish banker. Director of the Imperial and Royal privileged Austrian *Länderbank.*

HAHN, SIGMUND (1844–1929). Austrian journalist. Became in 1875 editor of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt,* was its night editor until 1907. In 1877 he founded the *Reichsratsalmanach.* Retired in 1919.

HAJI ALI BEY. Turkish government official. Was for many years first chamberlain of Sultan Abdul Hamid (q.v.). In 1902 received the rank of a vizier with the title Pasha.

HAJI MAHMUD EFFENDI. Turkish court official in charge of the Sultan's stables and equipage.

HAKHAM BASHI, the Turkish title of the Chief Rabbi of the Jewish *millet* (nation) in the Turkish Empire. See Halevi, Moses.

HALBAN, HEINRICH, EDLER VON (1845–1892). Original name: Blumenstock. Austrian Jewish author, civil servant and Zionist. Wrote studies in criminal law, worked as secretary in the office of the president of the Austrian ministerial council, 1870, and as ministerial secretary in the press department, 1873. Translated Polish poetry into German. Was knighted in 1892. Later became office-director in the bureau of the Austrian *Reichsrat*, 1897.

HALEVI. Herzl's code word for "loan." Distorted from Yiddish *halvo'e,* which in turn comes from the Hebrew *halva'ah,* meaning loan.

HALEVI, MOSES (1826–1910). Turkish rabbi. Was the acting Hakham Bashi (q.v.) of Turkey from 1874 to 1908.

HALEVY, JOSEPH (1827–1917). French Jewish Orientalist, taught at the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (q.v.) schools in Turkey and Rumania. In 1868, the *Alliance* sent him to Abyssinia where he studied the Falashas, or Black Jews of Abyssinia. In 1869–70, he studied, for the French *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* Sabean inscriptions in Yemen, disguised as a rabbi from Jerusalem. In 1879 was appointed professor of Ethiopic at the *École des Hautes Études* in Paris. He wrote numerous studies on Semitic philology, epigraphy, archaeology, and Biblical exegesis.

HALIL RIFAT PASHA (1827–1901). Turkish statesman. Entered government service as a clerk in 1844, rose through the ranks, and from 1876 to 1891 served as governor of various Turkish territories. In 1891 was appointed minister of the interior; from 1895 to 1901 was Grand Vizier. His death was attributed to his distress over the assassination of his son, Cavid Bey (q.v.).

HALLGARTEN, CHARLES L. (1838–1908). German Jewish merchant. President of the Society for the Study of the History of Jewish Art at Frankfurt a. M.

HALUKA. Hebrew term, meaning literally "distribution." The name of an institution of charity established in the 15th century. Its purpose was (and has remained to this day) to collect alms for the support of religious Jews who lived in Jerusalem and in the other three Holy Cities of Palestine (Safed, Tiberias and Hebron) to enable them to dedicate themselves to the study of the Talmud.

HA-MAGGID, founded in 1857, a religiously oriented Hebrew weekly paper, published until 1892 in Lyck, East Prussia, and thereafter was transferred to Cracow, Galicia. Jacob S. Fuchs was its editor. Nordau must have suggested that Herzl get in touch with the London representative of *Ha-maggid.*

HAMBURGER NACHRICHTEN. Daily paper published in Hamburg, Germany.

HAMMERSTEIN-LOXTEN, BARON HANS VON (1843–1905). German estate owner and politician. Was Royal Prussian minister of state for the interior from 1901 to 1905. Married Marie von Rabiel in 1872.

HANOTAUX, (ALBERT AUGUSTE) GABRIEL (1853–1944). French historian and statesman. Was councillor of the French Embassy in Constantinople in 1885; member of the Chamber of Deputies, 1886–89; Minister of Foreign Affairs 1894–95, 1896–98. His ambitions in Africa resulted in the Fashoda incident (q.v.) of July 1898.

HARDEN, MAXIMILIAN (real surname: Witkowski; 1861–1927). German Jewish journalist, founded, in 1892, *Die Zukunft* (Future), a weekly, in which he often supported highly un-

popular causes. He was several times tried for libel, *lèse majesté* and similar offenses, and twice sentenced to imprisonment. After the entry of the United States in World War I, he emphasized the idealistic motives of America and castigated Germany.

HARROW. Town in England, in Middlesex. 12 miles north-west of London. Famous for the Harrow School located in it.

HARTE, BRET (1836–1902). American writer of fiction and poet, described in his novels the life of California in the mid-19th century.

HARTWIG (OR GARTWICH), NIKOLAS DE (1855–1914). Russian civil servant. Director of the Asiatic Department in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, leader of the Pan-Slavic movement, from 1909 Russian minister to Belgrade.

HASAN HÜSNÜ PASHA (1832–1903). Turkish Admiral. His father was one of the admirals of the Turkish fleet which was destroyed by the Russians off Sinope in 1853. Graduated from the Naval College and began his service as a sub-lieutenant in the Turkish Navy in 1848. Was admiral commanding the Turkish fleet in the Turco-Russian War (1877–78), and thereafter chairman of the Navy board. Was appointed minister of marine in 1881 and from 1882 to his death remained in this post. It was generally held that his negligence and abuses were responsible for the decay of the Turkish Navy.

HASSAN PASHA. Herzl refers to Hassan as the Turkish minister of war. However, the Turkish minister of war in his days was Riza Pasha Mehmed (q.v.). On the other hand, there were two Turkish marshals in the Ministry of War called Hassan Pasha. One was the official in charge of ceremonials, the other the chief military accountant. It is possible that Herzl mistook one of these men for the minister of war.

HASSID (plural Hassidim), an adherent of Hassidism, the Jewish religious movement founded by Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov (1699–1761) in Volhynia and Podolia. Hassidic rabbis were often believed to possess miraculous virtues.

HATZFELDT, COUNT PAUL VON HATZFELDT-WILDENBURG (1831–1901). Prussian diplomatist. German Minister Extraordinary in Madrid, 1874–78; then ambassador in Constantinople; secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1881–85, then ambassador in London.

HAUER, FRANZ RITTER VON (1822–1899). Austrian geologist. Member of the Upper House. Curator of the Vienna Museum of Natural History, professor of geology at the College of Agriculture. His studies in the geology of the Alps and his activity in developing scholarly institutions made him one of the founders of scientific geology in Austria.

HAURAN. A district to the east and north-east of the Lake of Genesaret (q.v.), today in the Kingdom of Jordan.

HAUSER, CASPAR (Kasper, 1812?–1833) was a German foundling who became a public figure. It was rumored about him that he was the son of the Grand Duchess of Baden. At the age of 21 he died of self-inflicted wounds.

HAVAS NEWS AGENCY (*Agence Havas*). French news agency, founded in 1835 by Charles Havas as a translation bureau. Following fusions with other information bureaus, the *Agence Havas* became the largest and most important news agency in France.

HAYEHUDI. The only Hebrew weekly published in England from 1898 to 1913. It was edited by Isaac Suwalski (1861–1913), a Hebrew writer and scholar of note, who served also as the paper's printer, publisher and administrator, and was one of its chief contributors.

HECHLER, WILLIAM H. (1845–1931). British minister, was born in South Africa of German parents. After completing his studies for the ministry, he became, upon recommendation of the British court, tutor to Prince Ludwig, son of the Grand Duke of Baden. While in this post, he got to know the Grand Duke's nephew, the future Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany. Following Prince Ludwig's untimely death, Hechler served as a minister in England, and published a leaflet, *The Restoration of the Jews to Palestine According to the Prophets* (1882). From 1885 to 1910 he was chaplain of the British Embassy in Vienna where he met Herzl and became his devoted friend.

HECTARE. Metric area unit, containing 10,000 square meters and corresponding to 2.471 acres.

HEDAD! Hebrew cry, meaning Hail!

HEDER. Hebrew term, literally room, used in Yiddish to denote a traditional Jewish religious school where boys were taught to read Hebrew and to translate into Yiddish the Five Books of Moses.

HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH (1770–1831). German philosopher.

HEINE, HEINRICH (originally Chaim Harry, 1797–1856). German poet and author. Born a Jew, converted to Christianity. From 1831 lived in Paris. Ranked as the leading German poet after Goethe.

HEINRICH, PRINCE. Heinrich, Albert Wilhelm of Prussia (1862–1929). Imperial German Grand Admiral, son of Frederick III (q.v.), Emperor of Germany, younger brother of Kaiser Wilhelm II (q.v.).

HEIT. Viennese Jewish textile dealer.

HEJAZ. The north-western province of Arabia, bordering on the Red Sea. Within it are Mecca (q.v.) and Medina, the two holiest cities of Islam.

HEJAZ RAILROAD. The plan to build, with German support, a railway from Constantinople to Mecca, the so-called Hejaz Railway, was widely advertised by Sultan Abdul Hamid II (q.v.) in 1901, as an act of piety "for the facilitation of the pilgrimage to Mecca." Work on the railroad began in 1904 under the supreme directorship of the German Meissner Pasha. In 1908, when the line reached Medina, work was suspended.

HELGOLAND, OF HELIGOLAND. A small island in the North Sea, was transferred by England to Germany in 1890, and was thereupon made by the latter into a great fortress.

HELMHOLTZ, HERRMANN VON (1821–1894). German naturalist. Professor of physics at Berlin 1871; president of the German Imperial Physical-Technical Institute, 1888.

HEP! HEP! An old taunting cry of Jew baiters. It probably originates from Roman times, representing the initials of the words *Hierosolyma est perdita!* (Jerusalem is Lost!)

HERBST, CARL. Bulgarian Jewish civil servant. Was official in the Ministry of Housing and Construction. Later Director of the Bulgarian branch of the German firm Siemens & Halske. Attended the First Zionist Congress and was active in behalf of the Jewish Colonial Trust in Bulgaria.

HERRSCHKOWITZ (HERCOVICI). Rumanian Jew.

HERTZ, JOSEPH HERMAN (1872–1946). Rabbi. Born in Slovakia, studied in New York, served as a rabbi in Syracuse, N. Y. In 1898 was appointed rabbi of the Witwatersrand Congregation at Johannesburg, South Africa. During the South African War

was expelled for pleading religious liberty for Jews and Catholics. Lectured in the United States, returned to South Africa, and from 1906 to 1908 served as professor of philosophy at Transvaal University College. In 1912 became a rabbi in New York City, and in 1913 was appointed Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire, a position he held until his death.

HERTZKA, THEODOR (1845–1924). Viennese economist and journalist, economic editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* (1872–79), and founder and editor of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* (1879–86). His utopian novel, *Freiland,* published in 1890 in German and in 1891 in English, describes a society in which the economic order is based on public land ownership, while all other property is owned individually.

HERZL, HANS (1891–1930). Herzl's son. Was born in Vienna, died by his own hands in Bordeaux.

HERZL, JACOB (1835–1902). Herzl's father, was born in Semlin in southern Hungary (now Yugoslavia), died in Vienna.

HERZL, JEANETTE, NÉE DIAMANT (1836–1911). Herzl's mother, was born in Pest, died in Vienna.

HERZL, JULIE, NÉE NASHAUER (1868–1907). Herzl's wife; born in Pest, married in Reichenau, 1889.

HERZL, MARGARETHE (1893–1943). Herzl's youngest child, familiarly known as Trude. On September 10, 1942, she was taken from Vienna, together with her husband, Richard Neumann, to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, and shortly thereafter they were both put to death in a Nazi extermination camp.

HERZL, PAULINE (1859–1878). Herzl's sister who died at the age of 18 in Budapest. Herzl, who was greatly attached to her, named his oldest child after her.

HERZL, PAULINE (1890–1930). Herzl's oldest child.

HERZL, SIMON LOEB (1805–1879). Herzl's paternal grandfather, was born in Semlin, died in Budapest.

HERZL, THEODOR. Born in Pest, May 2, 1860; died in Edlach, July 3, 1904.

HERZL, THEODOR'S HOME ADDRESSES. Following his return from Paris, the Herzl family lived at 16 Pelikangasse, Vienna 9. After the first Zionist Congress (1897) they moved to Berggasse, Vienna 9. Thereafter to 50 Carl Ludwig-Strasse, Vienna 18. Herzl's last home address was 29 Heizingergasse, Vienna 18. This last one was a duplex apartment, with the social rooms on the main floor and the bedrooms and Herzl's study on the second floor. Adjoining the house was a garden. Herzl's widowed mother lived nearby in the same street.

HERZL, TRUDE. See Herzl, Margarethe

HERZLINGEN. The telegraphic address of the office of the Zionist Congress in Vienna.

HESS, MOSES (1812–1875). German Jewish social philosopher. Influenced by Hegel and Spinoza, he published *Heilige Geschichte der Menschheit* (Sacred History of Mankind, 1837), and *Die Europaische Triarchie* (The European Triarchy, 1841) advocating a United States of Europe. After a brief period of cooperation between Hess and other left-wing Hegelians in founding the *Rheinische Zeitung*, sharp differences arose between him and Marx (q.v.) and Engels (q.v.). Hess, unable to accept the materialistic interpretation of history and the doctrine of class-war, withdrew from the movement, moved first to Geneva, then to Paris. His interest in the Jewish people, their history and destiny, increased throughout the years, and in 1862 he

published his pamphlet *Rome and Jerusalem* which has become a Zionist classic.

HESSE (HESSEN). One of the German states. In Herzl's lifetime there were about 25,000 Jews in Hessen.

HESSE, GRAND DUKE OF. In Herzl's days the ruler of Hesse was Grand Duke Ernst Ludwig (born in 1868; became ruling prince in 1892; lost his throne in 1918). Was a patron of the arts, composer, dramatist, (under the pseudonym K. E. Ludhard).

HESSE, VON. Russian soldier and court official. In 1903 was commander of the Imperial Palace in St. Petersburg, member of the Imperial Headquarters, and Adjutant General to the Czar.

HEVRAS. The typical, traditional East and Central European Jewish *Hevras* were called *Hevra Kadisha*-s (sacred societies). Their activities and tasks were usually limited to visiting the sick, burying the dead, and comforting the bereaved. It was an old tradition for well-to-do members of the congregation to enroll their sons in the *Hevra Kadisha* at an early age.

HEYMAN, S. L. A South African Jewish businessman, member of the first board of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and owner of the *Jewish World* from 1897.

HEYSE, PAUL (1830–1914). German poet and novelist who received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1911. He lived in Munich, and by 1895 had published more than two dozen highly successful volumes of short stories, novels, poems and plays.

HILDESHEIMER, HIRSCH (1855–1910). Rabbi, historian and orthodox Jewish leader. In 1880 became instructor of Jewish history at the Rabbinical Seminary for orthodox Judaism founded by his father Israel (Azriel) H. in Berlin in 1873. From 1883 he was

editor of the *Jüdische Presse* in Berlin. Was co-founder, in 1901, of the Jewish Historical and Literary Society of Berlin and of the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* (German Jewish Aid Society), also know as *Esra* (Hebrew for aid). He was greatly interested in philanthropic work for Jews in Palestine, but was opposed to the political Zionism of Herzl.

HILL, SIR CLEMENT LLOYD (1845–1913). British civil servant and M. P. Became chief of the African Department of the Foreign Office in 1894. Was superintendent of the African Proctectorates from 1900–05; thereafter won a seat in Parliament.

HINDJAKISTS, or Huntchakists. See Armenians.

HINTERBRÜHL. Austrian village, some 6 miles to the south-west of Vienna.

HIRSCH, BARON MAURICE DE (1831–1896). Railroad magnate and philanthropist, founded the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA) for the agricultural settlement of Jews in Argentina, and supported it by donations amounting to ten million pounds sterling.

HIRSCH, SAMUEL ABRAHAM (1843–1923). Born in Amsterdam, lived in London, was editor of *The Jewish Standard* from 1888 to 1891, and of *Palestina* from 1891 to 1899. He laid down the formula for the Jewish Calendar in the *Jewish Year Book* (first issued in 1896) used to this day. Among his published works are *A Book of Essays* (1905); *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (1905); *The Cabbalists and Other Essays* (1922). He was secretary of the *Hovevei Zion* and Senior Tutor at Jews' College.

HOHENLOHE, CARDINAL GUSTAV ADOLF ZU H. -SCHILLINGSFÜRST (1823–1896). German cleric. Was a cardinal in Rome since 1866. As an opponent of the Jesuits left Rome following the

Vatican Council. In 1872 Bismarck (q.v.) suggested him as German representative at the Papal court, but the Pope refused him. In 1876 Hohenlohe returned to Rome and he died there.

HOHENLOHE-SCHILLINGSFÜRST, PRINCE CHLODWIG VON, (1819–1901). German Imperial Chancellor ("Reichskanzler") from 1894 to 1900.

HOHENZOLLERN. Royal dynasty of Germany that supplied kings to Prussia from 1701 to 1918 and German emperors from 1871 to 1918. William I (1797–1888) king of Prussia, was crowned Emperor (Kaiser) of Germany in 1871. His son, Frederick III (1831–1888), succeeded him in 1888, but died after three months, and was succeeded by his son, Wilhelm II (q.v.).

HOKHME. Yiddish term (from the Hebrew *hokhmah*), meaning wisdom, understanding.

HOKHMETZEN. Yiddish verb, derived from *Hokhme* (q.v.), meaning to banter.

HOLLINEK, BROTHERS. Owners of the printing press in Vienna in which Herzl's *Judenstaat* was printed in 1896. The press, founded by Emil Hollinek in 1880, is still in existence today.

HOLY MANTLE AT TREVES. Believed to be the shroud in which the body of Jesus was wrapped, is kept in the cathedral of Treves (German Trier), a town on the Moselle river in the Rhine province of Prussia.

HOLY SEPULCHRE, CHURCH OF THE. Church in the Old City of Jerusalem (today in Jordan), built on the Hill of Golgotha which, according to Christian tradition, was outside the city walls in the days of Jesus. The first church was built on the site in

antiquity, and subsequently rebuilt or reconstructed several times. In its center is the traditional tomb of Jesus.

HOLZMANN, DR. J. Jewish physician. Lived for some time in Berlin. Wrote articles under the pen-name Etzyoni. Reviewed Herzl's article which was published in the London Jewish Chronicle (q.v.), in the Berlin monthly *Zion* (q.v.). During his years of residence in Jaffa, Palestine, was a member of the *B'nai Moshe* (q.v.). Later in life he became converted to Islam.

HÖRITZ. Small town in Bohemia, Austria.

HORN, ANTON. Russian Jewish journalist. Staff-member of the *Journal des Debats.* In 1858 joined the *Journal de St. Petersbourg,* and from 1870 to 1900 was its editor-in-chief. He wrote mainly on problems of financial policy. He was a brother of Eduard Horn (q.v.).

HORN, EDE (Eduard; original name Ignacz Einhorn; 1825–1875). Hungarian Jewish economist. While studying in the Yeshiva of Pressburg began to contribute articles to Jewish journals. In 1847 published his pamphlet (in German) *Zur Judenfrage in Ungarn* (On the Jewish Question in Hungary), and founded a reform congregation in Pest (q.v.) in which he served as the preacher. In 1848 became co-editor of the *Elsö Magyar Zsidó Évkönyv* (First Hungarian Jewish Yearbook), and served as chaplain in the Hungarian war of liberation. Following the defeat of the Hungarians he fled abroad, and while living in Paris, Leipsig and Brussels, began to study problems of national economy. In the year of his death he was appointed Hungarian undersecretary of state for commerce.

HOROWITZ. Rabbi in Rymanow. Son-in-law of the "Rymanower" wonder-rabbi.

HOTTINGUER. Banking house in Paris, headed by M. Henri Hottinguer. See Mallet.

HOVEVEI ZION (Hebrew: Lovers of Zion). Members of the *Hibbat Zion* (Hebrew: Love of Zion) movement, organized in Russia in 1882 under the immediate impact of the Russian pogrom of the same year, but basing itself upon ideas put forward by David Gordon and others as early as 1870. A group of Jewish students, who called themselves *Biluim* (*Bilu* being the acrostic of the Biblical phrase "O house of Jacob, come ye and let us walk; Isaiah 2:5), settled in Palestine in the very same year with the help of the *Hovevei Zion*. In 1884 Leo Pinsker (q.v.) called the *Hovevei Zion* to a conference in Katowice to further the cause of colonization in Palestine. In 1887 a second conference was called in Druskeniki, and in 1889 a third one in Vilna. In 1890 the Russian government confirmed the statutes of the movement which assumed the official name of "Society for the Support of Jewish Agriculturists and Artisans in Syria and Palestine" and had its first general assembly in the same year. Groups of *Hovevei Zion* were organized also in Germany, England and elsewhere. The spirit of the movement was national-Jewish, but it opposed political Zionism, until it was largely absorbed by the Zionist Organization.

HUHN, ARTHUR ERNST VON (born 1851). German author and journalist. Correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* in Berlin. Author of *Der Kampf der Bulgaren um ihre Nationaleinheit* (The Struggle of the Bulgarians for Their National Unity).

HÜLSNER, or HILSNER, LEOPOLD. Jewish cobbler of Polna, (Austrian town on the Bohemian-Moravian border), who, in 1899, was accused of having committed a "ritual murder," and sentenced to die. The death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. All efforts for a re-trial remained unsuccessful. Only in 1916, on the occasion of the coronation of Emperor Charles IV, was

Hülsner given amnesty. The trial of Hülsner led to anti-Semitic excesses in Bohemia and Moravia. See Polna.

HUMPHREYS, THOMAS HENRY AYLMER. British officer in the Egyptian Civil Service. In 1918 vice-consul, Bizerta, Tunis. Resigned in 1919.

HUNT, WILLIAM HOLMAN (1827–1910). English painter, one of the founders of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (in 1848). In 1854 he went to Palestine in order to give authenticity to his paintings of Biblical scenes.

HUNTER, CAPTAIN. Full name and title Miralai G. G. Hunter (late Captain, The Buffs). Director General of the Coast Guard Administration, residing at Ghezirah, Egypt.

I. C. A. See Jewish Colonization Association.

I. C. A. BILL. In the course of a polemics with Israel Zangwill, the I. C. A. was made aware of a discrepancy between its statutes and its activities. Thereupon, in 1903, the I. C. A. applied to the British Parliament to have its statutes changed so as to cover also the utilization of the Hirsch Fund for purposes other than colonization. This application was approved by the House.

I LOVE YOU. A comedy by Herzl in one act, written in 1900.

IBRAHIM RASIH BEY (1852–?). Turkish court official. Succeeded Munir Pasha (about 1900–1905) as secretary for official foreign correspondence at Yildiz Kiosk (q.v.).

IBSEN, HENRIK JOHAN (1828–1906). Norwegian dramatist Recognized universally as one of the greatest masters of modern drama.

ICA. See Jewish Colonization Association.

IFRIKAR ORDER. Herzl misheard and consequently misspelled this name. Its proper form is Iftihar order (q.v.).

IFTIHAR ORDER. Turkish decoration, the Sultan's Legion of Honor, established by Sultan Mahmud II in 1833. It was a jewelled decoration and had only one class. Sultan Abdul Mejid abrogated it and introduced his Mejidi Order (see Mejidiye) to take its place. However, Sultan Abdul Hamid (q.v.) restored it, and also established a medal by the name of *Iftihar* in 1888. This latter was of two kinds, a golden and silver one.

IGNATIEFF, COUNT NIKOLAI PAVLOVITCH, (1832–1908). Russian soldier and diplomat. Was appointed in 1881 Minister of the Imperial Domains and later of the Interior, but was dismissed from office in the following year. While in power, he persecuted the Jews relentlessly.

IGNATIUS, FATHER (original name Joseph Leycester Lyne; 1837–1908). English preacher. Assumed the Benedictine habit and in 1862 the name Father Ignatius. In 1869 purchased land in the Black Mountains, South Wales, and built Llanthony Abbey. In 1890–91 made a missionary tour through Canada and the United States. His effort to revive monasticism in England bore little fruit.

ILYAS BEY, CAYAN OR DJAIAN (1838–?). Turkish Armenian official. Entered the foreign service in 1861. Was appointed assistant under-secretary of state in the Foreign Ministry in 1879 in which capacity he served until 1895.

IMERETINSKI, DUKE ALEXANDER (1837–1900). General in the Russian army and governor of Poland.

INDIAN JEWS IN JERUSALEM. There are no data to indicate how many Jews from India lived in Jerusalem at the end of the 19th century. However, it is known that in 1929 their number was 60.

INNER ACTIONS COMMITTEE. See Actions Committee.

INNERE STADT, literally "inner city," the central borough of Vienna.

INNSBRUCK. Capital of the Tyrol, Austria, 59 miles south of Munich (q.v.), situated in the Valley of the Inn (*Innthal*).

IRADE. Decree issued by the Turkish Sultan.

IRVINGITES. Popular name of the members of the Catholic Apostolic Church, founded by Edward Irving (1792–1834) in Scotland in 1832.

ISCHL. Town and summer resort in Upper Austria, with a number of saline and sulphurous springs.

ISH-KISHOR, EPHRAIM (original name Spindelman; 1863–1945). Hebrew teacher, Yiddish writer and newspaper editor, pre-Herzlian *Hovevei Zionist*. Helped Herzl to found the first Zionist society in London. Lived for several years in the United States, then settled in Palestine where he died.

ISLAM. The religion founded by Mohammed (570–632), and followed by some 90 per cent of the population of the Middle East, as well as by other peoples, in areas as far as Indonesia. The total number of Moslems today is estimated at ca. 300 million.

ISMAIL HAKKI BEY (?–1910). Turkish general. Friend of Sultan Abdul Hamid (q.v.), for whom he occasionally acted as an interpreter. During World War I, became governor of Lebanon.

ISMAIL, KHEDIVE (1830–1895). Son of Ibrahim Pasha. Became Turkish Viceroy of Egypt in 1863, and *khedive* with the title Highness in 1867. In 1868–69 he sought to establish himself as an independent monarch, and did, in fact, obtain concessions from the Sultan which made him practically independent. In 1879 Ismail was deposed and retired to a palace on the Bosporus as a virtual prisoner.

ISMAILIA or ISMAILIYA. Town close to the southern end of the Suez Canal, in Egypt.

ISRAEL, NATHAN. German Jewish merchant, member of the central committee of the I.C.A.

ISRAELITISCHE ALLIANZ of Vienna. Austrian Jewish service organization, founded in 1873, following the example of the French *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (q.v.). Its aims included the aiding of persecuted Jews and the establishment of Jewish schools. From 1881–82 on, the *Allianz* dealt with problems of emigration.

ISRAELS, JOSEF (1824–1911). Dutch Jewish painter and etcher. Became famous for his impressionistic pictures of fishing scenes, poor villages and huts. Among his paintings on Jewish themes the best known were his "David and Saul" (referred to by Herzl in the *Diaries*), "The Torah Scribe," "A Son of the Old People." He depicted Jewish figures in the old Jewish quarter of Amsterdam.

ISVOSHCHIK. Russian for carriage driver.

ITALIAN DISCUSSION in the Chamber of Deputies. Following a question of a deputy, the Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the Italian Chamber of Deputies stated on May 4, 1901, that in 1900 the Turkish government had twice asked the representatives of foreign powers in Constantinople to intervene in order

to prevent the settlement of foreign Jews in Turkish territory. See *Die Welt*, 1901, No. 19, p. 13.

ITALY, KING OF. See Umberto I and Victor Emmanuel III.

ITZKANY. Small town in Bukowina, Rumania, on the Suczawa River, some three miles to the north of the town Suczawa. See Sereth-Suczawa.

IVRIA. Jewish student organization in Vienna, founded in 1892.

IZZET PASHA, HOLO AL-ABED (died 1924). Turkish statesman, born in Damascus. His father was a wealthy Syrian Arab. He became chamberlain and second secretary to the Sultan, and in 1902 was promoted to the rank of a vizier with the title of Pasha. He was held in high esteem and was greatly trusted by Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Had great influence on state affairs and was a strong rival of First Secretary Tahsin Pasha (q.v.). During the last years of Abdul Hamid he became, in fact, the most powerful official in the Empire. His reputation was bad, he was regarded as bent on bribery and unscrupulous. Upon the outbreak of the 1908 revolution he fled from Turkey.

JABLOCHKOW, PAUL. Russian electrical engineer, inventor of the "candles" named after him. These were lighting appliances consisting of two carbon sticks placed in a parallel position and insulated from each other by a layer of caoline.

JACKSON, auditor. Wilhelm Charles Jackson (1845–1923), founder of the firm Jackson, Pixley & Co., Chartered Accountants, with offices at 58 Coleman Street, London, E.C., today at Kent House, Telegraph Street, London, E. C. 2.

JACOBS, BARON. No traces of a Baron Jacobs could be found either in Vienna or in Paris.

JACOBS, JOSEPH (1854–1916). English Jewish historian and folklorist. He wrote on medieval English Jewish history, on Spanish Jewish history, on Celtic folklore, etc. Was secretary of the Russo-Jewish Committee, founder of the Jewish Historical Society of England, editor of *Folklore* (the journal of the British Folklore Society). After settling in the U.S. in 1900, became revising editor of the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. *Jewish Contributions to Civilization* is his most important Jewish book. He was opposed to Zionism.

JACOBSON, VICTOR (1869–1924). Russian Jewish banker and communal worker. Born in the Crimea of assimilant Russian-Jewish parents, was attracted to the Zionist movement and became a member of the Greater Actions Committee. When the Anglo-Palestine Co. was established in Palestine, he became the manager of its Beirut branch office, 1906–08. When Katzenelsohn (q.v.) and Wolffsohn (q.v.) decided to found a bank in Constantinople, its directorship was entrusted to Jacobson, 1908–11. He helped to launch and maintain Zionist journals in Constantinople. In the years of the First World War he directed the Zionist Office in neutral Scandinavia.

JAFFA. Town on the Mediterranean coast of Palestine (today Israel) which was in Herzl's day the main port of the country and was connected with Jerusalem by a railway line of ca. 40 miles in length.

JAIRUS' DAUGHTER. According to the New Testament story (Mark 5:22–43; Luke 8:41–56), the 12 year-old daughter of Jairus died, and Jesus, using the Aramaic phrase "Talitha Cumi" (daughter arise) restored her to life.

JAMES, SIR HENRY, 1st Lord James of Hereford (1828–1911). English lawyer and statesman. In 1869 he entered the House of

Commons as a liberal member. In 1873 became solicitor general in Gladstone's (q.v.) government. In 1885 was made privy councillor, in 1895 raised to the peerage. Among his many public functions was the chairmanship of the Royal Commission for Alien Immigration.

JAMESON, SIR LEANDER STARR (1853–1917). British colonial politician who became widely known as the organizer and leader of a raid on Johannesburg in the Boer state on Dec. 29, 1895. The British government repudiated the action, had Jameson brought back to England, tried and sentenced him in 1896 to fifteen months' imprisonment. Jameson returned to South Africa, was elected in 1900 to the parliament of the Cape Colony, and, following the death of Cecil Rhodes (q.v.) in 1902, became head of the Progressive Party and Prime Minister of the Cape Colony (1902–1908). It was largely due to his efforts that Rhodes' great dream of a union of Boer and Briton in South Africa was realized in 1909. Jameson was created a baronet in 1911.

JANICULUM. Hill on the right bank of the Tiber, part of the city of Rome.

JASINOWSKI, ISRAEL (1842–1917). Polish Jewish attorney and communal worker. Graduated from Kazan University in 1874. Joined the *Hovevei Zion* and was one of the organizers of their Katowice Conference in 1884, where he was elected to the central committee. Later he became a devoted follower of Herzl, was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress, and became a leader of Russian Zionism. In 1903 Herzl stayed in his house in Warsaw. After the Seventh Zionist Congress J. became a leader of the Territorialists.

JARDIN DU PARIS. In Herzl's days one of the fashionable café-concerts on the Champs Elysées. It was managed by M. Oller, and was open from May to September.

JAULAN. A district in Transjordan, to the east and northeast of the Sea of Galilee.

JAUNER, FRANZ RITTER VON (1834–1900). Austrian theater director. Was director of the Carl Theater from 1872 to 1878; of the imperial and royal court opera house from 1875 to 1880; of the Ring Theater in 1881. In the same year, however, the Ring Theater burned down, and this catastrophe led to Jauner's withdrawal from theatrical life. In 1884 he was active for a while in the Theater an der Wien. When Herzl in 1897 speaks of Jauner as the director of the Carl Theater, he probably follows the Austrian usage of attributing to people titles indicating positions they no longer filled.

JAXTZELL OR JAGSTZELL. Resort in the Ellwanger Mountains in Württemberg, Germany.

JELSKI, DR. ISRAEL. Rabbi and scholar of German birth. Was rabbi of the liberal synagogue in Lodz from 1892 to 1909 when he had to leave Russia because of his German citizenship. He settled in Geneva, Switzerland, where he worked in Jewish scholarship. He was a Zionist, and, in spite of the objections of the assimilants in his congregation, he spoke in a Zionist spirit from the pulpit.

JENNER INSTITUTE FOR CALF LYMPH LTD. Established in 1897 at 73 Battersea Church Road, London, S.W. 11 and is still located in the same building. It is a commercial institute, manufacturing calf-vaccine according to the idea of Edward Jenner (1749–1823).

JENNINGS-BRAMLY, G. W. (1877–1960), M.B.E., M.C. English civil servant. Went to Egypt in 1896, at the age of 19, and continued to live there and in the Sudan for 50 years. In 1897 he became a director of customs; some time after that started the Cairo Zoo. At the beginning of the 20th century he did a remarkable trek by foot and camel across the Western Desert to Siwa—the first Christian to visit that holy city. Before the First World War be-

came governor of the Sinai Desert. He built the town of Burg al-Arab, to the west of Alexandria near the Mediterranean, with buildings copied from Florentine palaces, and lived in it for many years. He died in Florence.

JERICHO. Town of Biblical fame north-west of the Dead Sea. In Herzl's days it was a small Arab village by the name of Ariha or Riha. Today in the Kingdom of Jordan.

JERUSALEM. Jewish majority in Jerusalem in 1897. It is estimated that in 1897 of the 45,000 inhabitants of Jerusalem 28,000 were Jews.

JERUSALEM, SANJAK OF. In Turkish times Palestine was administratively divided into several *sanjaks* (districts). The largest of these was the *Sanjak* of Jerusalem which included Judea and the Negev.

JETTEL VON ETTENBACH, EMIL (1846–1925). Austrian civil servant, of Jewish origin, Privy Councillor. From 1906 to 1910 section chief in the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

JEWISH ASSOCIATION. See Jewish Colonization Association.

JEWISH CHRONICLE, THE. The oldest, and today the most influential, Jewish periodical in England. It was founded in 1841 as a fortnightly, but in 1847 it became a weekly. From 1878 to 1902 its editor was Asher I. Myers. The paper's tendency was conservative, and while it was opposed to Zionism, it published discussions and correspondence on the movement fairly and extensively.

JEWISH COLONIAL TRUST. The original financial instrument of the Zionist Organization envisaged by Herzl in his *Judenstaat* (1896, q.v.), founded in 1899 and began operations in 1901. It eventually raised a capital of £395,000—far short of the sub-

scriptions envisaged by Herzl. However, it played a considerable role through its subsidiary, the Anglo-Palestine Company (q.v.), founded in 1902 in Palestine, in financing settlements and co-operative institutions in Palestine from 1903 on.

JEWISH COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION (I.C.A.). A company for the emigration and settling of Jews in agricultural colonies overseas, was founded by Baron Moritz de Hirsch (q.v.) in 1891 as a shareholders' company, incorporated in England. His aim was thereby to alleviate the sufferings of Jews in East Europe, and he personally invested the entire capital amounting to two million pounds. Later he increased the capital to over seven million pounds. In 1895–96 Hirsch constituted the Jewish communities of Berlin, Frankfort and Brussels and the Anglo-Jewish Association (q.v.) as the juridical person in control of the I.C.A. In addition to establishing agricultural settlements in South and North America, the I.C.A. aided the Jewish colonists in Palestine, in Wadi Hanin, Rehovot and Gedera (1896) and organized several groups of Jewish settlers (1898). Additional amounts were contributed to the I.C.A. after Hirsch's death by his widow, the Baroness Clara Hirsch. In 1899 Baron Edmond Rothschild (q.v.) entrusted the I.C.A. with the administration of his Palestinian colonies together with a considerable fund.

JEWISH COMPANY. The name of the business arm of the Society of Jews (q.v.) envisaged by Herzl in his *Judenstaat* as the institution which was to take care of the liquidation of Jewish property in the countries of emigration, its transfer to the Jewish state, its investment there, and of the acquisition of land.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. Hebrew name: KEREN KAYEMETH LE-ISRAEL. Land purchasing and development agency of the World Zionist Organization, founded at the Fifth Zionist Congress in 1901. Originally conceived by Prof. Hermann Schapira (1840–1898) of Heidelberg, who suggested its establishment in 1884 to the Katowice conference (q.v.), and again in 1897 to the First

Zionist Congress of Basel. The aims of the Fund are to acquire the soil of Palestine as a Jewish national and inalienable property; to carry on drainage, afforestation, amelioration; to give land to individuals or collective groups for cultivation under a 49-year hereditary lease. It began purchasing land in Palestine in 1905. By 1955 it had collected I. L. 110 millions, and owned 865,964 acres of land on which about half a million people lived.

JEWISH NEGROES FROM INDIA. Herzl's informant, Dr. D'Arbela (q.v.) of Jerusalem, was not quite precise in describing the Indian Jews as Negroes. Certain Jewish groups in India are of a black skin (e.g. the Bene Israel in Bombay), but they belong, together with most other Indians, to the Caucasian, rather than to the Negroid, race.

JEWISH STATE, THE. See *Der Judenstaat.*

JEWISH WORLD, THE. English-Jewish weekly founded in 1873 by George Lewis Lyon (1828–1904), Christian forerunner of Zionism. In it Henry Wentworth Monk published letters every week (1881–1884) urging Jewish colonization in Palestine. Its coeditors were Myer Davis (1873–1875), then Lucien Wolf. Jacob de Haas (q.v.) became associate editor in 1892; Lyon sold *The Jewish World* to S. L. Heymann in 1897. From 1898 to 1900 Jacob de Haas was its editor. He was succeeded by John Raphael. A few years later *The Jewish World* was acquired by a syndicate of men who sympathized with the Jewish Territorial Organisation (ITO) and, in 1913, it was acquired by the *Jewish Chronicle.* In 1934 it was amalgamated with the *Jewish Chronicle.*

JEZREEL, VALLEY OF. Valley or plain in Palestine (today in Israel) between the Haifa Bay and the Lake of Gennesaret (*Kinneret*).

JODENBREETSTRAAT (literally: Jews' Broad Street). The main street in the Jewish quarter in Amsterdam.

JOFFE, DR. HILLEL (1864–1936). Russian Jewish physician, settled in 1891 in Palestine where he practiced as a physician and fought malaria and typhoid. Also played a prominent part in the economic development of early agricultural settlements in Palestine, especially Hedera and Kastinie (q.v.). In 1903 he participated in the El-Arish expedition of the Zionist organization.

JOHANN. See Kant, Immanuel.

JOHNSTON, SIR HARRY HAMILTON (1858–1929). English traveler and African expert. Explored and studied North Africa, the Congo region and Mount Kilimanjaro, and held various consular posts in Africa. Published several volumes dealing with Africa.

JONEU. See Jonin.

JONIN, VON (whose name Herzl misspelled Joneu). Russian diplomat. Was Russian envoy to Switzerland from 1897 to 1902.

JOSEPH, NATHAN SOLOMON (1834–1909). English Jewish architect who served in 1882 as secretary to the Mansion House Fund for relief of Russian Jews. He was a brother-in-law of chief Rabbi Hermann Adler.

JUDENSTAAT, DER. See *Der Judenstaat.*

JÜDISCHE AKADEMISCHE LESEHALLE (Jewish Academic Society), a club of Viennese Jewish university students.

JÜDISCHE PRESSE, DIE. German Jewish weekly published in Berlin from 1869 to 1923. Its editors were E. and M. Hildesheimer. Its trend was orthodox and scholarly.

JÜDISCHE VOLKSSTIMME. Jewish weekly published in Brno (Brünn). Founded in 1901. Its general trend was Zionist.

JUNG ISRAEL. German Jewish society, founded in 1892 in Berlin by Heinrich Lowe and Willi Bambus, with a national-Jewish program.

JUNGMANN, H. Pseudonym of Herzl under which he published his story *Die Heimkehr* (The Return) in the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1900.

KADIMAH, the first national Jewish students' fraternity, was founded in 1882, by Viennese Jewish students of East European origin. Its initiators were Reuben Bierer, Nathan Birnbaum, Oser Kokesch, Moritz T. Schnirer, and Perez Smolenskin. Its aim: "To combat assimilation, intensify Jewish consciousness, colonize Palestine." In 1888 *Kadimah* became a "duelling" fraternity thus better to be able to defend Jewish honor. Following the publication of Herzl's *The Jewish State, Kadimah* was the first Jewish fraternity to support him.

KAFTAN was the traditional, religiously sanctioned men's garb of East European Jewry. It was an ankle-length robe or gown of square cut with narrow sleeves, held together by a girdle at the waist.

KAHN, DR. LEOPOLD (1859–1909). Austrian Jewish lawyer and Zionist leader. Member of the Inner Actions Committee from 1898 to 1904. Author of the Zionist pamphlets: *Warum? Die Alte Lehre im Lichte neuer Katastrophen* (1906: Why? The Old Doctrine in the Light of New Catastrophes); *Durch Wahrheit zum Frieden: ein Mahnwort an den VII. Kongress* (1908: Through Truth to Peace: A Warning to the VII. Congress).

KAHN, ZADOC (1839–1905). Rabbi. Born in Alsace, became Chief Rabbi of Paris in 1868, and of France in 1889. Was a member of

the Alliance Israélite Universelle (q.v.) from 1872, its Honorary President from 1890. In 1896 he became a member of the Council of the Jewish Colonization Association (q.v.). Became an officier of the *Légion d'Honneur* in 1901. He played an important role as leader of French Jewry, fought anti-Semitism especially during the Dreyfus (q.v.) affair. He founded the *Société des Études Juives*. He participated in the preparations for the colonization work of Barons Hirsch (q.v.) and Rothschild (q.v.) and displayed a positive attitude to the rebuilding of Palestine.

KAISER, GERMAN. See Wilhelm II.

KAISER, DR. PAUL. See Kayser, Dr. Paul.

KÁLMÁN, DR. Viennese Jew of Hungarian extraction.

KAMIL (KIAMIL) BEY (1839–1897). Turkish civil servant. Entered the service of the Sultan as a secretary of the Code Office, and remained in the civil service until his death. He was an intellectual, who wrote and published several books on religious subjects. He was a Turkish delegate to the Congress of Orientalists held in Geneva in 1894.

KAMIL, MUSTAFA (1874–1908). Egyptian journalist and leader of the Egyptian Nationalist movement. One of the organizers of the first National Congress in Egypt, 1907, which had a liberal and pacifist program and strove for cultural advancement and the education of the masses.

KAMINKA, ARMAND (Aaron, 1866–1949). Rabbi and Jewish scholar, was from 1893 to 1897 rabbi in Prague. In 1901 he became secretary of the *Israelitische Allianz* in Vienna. From 1901 to 1924 he taught at the Vienna *Beth Hamidrash*. In 1924 he founded the Maimonides Institute, and from 1926 lectured at the University

of Vienna. In 1938 he settled in Palestine. Most of his works deal with Jewish historical, literary and religious subjects.

KAMMERKNECHTE, literally "servants of the [imperial] camera." In the Middle Ages the Jews were excluded from the association of the subjects of the German State; however, they were not regarded as foreigners but as *servi camerae imperialis,* and as such were directly dependant on and subject to the head of the state whose protection they enjoyed. This special status of the Jews was abolished in the first half of the 19th century when the German Jews were emancipated. Also in other European countries the Jews had a status similar to that of the German *Kammerknechte.*

KAMPHÖVENER, LOUIS VON. (1843–1927). German soldier. Son of a Prussian lawyer, married in 1877 Anna von Werlhog of Celle, Hanover. A military career in the Prussian army brought him to the rank of a Lieutenant General. In the service of the Sultan he became a Turkish field marshal in 1895 and received the title of Pasha. His main task, until 1908, was infantry instruction at the Turkish Ministry of War.

KANA, HEINRICH. German Jewish writer and critic, was a close friend of the young Herzl. He killed himself on February 6, 1891.

KANN, JACOBUS H. (1872–1942). Dutch Jewish banker, partner in the firm Lissa and Kann in The Hague. Was a close friend of David Wolffsohn (q.v.), and became one of the earliest followers of Herzl in Holland. He aided the establishment of the Jewish Colonial Trust (q.v.) and founded the Zionist Organization of Holland. From 1905 to 1911 was member of the Inner Actions Committee.

KANT, IMMANUEL (1724–1804). German philosopher. Johann was Kant's servant who was something like a fixture in Kant's life, and yet had to be dismissed because of his bad behavior.

KANTARA. See El-Kantara.

KAPNIST, COUNT PETER ALEXEYEVICH (1839–1904). Russian diplomatist. Minister extraordinary at The Hague, 1884–92; ambassador in Vienna, 1895–1904. Co-author of the "Mürzsteger Punktationen 1903." See Mürzsteg reforms.

KARATHEODORY PASHA, ALEXANDER (1833–1906). Turkish statesman of Greek nationality, Christian by faith. Studied law in France and Germany, 1859. Became president of the Court of Nautical-Commercial Affairs 1862; under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Commerce, 1868; and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1872. In 1874 was sent to Rome as Turkish minister; became minister of Public Works with the title of Pasha and the rank of vizier, 1878. In the same year represented Turkey at the Berlin Congress. Was appointed governor-general of Crete, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1879. Was sent to Chios as Bey (ruler), 1885–1894. In 1895—again governor-general of Crete. In 1896—first translator to the Sultan. From 1897 to his death was member of the Civil Section of the Council of State.

KARL, MARGRAVE. See Charles, Grand Duke of Baden.

KARLSRUHE, OT CARLSRUHE. German city, formerly capital of Baden, four miles east of the Rhine river.

KÄRNTNERSTRASSE. A street of elegant shops in Central Vienna.

KARUS OT KARPLUS. See Carus, Dr. Fritz.

KASTINIE. See Beer Tuvia.

KATZAU. Official of the Israelitische Allianz (q.v.) in Vienna.

KATZENELSON, DR. NISSAN (1862–1923). Russian Jewish physician and banker. As a young man was assistant to Helmholtz (q.v.).

Later took over his father's banking business. Became a friend of Herzl and Wolffsohn (q.v.), and a leading figure in Russian Zionism. He was a member of the Board of the Jewish Colonial Trust (q.v.) and of the General Executive Committee. Was deputy to the Duma in 1906.

KAUFMAN, DAVID (1852–1899). Outstanding Jewish scholar, professor of Jewish history, religious philosophy and homiletics at the Jewish Rabbinical College in Budapest from 1877 to his death. He wrote most of his studies dealing with medieval Jewish philosophy, the modern history and genealogy of the Jews in Central Europe, etc., in German, some of them in Hebrew.

KAUFMANN, J. French Jew, lived at 2 rue des Diguières, Paris. Played host to Leon Kellner (q.v.).

KAVASS. Uniformed doorman, especially at foreign consulates in Constantinople.

KAYSER, DR. PAUL (1845–1898). German civil servant. Privy legation councillor with the rank of a councillor of the first class. Executive and, since ca. 1895, director, of the colonial division of the German Foreign Office. Born Jewish, converted to Christianity.

KELENFÖLD, suburb of Budapest (q.v.), capital of Hungary.

KELLNER, LEON (1859–1928). Austrian Jewish literary historian, philologist and Shakespearian scholar. He taught English language and literature at the universities of Vienna and Czernowitz. He was one of the earliest followers of Herzl, who designated him as executor of his literary will and whose collected works he edited in German. He also wrote a biography of the young Herzl, entitled *Theodor Herzl's Lehrjahre* (1920).

KEMETH or KEHMETZ. See Klehmet.

KESSEL, COUNT GUSTAV VON (1846–1918). Prussian general; in 1898, aide-de camp of Kaiser Wilhelm II (q.v.).

KESSLER, LEOPOLD (1864–1944). South African Jewish engineer, born in Tarnovicz, Silesia. From 1893 was engaged in mining operations. Was President of the Transvaal Zionist Association, 1899–1901. In 1900 became Vice President of the South African Zionist Federation. In 1901 moved to London. In 1902 was appointed head of the expedition to El-Arish (q.v.). In 1907 became member of the board of the *Jewish Chronicle,* and together with Leopold Greenberg (q.v.) became instrumental in turning it towards Zionism. President of the Zionist Federation in England, 1912. Member of the political committee appointed by Weizmann and Sokolow to work for the Balfour Declaration, 1917.

KHAIR EDDIN BEY (?–1912). Medical officer in the Turkish army; served as secretary for the Grand Vizier, Halil Rifat Pasha.

KHALIL RIFAT PASHA; see Halil Rifat Pasha.

KHARKOV. City in Russia, until 1934 capital of the Ukraine. By "Kharkov people" Herzl refers to the participants in a conference of Russian Zionist leaders which took place in Kharkov in October 1903 and in which a resolution was passed to direct an ultimatum to Herzl demanding that he abandon all political moves not concerned directly with Palestine.

KHEDIVE. Title of the Pasha of Egypt, roughly equivalent to Viceroy. In Herzl's times the Khedive of Egypt was Abbas II (in full Abbas Hilmi Pasha; 1874–1944), who succeeded his father in 1892. In 1914, with the termination of Turkish suzerainty over Egypt, he was deposed.

KIAMIL BEY. See Kamil (Kiamil) Bey.

KIAU-TSCHOU, or KIAOCHOW. District in China on Kiaochow Bay in Eastern Shantung Province. In 1898 it was forcibly leased by Germany. Soon thereafter the Germans built the east-west Tsinan-Tsingtao railroad, thus consolidating their influence all over the Shantung Peninsula.

KIEL. German harbor town located in the Kiel Bay of the Baltic Sea.

KIELMANNSEGG, COUNT ERICH (1847–1923). Although of German birth, Kielmannsegg entered the Austrian government service in 1866 and became Section Head of the Ministry of the Interior, then Governor in Czernowitz, and in 1895 Prime Minister of Austria, the first Protestant to achieve this office.

KIELMANNSEGG, COUNTESS. The wife of Count Erich Kielmannsegg (q.v.).

KIESERITZKY, L. A. (1805–1853). Chess champion.

KIEV. Capital of the Ukraine.

KIPLING, RUDYARD (1865–1936). English author, born in India where he spent most of his life. Many of his writings in prose and poetry expressed ideas of hardheaded colonialism epitomized in the phrase, "the white man's burden." He was especially a master of the short story. The expression mentioned by Herzl (p. 799) is a paraphrase of several similar expressions used by Kipling in his famous *Jungle Book*.

KIREYEV, GEN. ALEKSANDER ALEKSEYEVICH (1833–1910). Russian court official. Exponent of Pan-Slavism. Aide-de-camp of the Czar. Court Marshall at Pavlovsk.

KISHINEV EVENTS. The reference in Herzl's letter to Plehve (dated May 19, 1903) is to the pogroms which took place in the South Russian town of Kishinev in April 1903.

KITTEL and TALLES. To swear to something " in *kittel* and *talles*" means to render the most holy oath. *Kittel* is the traditional Jewish shroud which used to be worn by married Jewish men twice a year, on the Day of Atonement and at the *Seder* (q.v.) of Passover. *Talles* (Hebrew *tallit*) is the prayer-shawl worn for every morning (*shaharit*) prayer, as well as for the *mussaf* (supplementary) prayer said on Saturdays and holidays following the *shaharit*.

KLATSCHKO, SIMON LVOVICH (?–1914). Russian Jewish journalist. Was a nihilist in his youth, and consequently had to leave Russia. Went to Vienna, where he worked as a clerk in a patent office and as a journalist. His home in Vienna was a center for Russian political emigrants. He translated Herzl's *Judenstaat* into Russian, and helped Herzl in his political negotiations with the Armenians.

KLAUSNER, MAX ALBERT (1848–1910). German Jewish journalist and politician, was political editor of the Berlin *Börsen-Courier*. His influence was great in German government circles, and in the 1880's every deportation order issued against a Jew was submitted to him. In the last decade of his life he devoted himself entirely to Jewish affairs, became editor of the *Israelitische Wochenblatt*, headed the German office of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, introduced Jewish religious studies in the Prussian high schools, etc.

KLEHMET, REINHOLD (1859–1915). German civil servant. Entered the German foreign service in 1886. In 1888 he was detailed to the German consulate in St. Petersburg, Russia, where in 1889 he received the title of a vice-consul. In 1890 he returned to the Foreign Office, in 1891 became vice-consul in St. Petersburg,

and in 1892 was back again in the Foreign Office. In 1893 he was appointed a Legation Councilor and in 1899 a Privy Legation Councilor. He was in the retinue of the Kaiser on the latter's trip to Palestine in 1898. In 1909 was appointed German consul general in Athens. Retired in 1914.

KLINENBERGER, KARL (1865–1938?). Austrian journalist. Worked for the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. Upon the founding of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* he joined its staff and remained as an editor until 1890. Thereafter contributed feuilletons to a number of periodicals on a free-lance basis.

KLINGER, ERNST (1862–1932). Austrian Jewish industrialist, commercial councillor. Was president of the Vienna Jewish community.

KOERBER, ERNST VON (1850–1919). Austrian statesman. Minister of Commerce, 1897; of the interior, 1899; prime minister 1900–1904. In 1915 became again minister of finance and in 1916 again prime minister.

KOHAN-BERNSTEIN, DR. JACOB (1859–1929). Russian Jewish physician and Zionist. An early member of the *Hovevei Zion*, joined political Zionism, and became a member of the Actions Committee, 1897–1905. Was director of the press department of the Zionist Organization in Russia, 1897–1901; member of the Inner Actions Committee, 1905–07. Lived in Palestine from 1907 to 1910.

KOHN. Assize-Court Councillor in Vienna.

KOHN, DR. GUSTAV (1840–1915). Austrian Jewish lawyer. In 1884 became a member of the *Kultusrat* (Religious Council) of the Vienna Jewish community; in 1890 state school councillor; in 1897 vice-president of the Jewish community; in 1915 chairman of the committee of the National-Jewish Party.

KOHN, DR. JACOB. Viennese lawyer, of Galician origin. Was a member of *Kadimah* (q.v.) in 1884 and of the Viennese *Jüdisches Volksverein*. Later became a leader of the Austrian *Jüdische Volkspartei* together with S. R. Landau (q.v.), and member of the executive committee elected in 1893 in Cracow by a conference of the Galician Hovevei Zion. In the same year he was sent by the Jewish Nationalist Party to Tarnopol to found there a national-Jewish association. Was a delegate to the Second Zionist Congress.

KOKESCH, DR. OSER (1855–1905). Viennese Jewish lawyer, co-founder of the *Kadimah*, and founder (1890) of the first Zionist society of Vienna, the *Admat Yeshurun*. Became one of the closest collaborators of Herzl, was a member of the Inner Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization.

KOLLMER (FORMERLY KOHN), DR. GUSTAV (1846–?). Austrian Jewish journalist. Editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* in charge of parliamentary news, editorials and internal politics. He changed his name to Kollmer in 1897.

KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG. Daily paper published in Cologne, Germany.

KOLOMEA or KOLOMYYA. Town in the Ukraine, to the east of the Karpathian Mountains, 40 miles to the west of Czernowitz (q.v.).

KONRIED, JULIUS (1853–1927). Austrian journalist. In 1880 became co-founder with Theodor Hertzka of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. Author of many major reportages, became internationally known. Wrote a striking report of the Ringtheater catastrophe. His sensational reports on the death of King Ludwig of Bavaria netted him attacks from the Bavarian government, but Konried's accounts turned out to have been accurate. In 1887 he joined the staff of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, working on local news. Was correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*.

KONSTANTINIDES. Greek journalist in Constantinople.

KÖPEK. Herzl slightly misspelled this Hungarian word which, in the form *Köpec,* was used in the dialect of the Csik province of Hungary to designate a shepherd's dog.

KOPPAY, J. ARPAD (1857–1927). Hungarian Catholic painter. Favored a light technique in his pastels and achieved an early popularity with his female figures and portraits. In 1884 he moved to Munich, and then to Vienna where he worked also as an illustrator. Among his works are several large full-size portraits of Herzl.

KOPSTEIN. Viennese Jew.

KORNFELD, DR., psychiatrist. There were two psychiatrists named Kornfeld active in Vienna in 1899. See the following two entries.

KORNFELD, DR. HERMANN (1840–1905). Austrian Jewish physician and psychiatrist. Son of a Talmudic scholar. Wrote numerous studies in his field, especially on criminal anthropology.

KORNFELD, DR. SIGMUND (1859–1927). Austrian Jewish psychiatrist. Was assistant at the Vienna Psychiatric Institute under Krafft-Ebing; chief physician of the state asylum, 1893–99, and lecturer in physiological psychology at the Technical Institute, 1896, both in Brünn. Because of his pronounced Jewish and Zionist convictions his position in Brünn became untenable, and he moved to Vienna, where he practiced as a psychiatrist, and became *Privatdozent* for psychology and ethics, 1918.

KORVIN-PIATROVSKA, PAULINA. Polish author. Published statistical studies about industry in Poland. She sympathized with Zionism and greeted the Second Congress with a Polish poem. Since the 1890's was friendly with Plehve (q.v.) in St. Petersburg and arranged for Herzl's meeting with Plehve. Thereafter, she

repeatedly intervened for the Zionist cause in high Russian political circles.

KOTZE, LEBRECHT VON (1850–1920). German court official. Royal Prussian chamberlain and equerry, imperial knight of the Order of St. John. Married in 1879 Elisabeth von Treskow of the house of Friedrichsfeld. Kotze was falsely accused in 1894 of being the author of the hundreds of anonymous letters that had disturbed the peace of the German imperial court and high society for two years. The informer was Schrader (q.v.). Following Kotze's release from prison, a duel took place between the two in which Kotze shot and killed Schrader.

KOZMIAN, STANISLAW, BARON DR. (1836–1922). Polish-Austrian statesman, historian, critic, newspaper editor and theater director. He was editor-in-chief of the conservative daily *Czas* in Cracow, a member of the Austrian parliament, and became, in 1895, the right-hand man of Prime Minister Badeni. His three volume history of the Polish uprising of 1863 (entitled *Rzecz o 1863)* was published in Polish in 1893 and in German in 1896 (translated by S. R. Landau). In 1896 Kozmian published a very favorable review of Herzl's *Judenstaat* in the government paper *Gazeta Lwowska.*

KRÄMER, MENDEL. Turkish-Jewish secret-service agent stationed in Palestine.

KREMENEZKY, JOHANN (1850–1934). Austrian Jewish engineer and Zionist leader. Born in Odessa, settled in Vienna where he established a plant for the manufacture of electrical bulbs. Became one of Herzl's close associates, member of the Inner Actions Committee (1897–1905), director of the Jewish National Fund (q.v.) from 1905–1907.

KREUZER. Small Austrian currency unit, corresponding to a penny.

KRIGER. Russian admiral. Visited Turkey in 1901 and received a high decoration from the Sultan. In 1903 commanded the Russian Mediterranean fleet.

KRONSTADT. Russian city, naval base and fortress on Kotlin Island in Kronstadt Bay.

KRUPP, ARTUR (1856–1938). Relative of the German (Essen) Krupps. Owner and director of large iron works in Berndorf, Triestingtal, Lower Austria.

KURANDA, ARTHUR (1853–1933). Austrian Jewish lawyer. President of the Austrian *Israelitische Alliance* (q.v.), of the Orphan's Society, etc.

KURDISH JEWS IN JERUSALEM. There are no data to indicate how many Kurdish Jews lived in Jerusalem at the end of the 19th century. However, in 1929 their number was 4,369.

KURDS. Herzl's statement about Kurds in Palestine is based on a mistake. There were no Kurds in Palestine either in his days or earlier. In all probability he meant Druses (q.v.).

KURSK. Russian town, capital of the Kursk Region.

KUSHAN. Turkish-Arabic term designating an official document attesting to the legal ownership of landed property duly registered in the *Tabu* (or *Tapu*), the Turkish office of land registry.

KUTTENBERG. See Polna Protest Meeting.

LA GERUSALEMME LIBERATA (Jerusalem Delivered). The title of the most significant work by Torquato Tasso (1544–1595). It is

a romantic epic in 20 books, dealing with the recovery of Jerusalem in the First Crusade.

LABICHE, EUGÈNE (1815–1888). French playwright. Wrote more than 100 comedies, which were successfully performed in Paris and translated into many languages.

LACHMANN, E. (? –1909). German Jewish lawyer. Lived in Berlin. Was awarded the title *Justizrat*. Was member of the council of the Jewish Colonization Association from 1896 to 1909, representing the Jewish community of Berlin in whose work he had an active part.

LADINO (occasionally also referred to as Spaniolic) is the traditional colloquial tongue of the Sephardi Jews. It is a language based on medieval Spanish, with a slight admixture of Hebrew words.

LAFFITTE, RUE. the Paris address of the banking house of Rothschild.

LAMSDORF, COUNT VLADIMIR NIKOLAYEVICH (1845–1907; also spelled by Herzl Lamsdorff, Lambsdorff). Russian statesman. Became minister of foreign affairs in 1901.

LAMY, ÉTIENNE MARIE VICTOR (1845–1919). French author and publicist.

LANDAU, HERMAN (1844–1921). Born in Poland, settled in England in 1864. Co-founder and president of the Jews' Temporary Shelter; member of the Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association; co-author with Joseph Jacobs (q.v.) of the *Yiddish-English Manual.*

LANDAU, RABBI JEHUDA MENAHEM HALEVI, "of Przemysl" (1862–1920). Rumanian rabbi. Born in Galicia. Became rabbi in Botosani, Rumania.

LANDAU, LEOPOLD (1848–1920). German Jewish physician. Studied in Breslau; became lecturer in gynecology at the University of Breslau, 1874–76; moved to Berlin, 1876; established his own gynecological clinic in Berlin, 1892; became professor at the University of Berlin, 1893; Privy Councillor, 1908. Was active in German Zionism.

LANDAU, SAUL RAFAEL (1870–1943). Viennese lawyer, journalist and author, was for a while lecturer at the Viennese Rabbinical College (*Isr. Theologische Lehranstalt*), and became, in 1897, the first editor of *Die Welt*. A year later, however, he turned against Herzl and founded the monthly *Der Jüdische Arbeiter* (The Jewish Worker) as the organ of the socialist Zionists. From 1907 to 1917 he edited the Viennese Jewish weekly *Neue Nationalzeitung* (New National Journal). He authored *Unter Jüdischen Proletariern* (Among Jewish Proletarians, 1898); *Der Polenklub und seine Hausjuden* (The Polish Club and Its Jewish Lackeys, 1907); *Sturm und Drang im Zionismus* (Storm and Stress in Zionism, 1937); etc.

LANGERMAN, MAX (1859–1919). South African Jewish mine owner. Born in Bavaria. Acquired gold mines on the Rand and became involved in the Jameson (q.v.) Raid. Was prominent in the Jewish community and as a Zionist leader. Was the first president of the Transvaal Jewish Board of Deputies, 1903.

LANGUAGE ORDINANCES. The reference in the entry of May 31, 1899 (in the letter to Habrda, q.v.), is to the ordinances of the Austrian government with regard to the use of the official language in the mixed provinces of Austria. These ordinances constituted each time the subject of violent political battles among the members of the various nationalities concerned, especially between Germans and Czechs. Badeni's language ordinance of 1897 was regarded as anti-German.

LANSDOWNE, 5TH MARQUESS OF (Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice; 1845–1927). English statesman. From 1883 to 1888 was governor general of Canada; from 1888 to 1893 viceroy of India; from 1895 to 1900 secretary of state for war; and from 1900 to 1905 secretary of state for Foreign Affairs. During World War I he served as minister without portfolio, and his 1916 memorandum to Prime Minister Asquith on a "peace of accommodation" with Germany led to Asquith's resignation. In 1917 Lansdowne addressed his famous letter to the London *Daily Telegraph* asking for an Allied reassurance that Germany's legitimate ambitions would be recognized. Two more similar letters in 1918 effectively put an end to Lansdowne's political career.

LARMANDIE, COMTE LÉONE DE (1851–1921). French lawyer and author. Published novels, psychological studies, poetry and plays, as well as numerous writings on hermetism, Rosicrucianisms, etc.

LASSALLE, FERDINAND (1825–1864). German Jewish writer and social philosopher, the founder of the German social democratic movement. He was influenced by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. He died of injuries received in a duel resulting from a love-affair.

LASTRAS, DON DIEGO. Spanish government official. Became translator of the Spanish embassy in Vienna in 1898, appointed official translator of the same embassy in 1908, and honorary consular councillor in 1916.

LAUBE, HEINRICH (1806–1884). German author and theater director. Was head of the Viennese new city theater (Neues Stadttheater), 1872–74, 1875–80. Many of his writings deal with the contemporary European scene.

LAUER, LUIGI (1833–1901). Franciscan monk. Worked for the unification of the various groups of the *Ordine dei Minori,* and upon its achievement in 1897 became the first minister general of the order. During the *Kulturkampf* had to go into exile in Holland, Belgium, France and the United States.

LAURENT, EMILE-GHISLAIN (1861–1904). Belgian scientist. Doctor of natural sciences of Brussels University. Worked at the Pasteur Institute and at the Sorbonne in Paris; was professor at the Agricultural Institute in Gembloux, Belgium. Made important researches in natural sciences and agriculture, and undertook several scientific missions to the Congo. Participated in the Zionist El-Arish (q.v.) expedition. Was decorated by the Belgian government and was awarded, posthumously, a gold medal by the Botanic Society of Belgium. He died of fever on board ship while returning from the Congo.

LAUSANNE. City in Switzerland, north of Lake Geneva.

LAWSON, EDWARD LEVY (1833–1916). English Jewish newspaper publisher. His father, Joseph Moses Levy (died 1888) acquired *The Daily Telegraph and Courier* in 1855, a few months after it was founded by Col. Sleigh, and renamed it *The Daily Telegraph.* Lawson became editor, and, upon his father's death, proprietor, of the paper. In 1903 he was created a baron (Lord Burnheim), and his son, Harry Lawson Webster Lawson (1862–1933) succeeded him as proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph.*

LAZARE, BERNARD (1865–1903). French Jewish publicist and socialist. Contributed to the *Revue Blanche, Figaro, Événement, Revue Bleue.* In several of these writings he militated against anti-Semitism, a subject with which he dealt also in his major work, *L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes* (Anti-Semitism: Its History and Causes, 1894). He took a leading part in defending Dreyfus (q.v.), and wrote three books about the Dreyfus affair. He participated in the Second Zionist Congress,

became a delegate in the Viennese Actions Committee, but resigned from it over a disagreement with Herzl's political activity. A volume of his Zionist writing, entitled *Job's Dung-heap,* was published in English.

LEANDER TOWER on the Bosporus. A tower built by the ancient Greeks, about 500 B.C., on a large rock at the southern end of the Bosporus. Today it is used as a lighthouse and called *Kiz Kulesi.*

LEGHORN (LIVORNO). City in Italy, on the Tyrrhenian Sea, 50 miles west–south-west of Florence.

LEINKAUF, MORITZ. Founder of the Viennese moving company, Leinkauf. His wife was Herzl's cousin.

LEITENBERGER, FRIEDRICH BARON, Viennese cotton-print manufacturer, one of the founders (in 1891) of the Viennese Society to Combat Anti-Semitism, which, in 1892, began to publish a paper, Freies Blatt.

LEMAÎTRE, JULES (1853–1914). Well-known French poet and critic.

LENBACH, FRANZ VON (1836–1904). Famous German portrait painter.

LEO XIII (1810–1903) was elected Pope in 1878.

LEOPOLD II (1835–1909). King of the Belgians. Succeeded his father, Leopold I, in 1865. He helped finance Sir Henry Morton Stanley's explorations in the Congo 1879–1884. In 1885, the Berlin Conference conferred the sovereignty over the Congo Free State (q.v.) on Leopold. This State became in 1908 a Belgian colony, and attained independence in 1960.

LEOPOLDSTADT. The second district in Vienna, which was inhabited by many Jews.

LERA, MME. Wife of a South American diplomat.

LESSEPS, VICOMTE FERDINAND MARIE DE (1805–1894). French diplomat. Builder of the Suez Canal (q.v.), and president of the Panama Canal (q.v.) company.

LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM (1729–1781). German dramatist and critic. His finest poetic drama, *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the Wise, 1779), is a plea for religious and racial tolerance.

LEVEN, NARCISSE (1833–1915). French Jewish lawyer, secretary to Adolphe Cremieux, and one of the founders of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* which he served in various leading capacities. In 1896 he became president of the Jewish Colonization Association (I. C. A.) in Paris. His two-volume book, *Cinquante ans d'histoire* (Fifty Years of History), appeared in Paris in 1920.

LEVIN-EPSTEIN, ELIAHU ZEEV. An early member of the *Hovevei Zion* and co-founder of the B'nai Moshe (q.v.) in Warsaw. Was a member of the commission which was sent by the Warsaw Palestine Society to Palestine to purchase land for their members and which founded the agricultural settlement of Rehovoth. He developed the Carmel Wine Company, and later settled in New York where he continued to work for Jewish Palestine. During the First World War, he was in charge of the distribution of food sent from the U.S.A. by a chartered ship to Palestine. He remained in Palestine as a communal worker.

LEVONTIN, ZALMAN DAVID (1856–1940). Russian Jewish *Hovevei* Zionist. One of the early pioneers, helped to found Rishon le-Zion (q.v.) in 1882. Became director of the Jewish Colonial Trust (q.v.) in London, in 1901; manager of the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Jaffa, 1903–24. Died in Tel Aviv. Author of the Hebrew history of Jewish settlement in Palestine entitled *To the Land of our Fathers* (1924–28).

LEVY, JOSEPH HAIM (1838–1913). English Jewish economist and sociologist.

LEVYSOHN, ARTHUR (1841–1908). German Jewish journalist. Was Paris correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* and later editor-in-chief of the *Berliner Tageblatt*.

LEWIS, LADY, née Elizabeth Eberstadt. Her father was Ferdinand Eberstadt of Mannheim, Germany. She was the second wife of Sir Henry George Lewis (1833–1912), senior member of Lewis and Lewis, a solicitor and well-known barrister in sensational cases. The marriage took place in 1867; Lewis was knighted in 1895, and created a baronet in 1902. The Lewis residence was at 88 Portland Place, London, W. 1.

LEX USSISHKIN. See Ussishkin, Menahem Mendel.

LEYDS, WILLIAM JOHANNES (1859–1940). South African statesman and writer. Secretary of State for the South African republic, 1888, 1893–97.

LHERMITE. See Caravan of Arceuil.

LHERMITTE, LEON AUGUSTIN (1844–1925). French painter.

LIBAU. Russian town, in the Curland governorate, on the shores of the Ostsee. In the 1890's, 24 per cent of its 33,000 inhabitants were Jews.

LIBRE PAROLE. French anti-Semitic daily paper, founded in 1892 by Edouard-Adolphe Drumont (q.v.).

LICHTNECKERT, JOSEF, Austrian Christian religious enthusiast who proclaimed himself to be "the returned Jesus Christ," and proposed fantastic schemes for the rejuvenation of the Jewish people and the world at large.

LIDDA, or LIDA. Town in White Russia, close to the Lithuanian border.

LIEBEN, DR. THEODOR (1842–1917). First Secretary to the Viennese Jewish community.

LIEBENBERG. Estate in Mark Brandenburg, with the palace of Prince Philipp zu Eulenberg-Hertefeld (q.v.).

LIECHENSTEIN, PRINCE ALOIS (1846–1920). Austrian politician and member of parliament with a Christian-Socialist and anti-Semitic program.

THE LIMB: AN EPISODE OF ADVENTURE, by X. L. (pseudonym of Julian Osgood Field), 2nd edition, London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1896. 466 pp. A novel dealing with the persecution of the Jews in White Russia and with the internal strife between Hassidic Jews (see Hassid) and their opponents.

LINDAU, PAUL (1839–1919). German journalist, critic, theater director, and author. As a young man Herzl sent him one of his plays for review.

LINZ. Town in Upper Austria, on the banks of the Danube.

LIONEL BEY BONDY. Austrian Jew. Was honorary Turkish consul in Vienna, and served temporarily as correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* in Constantinople in 1898.

LIPPAY, BERTHOLD DOMINIQUE (1864–1920). Austrian painter. Born in Hungary, studied at the Antwerp Academy. Painted a portrait of Pope Pius X, and was created a Papal Count. Died in Vienna.

LIPPE, DR. CARPEL (1830–1915). Born in Stanislaw, Galicia, became a physician in Jassy, Rumania. Joined the *Hovevei Zion*, and

went to settle in Palestine where he became one of the founders of Rosh Pinah, in Galilee (1882), but later returned to Rumania.

LIPTON, SIR THOMAS JOHNSTONE (1850–1931). British merchant and yachtsman. Organized in 1898 the Lipton Limited, one of the largest commercial enterprises in England, with large tea, coffee and cocoa plantations in India and Ceylon, and other business interests in England and the United States. Was knighted in 1898, and made a baronet in 1902.

LISBON. Capital of Portugal.

LISSA AND KANN, Banking house in The Hague. See Kann, Jacobus H.

LISTER, JOSEPH (first Baron Lister of Lyme Regis; 1827–1912). English physician, founder of aseptic surgery, and professor of surgery at various universities. One of the founders of the British (later Lister) Institute of Preventive Medicine. Was from 1894 to 1900 president of the Royal Society. Was created a baronet in 1893, raised to peerage in 1897.

LÖBEL, LEOPOLD PAUL (also spelled by Herzl Löbl). Herzl's relative. Was a broker in Semlin (q.v.) later a merchant in Vienna. *Hovevei* Zionist, informed Herzl about the early Jewish colonies in Palestine and emigrated to Palestine in 1899.

LOBKOWITZES. A Bohemian noble family, originally Ujezd, known since the 9th century. Georg Christian Lobkowitz (1835–1908) became president of the Bohemian parliament in 1871.

LÖBL. See Löbel.

LODZ. City in Poland, 70 miles south-west of Warsaw.

LOEWE, JAMES HENRY (1852–1944). English Jewish communal worker, publisher and author. Secretary of the Jewish Colonial Trust. Author of the Hebrew Tutorial Preparation Series, *Mishnoh and Gemoro* and *Rashi on the Pentateuch*. Owner of the Hebrew Compendium Publishing Company.

LOEWY, LOUIS. Russian Jewish engineer, lived in Kursk.

LOMBROSO, CESARE (1836–1909). Italian Jewish anthropologist and psychiatrist who specialized in the study of the criminal and abnormal mind. He is regarded as the founder of the science of criminology.

LORANDO-TUBINI AFFAIR. In April, 1901, a conflict developed between France and Turkey because of the refusal of the Turkish government to permit a French company which had acquired the right to exploit the quais in the Constantinople port to take possession of its property, and also because of the debts Turkey owed to the two Frenchmen, Lorando and Tubini. On April 26, 1901, the French Ambassador Constans (q.v.) thereupon broke off diplomatic relations with Turkey. Lorando had lent the Porte in 1875 the amount of 85,000 Turkish pounds; Tubini in 1868, 1871, and 1873 and the 1880's, 70,000 Turkish pounds. For years the French representatives in Constantinople had pressed for a repayment of these debts. Constans set the amount at 547,000 L.T., and 250,000 L.T. respectively, and demanded payment more sharply than any of his predecessors. Following unsuccessful negotiations conducted by Constans, and in order to force Turkey to pay these debts and to fulfill certain other French demands, a French fleet was sent to occupy the Turkish island Mytilene (see Turkish-French Conflict). Lorando was the son of a family that had obtained French citizenship in the days of Louis XVI. Tubini's grandfather had been a representative of the French residing in Constantinople. Theodor Tubini (born 1830 in the East, probably in Constantinople) became the

head of a bank in England and was interested in a number of major technical projects in the eastern Mediterranean region.

LOUIS XIV (1638–1715). King of France. Styled the Great Monarch for his strong and astute statecraft, the magnificence of his court and his patronage of the arts.

LOUISE, PRINCESS (1848–1939). Daughter of Queen Victoria, married in 1871 to the ninth Duke of Argyll (q.v.).

LOURDES. Town in France at the foot of the Pyrenees, famous for its Roman Catholic shrine established in a grotto where the 14-year-old Marie Bernarde Soubirous (Saint Bernadette) claimed to have seen the Virgin Mary in 1858. The spring of Lourdes has the reputation of working miraculous cures and attracts about two million visitors annually.

LOURIE, GREGORY (1861–1917). Russian Jewish Zionist leader. Born in Pinsk, studied at the Technical Institute in Karlsruhe, Germany, lived for several years in Paris, then in Russia. From his early youth a Hovevei Zionist, joined the Zionist movement and participated in the preparations for the Jewish Colonial Trust (q.v.). At the Second Congress was elected member of the Bank Committee, and subsequently a member of the first board of the J. C. T. Was a delegate to the first five Congresses and to the Eleventh Congress.

LOUSADA, HERBERT GEORGE. English Jewish communal worker. Member of the Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association (q.v.), of the administration of the I.C.A. (q.v.) and of the Board of Jewish Guardians. Member of the very wealthy British-Jewish Lousada family which had extensive estates in Jamaica and several of whom used the title Duke of Lousada and Marquess of San Miniato, although their origin from the Duke de Losada y Louzada (who died in the middle of the 19th century) was doubtful.

LOUVRE. One of the biggest Paris department stores, named after the *Musée du Louvre*, the world-famous art-museum.

LOVERS OF ZION ASSOCIATION. The English branch of the *Hovevei Zion* (q.v.), organized and headed by Col. Goldsmid (q.v.) on military lines. It consisted of a Headquarters Tent to which subordinated were other Tents in London and various towns, each headed by a Commander.

LÖWENBERG. German village, some 25 miles to the north of Berlin.

LÖWENSTEIN, PRINCESS. Lady Anna Savile (1864–1927). Daughter of the Earl of Mexborough. Married in 1897 Prince Ludwig zu Löwenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg (1864–1899), English naval officer, youngest son of Prince Wilhelm von Löwenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg by his first wife, Princess Olga, née Countess of Schönburg. Lady Anna died in an airplane crash en route from England to Canada.

LOZÉ, HENRI-AUGUSTE (1850–1915). French administrator, diplomat and politician. Filled various posts in the police administration, and was French ambassador to Vienna from 1893 to 1897. In 1902 was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, in 1907 became a senator.

LUCANUS, FRIEDRICH KARL HERMANN VON (1831–1908). Prussian statesman, and jurist. Worked in the Prussian Ministry of Education, 1859–88; became Under Secretary of State, 1881, and was the Chief of the civilian cabinet of Kaiser Wilhelm II (q.v.), from 1888.

LUDASSY. See Gans-Ludassy, Dr. Julius von.

LUDWIG, PRINCE OF BADEN, was the deceased son of the Grand Duke Frederick of Baden.

LUEGER, KARL (1844–1910). Leader of the anti-Semitic Austrian Christian Socialist Party. In 1895 he was elected mayor of Vienna, but the government and the Emperor withheld his confirmation in office until 1897.

LUITPOLD (LEOPOLD). Prince Regent of Bavaria from 1886 to his death in 1912.

LURIE. See Lourie, Gregory.

LUSTIGE BLÄTTER. See Neue Lustige Blätter.

LUTFI AGA. Turkish court official. Was Master of the Robes, or Chief Valet, at Yildiz Kiosk (q.v.), and one of the intimates of Sultan Abdul Hamid (q.v.).

LUZZATTI, LUIGI (1841–1927). Italian Jewish statesman and scholar. Lecturer in economics at the Milano Technical Institute, 1863; professor of constitutional right at the University of Padua, 1866; secretary of state in the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, 1869–73; member of the House of Deputies, 1870–1921. Minister of Finance five times from 1891; professor at the University of Rome, 1895; minister of agriculture, prime minister and minister of the interior, 1910. His collected works were published under the title *Opere di Luigi Luzzatti* from 1924.

MACCABEANS, a society of Jewish intellectuals, artists, writers and professional men in London, founded in 1891. Their activities consisted mainly in holding meetings, and their purpose was to arouse interest in Jewish culture. Their president in 1895 was the painter Solomon J. Solomon.

MACEDONIA. A territory in the Balkan Peninsula, was under Turkish rule since the 15th century. In 1893 the Internal Macedonian

Revolutionary Organization was founded with a program of independence. In September 1902 there was an intensification of the usual disturbances caused by armed gangs, with the participation of Bulgarians. Turkey thereupon reinforced its troops on the Bulgarian border by the dispatch of several thousand men and engaged in actively fighting the bands. These events exacerbated the issue of whether Macedonia should politically belong to Bulgaria or to Turkey. On October 3, 1903, a conference was held in Mürzsteg Castle in Styria, Austria, in which Czar Nicholas II (q.v.) of Russia, Emperor Franz Josef I (q.v.) of Austria, the Russian foreign minister Lamsdorf (q.v.) and the Austrian foreign minister Goluchowski (q.v.) decided on a program of reforms in Macedonia which was subsequently transmitted to Turkey as a demand of the two powers most directly interested in the Macedonian question. The official name of the resolution, which Turkey was forced to accept, was "Mürzsteger Punktationen 1903."

MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLO (1469–1527). Italian political thinker.

MAHANAYIM. Small agricultural settlement of Galician Jews in Upper Galilee, near Rosh Pinna, founded in 1892.

MAHDI (in Arabic: The Guided One) was the epithet, roughly corresponding to Messiah, by which the Sudanese sheikh, Mohammed Ahmed (1843?–1885), was known. He led an uprising, defeated the Anglo-Egyptian forces several times, and in 1885 besieged Khartoum where General Gordon was killed.

MAHMUD DAMAD PASHA (1853–1903). By full name Mahmud Celâlettin Pasha (Damad meaning son-in-law of the Sultan). Turkish statesman. Married Seniha, a daughter of Sultan Abdulmejid, and was a close friend of Abdul Hamid (q.v.). Was appointed member of the Council of State and minister of justice and, in 1878, became a vizier with the title of Pasha. However, he lost the favor of the Sultan, and had to live in forced retire-

ment at his residence for many years, until, in 1899, he escaped to Europe with his two sons. Sultan Abdul Hamid demanded his return, and when he refused, he was sentenced to death *in absentia*. He lived, oppressed by poverty, in Rome, Paris, London and Brussels.

MAHMUD NEDIM BEY (1850–?). Turkish diplomat. Entered the foreign service in 1874. Became secretary of the Turkish Legation in Belgrade in 1886. Was appointed minister in 1890, and was sent to Athens. Became Turkish ambassador to Rome in 1891, and thereafter to Vienna (1896–1908). Was promoted to the rank of vizier with the title of Pasha (1904).

MAINAU. German island in Lake Constance (Bodensee).

MAINZ. City in Germany, on the left bank of the Rhine at its junction with the Main.

MAKK-HETES ZSIDÓ. The meaning of this Hungarian phrase (literally "seven-of-acorns-Jew") is "low type of Jew." "Makk" (acorn) is the lowest suite in the Hungarian deck of cards; seven—the lowest number.

MALLET. Banking house in Paris, headed by Barons James and Alphonse Mallet. The Banque Mallet, together with Hottinguer (q.v.), Pillet-Will (q.v.), and others, formed a powerful Protestant banking group with headquarters in Paris and representatives in London. This group controlled the Ottoman Bank and the Turkish Public Debt.

MALVANO, GIACOMO (1841–1922). Italian Jewish statesman. Entered the diplomatic service in 1862. Secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1889–93; member of the Senate, 1896–1907.

MALZ, DR. DAVID (1862–1936). Galician Zionist. Born in Lvov, joined a Zionist students' group in 1882. In 1893 contributed the

chapter on Palestine to a pamphlet published in Lvov which contained an outline of the Zionist program. Became one of the foremost Zionist writers; his articles in *Przyszlosc* (Future) were important contributions to Zionist ideology. He was also a celebrated orator and as such made the rounds of all the towns of Galicia in the service of the Zionist cause. Under the influence of Herzl's *Judenstaat* (q.v.) he wrote (in Polish) a play which made a deep impression on the Jewish youth. He participated in the First Congress and several subsequent ones, and represented the Galician Zionists in the Greater Actions Committee. In 1900 he settled in Bursztyn and practiced there as a lawyer. Following the First World War, was on the editorial staff of *Chwila* (Minute). Died in Lvov.

MAMZER BEN NIDE. Yiddish expression (from the Hebrew), meaning literally "bastard, son of an impure (menstruating) woman."

MANCHESTER. City in England, 188 miles north of London.

MANCHURIA. A region comprising the extreme north-eastern portion of China.

MANDELKERN, DR. SOLOMON (1846–1902). Hebrew scholar and poet, translator of Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* into Hebrew. Author of a Hebrew concordance of the Bible. Was assistant state rabbi in Odessa, 1873–80, thereafter lived in Leipzig, Germany.

MANDELSTAMM, PROF. MAX EMANUEL (1839–1912). Russian Jewish oculist. Born to a prominent assimilationist family. Became an early adherent of the *Hovevei Zion* movement, a close friend of Pinsker (q.v.) and later of Herzl. Was member of the Zionist Actions Committee. After the 7th Congress he left the Zionist movement and joined Zangwill's (q.v.) Jewish Territorialist Organization. He served as the model for Professor Eichenstamm in Herzl's *Altneuland* (q.v.).

MANDL, RICHARD (1859–1918). Viennese Jewish composer who authored a one-act comic opera, a cantata, a symphonic poem, a piece for string quartet, several violin pieces and songs.

MANTEUFFEL. BARON MAXIM VON. German Christian Zionist, lived at San Michele all'Adige where he maintained a training farm for young Jewish agriculturalists. Was a guest at the First Zionist Congress.

MANTUA. City in Italy, 70 miles south-east of Milan.

MARCUS, AHRON (1843–1916). German Jewish scholar, wrote in German and in Hebrew on Hassidism, Hebrew linguistics, archaeology. Although he was thoroughly familiar with modern science, his point-of-view was completely religious. He settled in Podgorze, Galicia, where he adopted the way of life and the outlook of the Hassidic Jews.

MARCUS (OR MARKUS), DAVID DR. Rabbi since 1901 in Constantinople, where he founded Jewish schools in behalf of the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden.*

MARCUS, TOBIAS (of Meran). Was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897.

MARGRAVE KARL or Charles. See Charles, Grand Duke of Baden.

MARGUERITTE, TAKÉ. Turkish agent of Rumanian extraction; favorite of the Grand Vizier.

MARGULIES, DR. SAMUEL HIRSCH (1858–1922). Rabbi. Born in Galicia, studied in Germany. In 1890 was appointed rabbi of Florence. In 1899 he renewed the *Collegio Rabbinico Italiano* (Italian Rabbinical College), founded the Pro-Falasha Committee, interested King Victor Emmanuel (q.v.) in Zionism, and was instrumental in the revival of Jewish life throughout Italy.

MARIAHILF. Formerly a suburb, in Herzl's days the 6th district, of Vienna.

MARIENBAD. Famous spa in Czechoslovakia; in Herzl's days belonged to Austria.

MARIS (painter). There were three brothers by the name of Maris, all of them well-known Dutch painters: Matthys (or Mathew) Maris (1835–1917); Jakob (also known as James) Maris (1837–1899); and Willem Maris (1844–1910). Of the three, Jakob had the greatest reputation. Two of them, Jacob and Willem, had paintings on exhibition in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum in 1897 when Herzl visited it. However, it would be difficult to guess which of the two reminded Herzl of Corot (q.v.) and Lhermitte (q.v.), as the relationship is not clear to our 20th century eyes.

MARKUS, OF MERAN. See Marcus, Tobias.

MARMARA SEA. Small inland sea, communicating with the Mediterranean by the narrow strait of the Dardanelles, and with the Black Sea by the Bosporus (q.v.).

MARMOREK, ALEXANDER (1865–1923). Jewish bacteriologist and Zionist leader. His work became known to Pasteur who invited him to join the staff of his institute in Paris where he became "chef de travaux." He developed an anti-streptococcus serum, pioneered in the treatment of scarlet fever, tuberculosis, typhus and diabetes. He became one of the closest friends and helpers of Herzl; was for many years member of the Greater Zionist Actions Committee. At the Tenth Congress he militated for "political" as against "practical" Zionism.

MARMORK, ISIDOR (1865–1924). Brother of Alexander and Oscar M., Austrian Jewish lawyer, was delegate to the third Zionist Congress.

MARMOREK, OSKAR (1863–1909). Viennese Jewish architect. Built several exposition halls and synagogues. Was elected by the First Zionist Congress at Basel as a member of the Inner Actions Committee. Later he played a prominent part in the Viennese Jewish community.

MARRANOS. The Spanish name of the crypto-Jews who under pressure outwardly converted to Christianity but continued in secret to adhere to Judaism. In order to escape the Inquisition many Marranos left Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries and settled mainly in the countries of the Ottoman Empire.

MARSALA. Seaport in Sicily at which Garibaldi (q.v.) landed with 1,000 of his Redshirts in 1860 to commence his Sicilian campaign.

MARSCHALL, BARON ADOLF HERMANN, VON BIEBERSTEIN (1842–1911). German diplomatist. From 1890 to 1897 state secretary in the German Foreign Office; from 1897 to 1911, German Ambassador in Constantinople; in 1911 Ambassador to Great Britain.

MARSEILLES. French city and seaport on the Mediterranean.

MARSHALIK. Yiddish term designating the jokester who used to function at weddings among the East European Jews. Among his tasks were also the delivery of an elegiac discourse prior to the wedding ceremony itself and the announcing, usually in rhymed sentences, of the wedding gifts.

MARX. English Jewish banker. Partner of Isaac Seligman (q.v.).

MARX HOUSE. The Stern-Marx house was a private house in the Mamillah Road in Jerusalem. The Stern family emigrated to Palestine from Frankfort, probably in the early 1880's. Herzl and his entourage were the guests of the Stern family, since the hotel accommodations available in Jerusalem were unsatisfactory.

Marx was the family name of Stern's wife. Descendants of the Stern family have to this day in their possession a number of objects connected with Herzl's visit in Jerusalem and the room in which Herzl stayed is kept as a kind of minor museum.

On July 5, 1950, a plaque was unveiled on the wall of this house which reads (in Hebrew): "Benjamin Z'ev Theodor Herzl stayed in this house during his work here for the establishment of the Jewish State, on Marheshvan 17, 5659—November 2, 1898."

MARX, KARL (1818–1883). German Jewish socialist, the famed founder of Marxism, whose best known book *Das Kapital* (1867) expounds the theory of proletarian exploitation by capitalism and of the ultimate transformation of society by the revolution of the working class.

MATAMORE, literally "Moor killer," the loud-mouthed, bragging hero of popular Spanish comedies.

MATONE. Yiddish term (from the Hebrew *mattanah*), meaning present, gift, bribe.

MAUER. A suburb of Vienna, 6 miles to the south-west from the center of the city.

MAUSCHEL. German-Jewish term for "Jew" with emphatically derogatory connotations.

MAXIM, SIR HIRAM STEVENS (1840–1916). British inventor.

MAXIMOV, EUGENE YAKOVLEVICH (1849–1904). Russian journalist and Slavophile. Participated as a war correspondent in the Serbian war, 1875, and the Balkan war, 1877–78. Worked as a newspaperman in Central Asia, 1891.

MAYBAUM, DR. SIEGMUND (1844–1919). Liberal rabbi of the Berlin Jewish community (1882–1907). One of the signatories of the protest of rabbis against Zionism in 1897. Published several studies on Jewish history, religion, and homiletics.

MAYER, secretary of the London Rothschild. See Meyer, Sir Carl.

MAYER, CAPTAIN. French Jewish officer and professor at the École Polytechnique.

MAYER, H. G. (1853–1906). English Jewish communal worker, honorary superintendent of the Jews' Free School.

MAYER, SIGMUND (ca. 1830–1920). Viennese Jewish merchant. From 1904 to 1911 president of the Union of Austrian Jews, then honorary president. Wrote a History of the Jews in Vienna entitled *Die Wiener Juden 1700–1900* (Vienna, 1917), and memoirs, entitled *Ein Wiener Kaufmann* (A Viennese Merchant).

MAYFLOWER. The name of the ship which brought the first pilgrims from England to America in 1620.

MAZBATA. Any official Turkish document carrying several signatures.

MAZIE, DR. AHARON MEIR (1858–1930). Russian Jewish physician. One of the early settlers in Palestine where he lived at Rishon le-Zion (q.v.) as physician to the Rothschild colonies. Became chief physician at the Bikkur Holim Hospital in Jerusalem, 1906. Author of a dictionary of Hebrew medical terms.

MAZZELTOV. Yiddish expression (from the Hebrew *mazzal tov*), meaning good luck.

MCILWRAITH, SIR MALCOLM, K.C.M.G., K.C. (1865–1941). British lawyer. 1898–1916 judicial advisor to the Egyptian government;

1905 established the Criminal Assize Court in Egypt. Contributor to *Fortnightly, XIX Century* and *Law Quarterly*.

MECCA. The holiest city of Islam. Capital of the Hejaz province in the Arabian Peninsula. Today in Saudi Arabia.

MEININGEN, DUKE OF. In Herzl's days the ruler of Sachsen-Meiningen was Georg II (born in 1826; succeeded his father in 1866; died in 1914).

MEIR, RABBI JACOB (1856–1939). Sephardic rabbi, born in Jerusalem. Became member of the Jerusalem Rabbinical Court in 1887; chief rabbi of Salonica 1907–19; Sephardic chief rabbi of Palestine, 1920–39.

MEJIDIYE (In modern Turkish spelling *mecidiye*). The Turkish pound of one hundred piasters. A gold coin, minted for the first time by Sultan Abdulmejid in 1844. There was also a silver Mejidiye of twenty piasters which had the size of the American silver dollar. The value of one gold Mejidiye was four U.S. dollars, of one silver Mejidiye—80 U.S. cents.

MEJIDIYE ORDER (more accurately: *Mecidî* Order). Ottoman decoration, established by Sultan Abdulmejid in 1852, with six classes. It was widely conferred, often upon foreigners, and granted for life. It had seven silver rays and crescents with stars around a golden medallion, ornamented with decorative enamels and jewels according to the classes.

MELANDER, HENNING (1858–1933). Swedish geodesist. In several of his books and articles he tried to prove that the Ark of the Covenant was not removed by the Babylonians but was buried in Hakeldama, in the vicinity of Jerusalem, at the command of King Josiah. According to a statement contained in his book "The Hidden Temple Treasures of Jerusalem" (Stockholm, 1907), Herzl had distributed articles he wrote on this subject in

Die Welt (the first in 1898) among outstanding scholars, and promised Melander that he would enable him to accompany him to Palestine to institute a search for the Ark of the Covenant, but this plan did not materialize because of Herzl's death.

MÉLINE, FELIX-JULES (1838–1925). French politician. Was elected as a member of the Paris *Commune* in 1871, but refused the office. In 1876 was elected to the Chamber of Deputies. Was minister of agriculture from 1883 to 1885. In 1888 he became President of the Chamber, until 1889. In 1896 he formed a moderate republican cabinet and remained at its head until 1898. Became member of the Senate in 1903, and was minister of agriculture in 1915–16.

MEMDUH BEY. Turkish court official. Was third assistant master of ceremonies and (about 1902) one of the interpreters of the Sultan.

MEMDUH PASHA (1829–1923). Turkish statesman. Became secretary of Sultan Abdulaziz in 1861. Was appointed chief secretary of the Ministry of Finance, then of the Ministry of Education. Was appointed member of the Council of State. Was sent as governor to Konya, then to Sivas, then to Ankara. In 1894 was promoted to the rank of vizier with the title of Pasha. In 1895 was appointed minister of the interior. Served in this post until the 1908 revolution, when he was dismissed and banished to an Aegean island. After the general amnesty returned to Istanbul (1911). It was rumored that he was fond of bribery and was one of the spies of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (q.v.). He wrote and published several books about his time.

MENDELSSOHN & CO., Berlin banking firm, was founded by Joseph and Abraham, two sons of the German Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. The son of Joseph, Alexander Mendelssohn, the head of the firm after his father's death, was the last Jewish descendant of Moses Mendelssohn.

MENSDORF-PONILLY-DIETRICHSTEIN, COUNT. Austrian Statesman. Ambassador of Austria-Hungary to London.

MERAN. Health resort in the Italian Alps.

MERRY DEL VAL, RAFAEL (1865–1930). Roman Catholic prelate. Born in London where his father was secretary to the Spanish legation. Was ordained in the priesthood in 1888 and quickly rose in the ranks of the Vatican hierarchy. In 1903 served as secretary to the conclave which elected Pope Pius X, and a few months later became papal secretary of state. From 1914 to his death was secretary of the congregation of the Holy Office.

MESHUGGEH OR MESHUGGE. Yiddish term (from the Hebrew *m'shugga'*), meaning crazy, mad.

MESOPOTAMIA. Ancient name of the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers. In Herzl's days, and up to the end of World War I, Mesopotamia was a Turkish province. Today it is the Republic of Iraq.

MEYER, ARTHUR (1844–1924). French journalist, born a Jew, converted to Catholicism. In 1865 acquired the *Gaulois*, a right-wing, sensationalist daily paper, but sold it a year later; in 1867 he bought the *Paris-Journal*, sold it a few years later. In 1879 he bought the *Gaulois* again, soon resold it, and reacquired the *Paris-Journal* (1881). Then he bought the *Gaulois* a third time. He was an ardent royalist, a rabid anti-Dreyfusard, and supported anti-Semitism in his fight for royalism. Shortly before the end of the Dreyfus trial he converted to Catholicism.

MEYER, SIR CARL (1851–1922). English Jewish financial expert. Head of the Rothschild Office until 1897. Director of the Egyptian Bank. Supported the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre.

MEYER-COHN, DR. HEINRICH (1855–1905). German Jewish banker, philanthropist, and member of the *Hovevei Zion*. Lived in Berlin.

MEYERS KONVERSATIONS-LEXIKON. A standard German encyclopedia, first published in 1839–52. Volume 18 of a subsequent edition (Leipzig and Vienna, 1898, p. 952) contains an article of 19 lines on Zionism, entitled *Zionisten* (Zionists). It is a fair summation of what Zionism stands for, and it states that "the first impetus to the foundation of this society was given by Th. Herzl in Vienna with his treatise "*The Jewish State* . . ."

MEYERSOHN. See Meyerson.

MEYERSON, EMILE (1859–1933). French Jewish journalist, administrator and philosopher. Born in Poland, settled in Paris in 1882, became in 1888 editor of the French news agency, *Agence Havas.* In 1898 became active in the Jewish Colonization Association (q.v.) and was its director from 1900 to 1923. He was the creator of the extensive philanthropic work of the I.C.A. in Russia, and administered Baron Edmond Rothschild's (q.v.) Palestinian colonies. From 1898 to 1903 he organized a large-scale inquiry in Russia whose results were published in two volumes first in Russia then in Paris entitled *Recueil de matériaux sur la situation des Israélites de Russie* (1906–08: Collection of Materials about the Situation of the Jews of Russia). Concurrently with these activities, Meyerson devoted himself to the study of a philosophy of the sciences, wrote one of the best philosophical explanations of Einstein's theory of relativity, analyzed the systems of German idealism, and authored other studies in related fields.

MEZUMMEN. Yiddish expression (from the Hebrew *m'zumman*) meaning "jointly;" namely the saying of the grace after meals jointly by three adult males.

MICHAELIS, PHILIPP (1861–1926). English Jewish bookseller and Hovevei Zionist. Placed his services voluntarily at Herzl's disposal in printing propaganda material. Attended the Fourth Zionist Congress in London as spectator.

MIESLITZ. Small town in Moravia, Austria.

MIKVEH ISRAEL. Agricultural school, located on the outskirts of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, founded by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in 1870, upon the initiative of Charles Netter (1826–1882). Since its opening it has graduated thousands of students and is to this day an important center for agricultural training in Israel.

MILAN IV AND I. See Obrenovich.

MILICEVIC (MILITCHEVITCH), DR. MIHAILO (1864–1908). Serbian civil servant. Born in Vienna as the son of a Serbian merchant, spent his youth there and graduated from the Faculty of Law of Vienna University. In 1888 entered into the service of the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as secretary of the Serbian Legation in Berlin. From 1889 to 1899 was secretary to King Alexander Obrenovich of Serbia, son of King Milan (see Obrenovich). From 1899 to 1900 was Serbian minister in London, from 1902 to 1906 minister in Berlin, and from 1906 to his death again minister in London.

MILLE, PIERRE (1864–1941). French journalist and fiction writer. Traveled extensively in West Africa, the Congo, India and Indo-China; served as war correspondent of the Paris *Journal des Débats* during the Greco-Turkish war in 1897. From 1901 to 1932 wrote the column *En Passant* in the Paris daily *Le Temps*. Published several books including novels and short stories.

MINSK CONFERENCE. In 1902 the Russian Zionists held a conference in Minsk at which problems of Zionism, and in particular national-cultural issues, were discussed.

MINTZ, DR. ALEXANDER. Viennese Jewish lawyer and *Hovevei* Zionist. Attended the First Zionist Congress. Served on the Program Committee and was elected to the Inner Actions Committee. Before the Second Zionist Congress he left the movement and later joined the anti-Zionist Austrian *Israelitische Union* whose vice-president he became.

MINYAN. Hebrew word, literally count or number. The quorum of ten adult Jews whose presence is necessary for the performance of the traditionally prescribed communal prayers.

MIQUEL, JOHANNES VON (1828–1901). Prussian statesman and lawyer. Chief mayor of Osnabrück, 1876–79; of Frankfort a. M., 1879–90. Member of the German *Reichstag,* 1867–77 and 1887–90. Minister of Finance, 1890–1901. He made income tax the central feature in the German system of taxation.

MITZRAYIM. The Biblical Hebrew name of Egypt.

MOAB, MOUNTAINS OF. Mountain ranges and highlands to the east and south-east of the Dead Sea. The area inhabited by the Moabites in Biblical times. Today part of the Kingdom of Jordan.

MOCATTA, FREDERIC DAVID (1828–1902). English Jewish financier, bibliophile and philanthropist, active in Jewish public affairs. Until 1874 he was a member of the firm Mocatta and Goldsmid, bullion brokers to the Bank of England; thereafter he devoted himself mainly to philanthropy and became a prominent patron of Jewish literature. He bequeathed the Mocatta library to the Jewish Historical Society of England.

MODANE. Contact man between Herzl and Greenberg (q.v.).

MODENA. City in Italy, 25 miles north-west of Bologna.

MOGEN DAVID. Hebrew name for the "shield of David." It has been for centuries the symbol of Judaism.

MOHAMMEDAN. Adherent of Islam, the religion founded by Mohammed. See Islam, Moslems.

MOHR. Austrian Jewish journalist and Zionist. Was editor of the *Reichspost.*

MOLINARI, GUSTAVE (1819–1912). Belgian economist, professor at the Brussels Museum of Industry. Author of numerous economic studies, especially about labor problems.

MOLTKE, COUNT HELMUTH KARL BERNARD VON (1800–1891). At the age of eighteen was appointed as one of the pages of the King of Denmark. When he saw little prospect of advancement at the Danish court, he entered the Prussian service (in 1822), and made a brilliant military career as the head of the general staff of the Prussian army.

MOMBASSA (MOMBASA). Principal seaport of Kenya Colony in East Africa.

MONSIEUR JOSSE L'ORFÈVRE. French expression, describing an egoist who hides his self-seeking intentions behind well-sounding advice, taken from a scene in act one of Moliere's *L'amour médecin.*

MONSON, SIR EDMUND JOHN (1834–1909). British diplomatist, held various posts in the diplomatic service, was British Ambassador at Vienna (1893), and Paris (1896–1904). Was created a baronet in 1905.

MONTAGNINI, CARLO (1863–1913). Italian cleric. Named titular Archbishop of Larissa and destined to Colombia (South America) as Apostolic Delegate and Envoy Extraordinary on

Feb. 10, 1913. Went to Germany for treatment of cancer and died in Berlin, before ever going to his post.

MONTAGUE, SIR SAMUEL, (1832–1911). English Jewish banker, founder of Samuel Montague & Co., a liberal member of parliament and a leader of orthodox Jewry and of the *Hovevei Zion* in England. In 1907 he was created Lord Swaythling. In 1893 he presented in behalf of the *Hovevei Zion*, a petition to the Turkish Sultan for colonization in Transjordan. A decade later, however, he pleaded publicly against the Jewish Colonial Trust.

MONTE CARLO. Commune in Monaco, on the Riviera, famed for its casino.

MONTEFIORE, CLAUDE JOSEPH GOLDSMID (1858–1938). Leader of British Liberal Judaism and author of several volumes in Rabbinics, on Jewish literary history and the Gospels. He was deeply involved in Jewish communal affairs, founded (together with Israel Abrahams) the *Jewish Quarterly Review* in 1888, and financed and edited it until 1908. He was president of the Anglo-Jewish Association (1895–1920), in which capacity he opposed Zionism and the Balfour Declaration.

MONTEFIORE, SIR FRANCIS ABRAHAM (1860–1935). Grand-nephew of Moses Montefiore (q.v.), English Jewish barrister. Was president of the Board of Deputies, and honorary president of the English Zionist Federation (1900). Was a delegate to several Zionist congresses and aided Herzl in his negotiations with the British government.

MONTEFIORE, SIR JOSEPH SEBAG (1822–1903). Son of Sarah, sister of Sir Moses Montefiore. English Jewish financier, President of the Board of Deputies. Was knighted in 1896. From 1894 to 1902 was President of the Council of the Spanish-Portuguese Jewish community of London.

MONTEFIORE, SIR MOSES (Haim; 1784–1885). Anglo-Jewish financier and philanthropist of Italian origin. Was a leading member of the London Stock Exchange. Following his retirement from active business (1824) he devoted himself to the betterment of the conditions of the Jews who in those days still suffered from disabilities and oppression in England. He took active and helpful interest in the fate of Jews in Poland, Russia, Rumania, Syria and Palestine. He made seven journeys to the east (1827–1847) mainly in the interest of the Jews. He was knighted in 1837, and raised to the baronetcy in 1846.

MONTENEGRO. In Herzl's days an independent kingdom in the Balkans. In 1918 became part of Yugoslavia.

MONTESQUIEU (1689–1755). French philosophical historian, whose book, *Spirit of the Laws* (Geneva, 1748), secured for him the position of being regarded as the greatest literary man of his day. An earlier book of his, *Les Lettres Persanes* (The Persian Letters, Amsterdam, 1721), satirizing the follies of his age in literature, politics, religion and social life, reached several editions within a year after its first publication.

MONTREAL. City in Quebec, Canada.

MORAVIA. Province of Czechoslovakia; in Herzl's days (up to 1918), a province of Austria.

MORE, SIR THOMAS (1478–1535). English statesman and author, published his famous political romance, *Utopia,* in 1516. It describes a society, located on the imaginary island of Utopia, living under a perfect governmental, economic and social system.

MORÈS, MARQUIS DE, Prominent French anti-Semite who, in a duel in 1892, killed Captain Mayer, a French Jewish officer and professor at the École Polytechnique.

MORGAN, JOHN PIERPONT (1837–1913). American financier, head of the banking firm J. P. Morgan & Co., organizer of the United States Steel Co., art collector and humanitarian.

MORITZ, COUSIN. See Reichenfeld, Moritz.

MORLEY, VISCOUNT MORLEY OF BLACKBURN (1838–1923). English author and statesman. Joined the staff of the London *Saturday Review* in 1863, and served from 1867 to 1882 as editor of the *Fortnightly Review*. In 1878 he began editing the *English Men of Letters* series, and from 1880 to 1883 was editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Was elected in 1883 to Parliament as a Liberal, and became a trusted intermediary between the Irish members of Parliament and the Cabinet. He favored Irish home rule. In 1886, and again from 1892 to 1895, was secretary of state for Ireland. In 1905–1910 was secretary of state for India. Morley was also the most eminent biographer of his time. He was elevated to the peerage in 1908.

MOROCCO, PARTITION PLAN OF. In the second half of the year 1902 the "Moroccan problem" entered a new, acute phase as a result of the outbreak of uprisings in Morocco which the Sultan of Morocco was unable to subdue and which brought about an intervention on the part of the European powers.

MOROSINI. Italian actress and singer.

MOSCOW. Capital of Russia. In Herzl's days only those Jews could settle and reside in Moscow to whom a special permit was granted.

MOSER, GUSTAV VON (1825–1903). German officer, landowner and playright. Wrote about 100 comedies, several of them having a military setting.

MOSES, MOSES (died in 1903). Wealthy Jewish merchant in Katowice, one of the earliest adherents of the Jewish national idea and of the *Hovevei Zion* movement in Germany. Participated in 1894 in the first general conference of the *Hovevei Zion* which took place in his home town, Katowice, and in four Zionist Congresses.

MOSLEMS (OR MUSLIMS). The followers of Islam, the religion founded by Mohammed (570–632), the Arabian Prophet. See Islam.

MOSQUE OF OMAR. The popular name of the Dome of the Rock, attributed to the Caliph Omar who in 638 conquered Palestine, but in reality built by the Omayyad Caliph Abdel Malik ibn Merwan more than one hundred years later. It is built in the middle of the *Haram al-Sharif* (Noble Sanctuary) in the Old City of Jerusalem. Located near it is the Aqsa Mosque. This temple complex which occupies the site of the ancient Jewish Temple, is regarded by the Muslims as their third holiest place after Mecca and Medina in Arabia. The huge native rock around which the Mosque of Omar is built figures in Talmudic legend, under the name *Even Shetiyya* (Foundation Stone), as the navel of the earth, and as the base upon which the Ark of the Covenant stood in the Holy of Holies, the central part of Solomon's Temple. According to Biblical law only the High Priest was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies, and that only once a year, on Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement). Following the destruction of the Temple the exact location of the Holy of Holies could no longer be ascertained. The rabbis, therefore, as a precaution, placed the entire Temple area out of bounds, and enforced this prohibition with the threat of excommunication for the transgressor.

MOSSE, RUDOLF (1843–1920). German Jewish newspaper and book publisher. In 1867 he founded an advertisement service; in 1872 the German daily *Berliner Tageblatt* (q.v.); and in 1889 the

Berliner Morgenzeitung. In 1904 the R. Mosse Verlag took over the publication of the *Berliner Volkszeitung*. The Mosse publishing house also published professional journals, general literature, and reference books. Mosse was for many years member of the council of the Berlin Jewish reform congregation.

MOUNT CASIUS. The reference in Kessler's (q.v.) telegram entered by Herzl on February 19, 1903, is not to the well-known ancient name of the lofty mountain near Antioch (Antakya) at the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean (today in Turkey), but to the hill *El-Kas* at the south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean near Lake Sirbon in Sinai, which was also called Mount Casius.

MOUNT OF OLIVES. Hill east of Jerusalem, of historical fame. Up to 1948 it was the favorite burial place of religious Jews in Palestine. At present part of the Kingdom of Jordan.

MOUNTAIN JEWS. The Jews of the Caucasus mountains, in the Daghestan, Baku, Terek, Kuban, Yelizavetpol (later Ganja) districts. They speak (or, rather, spoke in Herzl's days, for subsequently they have been russified) an Iranian dialect, and dressed in the manner of the non-Jewish natives of the Caucasus. They wore arms and cartridges, and did not take off their swords even when entering the synagogue.

MOZA OR MOTSA. Village (*moshavah*) in Palestine (today in Israel) to the west of Jerusalem along the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway. Founded in 1894.

MOZAMBIQUE, or Portuguese East Africa. A colony situated to the north of the Union of South Africa, with an area of 297,731 square miles. The Portuguese began to penetrate and conquer the territory in 1505. Its present boundaries were determined in the 1884–85 Berlin Conference and by a convention with Great Britain in 1891.

MUEZZIN. The Arabic name (also used in Turkish) of the religious official who five times a day, at the prescribed hour, ascends the minaret (tower) of the mosque and calls the faithful to prayer.

MÜHLBACH. Resort town in Tirol, Austria, on the Rienz river.

MÜHLING, COUNT. Herzl misheard, and consequently misspelled, the name of this individual. His correct name was Mülinen (q.v.).

MÜLINEN, COUNT EBERHARD VON (1861–1927). German civil servant of Swiss origin. Entered the Prussian legal service in 1887; was transferred to the Imperial foreign service in 1888, and stationed in Beirut, at the German consulate as interpreter-apprentice. In 1890 was transferred to Constantinople, where, in 1894, was advanced to the position of Second Dragoman. Following the Palestine-trip of the Kaiser and the Empress, on which they were accompanied by Mülinen, he was created a Royal Lord Chamberlain and detailed into the service of the Empress. In 1905 he resigned from court service and became in 1909 German titular consul general in Aleppo.

MÜLLER, EUGEN VON (born 1844). German soldier. General of the artillery, Adjutant General to the Grand Duke of Baden and tutor of the Grand Duke's children following Hechler's (q.v.) departure from that post.

MÜNCHENER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG. Daily paper published in Munich, Germany.

MUNICH (German München). Capital of Bavaria, Germany.

MÜNIR PASHA, MAHMUD (1844–1899). Turkish official. Studied in Paris, 1857. Became an employee at the Turkish Embassy in Paris, 1863; chargé d'affaires, 1872. Became director of the Foreign Correspondence Service of the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs, and, in 1874, was appointed interpreter of the Imperial Chancery of State. After serving as secretary for official foreign correspondence and master of ceremonies at Yildiz, was promoted to the rank of vizier with the title of Pasha in 1884. He was known as "Dragoman Münir Pasha."

MÜNSTER, GEORG HERBERT, Duke of Derneburg, Count zu Münster-Ledenburg, Baron of Grotthaus (1820–1902). German statesman. German Ambassador to London, 1873; to Paris, 1885-1900. He represented Germany at the 1899 Peace Conference at The Hague. Wrote several volumes of political reminiscences.

MÜNZ, DR. SIGMUND (1859–1934). Austrian Jewish journalist. On the staff of the *Neue Freie Presse* specializing in politics. Prior to 1892 he had been its correspondent in Italy where he established contacts with Agliardi (q.v.) and other clericals. Author of *Aus dem modernen Italien,* 1889, and *Aus Quirinal und Vatikan,* 1891.

MURAD V (1840–1904). Turkish Sultan, elder brother of Abdul Hamid II (q.v.). He succeeded Abdulaziz, but ruled for three months only (1876). Had a broad education, and liberal leaders were eagerly looking forward to his accession. But he became an alcoholic and suffered a nervous breakdown. Following Abdulaziz's suicide, he became depressed and mentally unbalanced and was deposed because of insanity. Following Abdul Hamid's accession, Murad lived in retirement in Çirağan Palace on the Bosporus, practically a prisoner, for another twenty-eight years.

MURAVIEV, COUNT MICHAIL NIKOLAYEVICH (1845–1900). Russian statesman. Foreign secretary.

MÜRZSTEG REFORMS. See Macedonia.

MUSHIR. Turkish military title, roughly corresponding to marshal.

MUTESSARIF. Turkish title of the governor of a *sanjak* (q.v.).

MUTTERSÖHNCHEN (Mother's Pet), a comedy by Herzl in four acts, written in 1885.

MUZHIK. The traditional name of the Russian peasant.

MYERS, ASHER ISAAC (1848–1902), joined the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1869, and became its editor in 1878. Was an influential leader of the London Jewish intellectuals.

MYTILENE AFFAIR. See Turkish-French conflict.

NAIROBI, town in Kenya colony in British East Africa. Was selected as the site of the headquarters of the Uganda Railway in 1899, and thereafter expanded rapidly as a commercial center. In 1907 it replaced Mombasa as capital of Kenya.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769–1821). Emperor of France 1804–1814, 1815.

NAPOLEON, PRINCE LOUIS JOSEPH JEROME (1864–1932). Grandson of Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome, King of Westphalia. Became a Russian general and aspired to the throne of France.

NAQUET, ALFRED JOSEPH (1834–1916). French social reformer, was imprisoned in 1867 for his share in secret revolutionary activities. Three years later he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies and carried through a reform of the French divorce law.

NARRISHKAYT. Yiddish term (from the German *Narrischkeit*), meaning foolishness.

NASCHAUER, PAUL (1867?–1900). Brother of Herzl's wife, Julie. Figured as the publisher of *Die Welt* (q.v.).

NASIF. See Nazif Pasha Ahmed.

NATCHEVITCH (OR NATCHOWITCH). Bulgarian Minister of Commerce and Agriculture up to 1896.

NATHAN, MATTHEW, SIR (1862–1939). English Jewish soldier, joined the Royal Engineers in 1880. Later entered the colonial service, and held various administrative positions in British territories: Governor of Sierra Leone 1898; of the Gold Coast 1900–03; of Hong Kong 1903–06; of Natal 1907–09; of Queensland 1920–25. Was chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue 1911–14, minister of pensions in Lloyd George's cabinet.

NATIONAL CASINO IN BUDAPEST. Aristocratic club with its membership recruited from among the nobility and the most outstanding artists, scholars, writers, etc.

NATIONAL FUND. First mentioned in the Diaries in an entry dated April 11, 1898. The establishment of a Jewish National Fund, to receive donations and to acquire landed property in Palestine for the Jewish people, was proposed at the First Zionist Congress (1897) by Prof. Schapira of Heidelberg. It was implemented at the Fifth Congress (1901).

NAVON, JOSEPH BEY (1859–1934). Jewish banker and communal worker in Palestine. He dealt in real estate and housing developments and was one of the originators of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad line. For several years he lived in Paris. His archives are preserved in the Zionist Central Archives in Jerusalem.

NAZARBEK, AVETIS. Armenian patriot. Lived for many years in London. Exiled leader of the Armenian Revolutionary Party (the Huntchak Party), which he founded in 1886, aiming at the

establishment of an autonomous Armenia under Christian rule. Edited in London the party's journal, also called *Huntchak* (The Bell; 1888–1900). Author of *The Voice of the Armenian Revolutionists upon the Armenian Problem and How to Solve it* (London, 1895). and *Through the Storm: Pictures of Life in Armenia* (London, 1899). See also Armenia.

NAZARETH. Town in Galilee, today in Israel.

NAZIF PASHA, AHMED (1841–1906). Turkish financier. Began his career as an accountant in government service in 1857. Became accountant of the Ottoman Bank, then of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt. Was appointed State Commissioner of the Public Debts, and, in 1889, under-secretary in the Ministry of Finance. In 1891 was appointed Minister of Finance with the rank of a Vizier, and in 1893 received the title of Pasha. Became Minister of Customs in 1898, and again Minister of Finance in 1904.

NEGOTIORUM GESTIO is an ancient Roman legal concept. Its literal meaning is "management of affairs," but in Roman law its use was narrowed down to the managing of the affairs of an individual or a group by a manager ("*gestor*") not instructed or authorized by them to do so. In such a case the principal concerned ("*dominus negotiorum*") is legally bound by the undertakings entered into by the *gestor*. Herzl himself considered the "Society of Jews" he planned to create as the *gestor* of the Jews, cf. his *The Jewish State*, Tel Aviv, 1956, pp. 121–8.

NEMEC. A Foreign Legionnaire.

NES ZIONA. Jewish agricultural settlement founded in 1882 on the site originally called Wadi Hanin (Arabic). The settlers engaged primarily in the cultivation of oranges.

NEUBERGER. Viennese Jew. Member of "Kadimah."

NEUE FREIE PRESSE, a Viennese daily, founded in 1864 as a liberal organ by Michael Etienne and Max Friedländer (a cousin of Ferdinand Lassalle). Its importance increased under the founders' successors, Eduard Bacher and Moritz Benedikt, who made it not only into a leading daily of Vienna but also into one of the most influential and respected papers of Europe. It supported the Liberal Party in Austria, as did most of the Austrian Jews.

NEUE LUSTIGE BLÄTTER. Viennese humoristic weekly, published from 1888 to 1899. It was owned by a Jewish newspaper group, and was edited by Carl Beer.

NEUES WIENER TAGBLATT. Viennese daily paper.

NEUGEBAUER, LÁSZLÓ (Ladislaus; 1845–1919). Hungarian-Austrian banker and poet. Lived in Pest and Vienna where he worked in the management of the Austro-Hungarian Bank. He translated the works of Hungarian poets and novelists into German. His lyrics were set to music by Franz Liszt and Karl Goldmark.

NEUMANN. Viennese Jewish attorney.

NEUMANN, WILHELM, (1860–?) Austrian Jewish journalist. Worked since 1883 for the *Fremdenblatt,* later became its editor.

NEW GHETTO, THE. Title of a play written by Herzl in two weeks (Oct. 21–Nov. 8, 1894). It is the story of the young Jewish lawyer, Dr. Jacob Samuel, who marries Hermine Hellman, the daughter of a wealthy merchant. He becomes involved in business deals between Jewish and Christian entrepreneurs. Samuel denounces von Schramm, the Christian partner of his own brother-in-law, for his treatment of his workers who perished in a frightful accident in the mine owned by the partnership. He is challenged

to a duel by Schramm and killed by him. The play marks the completion of Herzl's return to his people. It sets forth the idea—soon thereafter fully developed in the *Judenstaat*—that the Jews must emancipate themselves from their internal enslavement. It was performed at the Viennese Carl Theater 25 times (premier performance on Jan. 5, 1898), and produced in more than twenty Austrian and German theaters. Its critical reception was reserved, in Berlin almost hostile. The play was serialized in *Die Welt*, and published in Vienna in 1898 and again in 1920.

NEW YORK HERALD. New York daily paper, founded in 1832 by James Gordon Bennett (1795–1872). In 1924 it merged with the *New York Tribune* to form the *New York Herald Tribune* which is one of the most important dailies in New York City to this day.

NEW YORK JOURNAL. New York daily paper, originally called *New York Morning Journal*, acquired by William Randolph Hearst in 1895.

NEW YORK SUN. New York daily paper, founded in 1833.

NEWLINSKI (OR NEWLINSKY), PHILIP MICHAEL DE (1841–1899). Austrian political agent and journalist, born in Volhynia, a scion of an old aristocratic Polish family. He studied law at the University of St. Petersburg, and in 1865 began to publish articles in leading periodicals of that city and of Moscow. Soon thereafter he changed allegiance, became first a Hungarian and then an Austrian subject, and entered the services of the Austrian Foreign Ministry where he was put in charge of the political department of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Constantinople. Following the coronation of Abdul Hamid II (1876), he gained the new Sultan's friendship. In 1879, on account of large debts, he had to leave the diplomatic service. In 1880 he went to Paris but continued to serve the Austrian

Foreign Ministry on a retainer basis, while working also as a free-lance journalist. In 1887 he opened a news agency in Vienna and began publishing the daily *Correspondance de l'Est*, with its supplement, *Oesterreichische Korrespondenz*. His good relations with the Sublime Porte continued throughout, and thus he was in a position to be helpful to Herzl in establishing contacts for him in Constantinople.

NICHOLAS II (1868–1918). Czar of Russia. His father was Czar Alexander III who ruled from 1881 to 1894. His mother, Czarina Maria Fedorovna, was originally Princess Maria Sophia Frederika Dagmar, daughter of Christian IX, King of Denmark. Nicholas II succeeded his father in 1894 and married in the same year Princess Alice of Hesse. He was crowned in 1896. In 1917 he abdicated in favor of his son, Grand Duke Michael, but in July 1918 he and his wife and children were executed by the Bolsheviks.

NIEGO, JOSEF (1863–1946). Sephardic Jewish agriculturist. Born in Turkey. Became director of the Mikveh Israel (q.v.) Agricultural School in 1891.

NIESE, HANSI (1875–1934). Austrian actress. In 1893 began playing at the Viennese Raimund Theater. In 1899 she married theater director Joseph Jarno and became a member of the Stadt Theater. From 1900 she played in the Josefstädter Theater. In the 1930's she appeared in Austrian and German motion pictures.

NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH WILHELM (1844–1900). The famous German philosopher, who taught that contemporary European standards were those of the slaves, and that the true man, the real aristocrat, the "superman," can elevate himself above the masses by exercising strength, pride and ruthlessness towards himself and toward others.

NIGRA, COSTANTINO (1828–1907). Italian diplomat and linguist. Entered the service of the Italian Foreign Ministry in 1851; served in Paris as minister plenipotentiary and later as ambassador. In 1861 became minister of state, was subsequently transferred to St. Petersburg, then to London and then to Vienna. In 1890 became a senator. He published *Canti popolari del Piemonte* (1888; Piemonte Folksongs), and the first large Italian collection of epico-lyrical songs.

NIKOLADZE. Leader of the Armenians in London.

NILE. The river which, for millennia, has made civilization in Egypt possible. Its waters have been used for irrigation since early antiquity and are increasingly utilized for the same purpose, as well as for the creation of electric power, to the present day.

NISHAN EFENDI, SEFERYAN (1848–1906). Turkish statesman. Belonged to the Armenian minority. Entered the Turkish Foreign service in 1863. Became director of the Consular Service in 1875. Became secretary of Foreign Affairs in 1881. Was appointed member of the Council of State, and, in 1898, director of the Foreign Press Office at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1900 to 1906 served as legal advisor. Was also one of the private translators of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (q.v.).

NORDAU, MAX (1849–1923). Jewish physician, author and Paris correspondent of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*. At the time Herzl met him, he had an established and great reputation as the author of *Die Konvenzionellen Lügen der Kulturmenschheit* (the Conventional Lies of Civilized Mankind, 1885) and other books. On December 19, 1903, at a Maccabean festival in Paris, the Russian Zionist Louban took a shot at Nordau. Louban was apprehended and at his trial stated that he wanted to assassinate Nordau because of the latter's support of the Uganda project.

NORDDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG. Berlin daily paper.

NORDLING. See Ali Nuri Bey Dilmec.

NORMAN, SIR HENRY (1858–1939). English traveler and author. Served on the editorial staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the London *Daily Chronicle*. Founded (1902) the illustrated monthly *World's Work*. From 1900 to 1910 was a Liberal member of parliament. Was member of the Royal Commission for Alien Immigration. Was knighted in 1906, and created a baronet in 1915.

NORTH CAPE (Norwegian Nordkapp), promontory in Norway, situated on Mageroy Island and regarded as the northernmost point of Europe.

NORTHUMBERLAND, 7TH DUKE OF (Henry George Percy; 1846–1918). Trustee of the British Museum, member of the House of Commons, president of the Archaeological Institute. Succeeded to the title in 1899.

NOTHNAGEL, HERMANN (1841–1905). Austrian physician. Professor of Medicine at the University of Freiburg i. Br., 1872, and of Jena, 1874. In 1882 became head of the 2nd Medical Clinic of Vienna. Made a special study of the diseases of the brain and of the intestines. Leading European authority in internal medicine. Loyal friend of the Jews, leader of the Society to Combat Anti-Semitism. Opponent of Zionism in the belief that it might jeopardize the legal and civil position of the Jews.

NOUVELLE REVUE INTERNATIONALE. Paper published in Paris by Mme. Rattazzi (q.v.).

NOVELLI, ERMETE (1851–1951). Italian actor. Appeared in Cairo in March 1903.

NOVIKOFF, MME. OLGA DE (1848–1925). Russian-English publicist. Wife of the Russian diplomat and leading Slavophile Eugene Petrovich Novikoff who died in 1903, and sister of General Kireyev.

NOVOSTI. Russian daily paper published in St. Petersburg.

NOVOYE VREMYA. Russian newspaper, published in St. Petersburg, representing the conservative trend, with a pronounced anti-Semitic tendency.

NURI BEY, MEHMET (1858–1908). Turkish official. Born of a Circassian mother and a French father (Reshat Bey Chateauneuf) who converted to Islam, young Nuri was educated at the Grignon École d'Agriculture in France, where he received the degree of Agricultural Engineer. In 1893 he became Chief Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Constantinople, a position he held until his death.

NUTT, DAVID (? –1863). The firm of David Nutt was founded in 1848. It specialized in publishing and selling theological and foreign books. David Nutt compiled and published *A Catalogue of Theological Books in Foreign Languages* (London, 1857), which contains details of 7,166 books.

OBRENOVICH, MILAN IV AND I (1854–1901). Prince and king of Serbia, took over the government in 1872 when he was but 18, and ten years later declared Serbia's independence and had himself proclaimed as king. In 1889 he abdicated, but returned to Serbia in 1894.

OCT. 5/18. This and similar double dates, appearing in Herzl's letter to Plehwe (dated Oct. 28, 1903) and several times thereafter, refer to the Julian calendar used in Russia until 1918 and to the Gregorian calendar in general use outside Russia. In 1903 the Julian calendar lagged behind the Gregorian by 13 days, so that October 5 of the Julian calendar equalled Oct. 18 of the Gregorian.

OCTOBER CONFERENCES. A reference to the sessions of the Greater Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization and the Board of Jewish Colonial Trust which took place in October 1901 in Vienna.

ODER. Central European river, flowing through Silesia, Brandenburg, and Pomerania, and emptying in the Baltic Sea.

ODESSA. Russian city and seaport on the Black Sea. In Herzl's days about one fifth of the total population of 500,000 was Jewish. It was the most important Russian Jewish cultural center, the home of the greatest figures in the revival of Hebrew Literature.

ODKOLEK, BARON DR. AUGUST VON. Departmental councillor in the Ministry of Finance in Vienna.

OFFENBACH, JACQUES (real name: Jacob Eberscht; 1819–1880). Son of a German-Jewish cantor, became a theatrical manager in Paris and famous in France and all over Europe and America as the composer of operas and other musical works in a light, lyrical manner. One of his light operas is *La Vie Parisienne* (Parisian Life).

OHNET, GEORGES (1848–1918). French novelist and playwright. Wrote more than 40 novels, judged by critics as mediocre, on the social issues of his age, under the overall title *Batailles de la Vie* (Battles of Life).

OKIN (painter). No painter by this name appears in any of the standard encyclopaedias of painters. It is therefore possible that Herzl misspelled the name slightly and that the painter he referred to was Edward Okun (q.v.).

OKOLICSÁNYI, SÁNDOR (Alexander; 1838–1905). Hungarian economist and civil servant. Joined in 1870, the Hungarian foreign service; in 1873 became attached to the Embassy of Paris; 1886—to the Embassy to the Holy See; 1889—envoy extraordinary to Stuttgart; and from 1894 in the same capacity in The Hague; 1898—privy councillor. Participated in the 1899 peace conference in The Hague as second plenipotentiary of the King of Hungary. Wrote sociological studies under the pseudonym *Ein Optimist* (An Optimist). Published under his own name studies on Count Julius Andrássy and Prince Alexis Lobanov.

OKUN, EDWARD (1872–1945). Polish painter and illustrator. Studied in Warsaw and Paris. Lived from 1898 on in Rome.

OLLIVIER, OLIVIER-ÉMILE (1825–1913). French politician. Became member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1857. Was charged by Napoleon III with the formation of a government in 1870. In the same year was made a member of the Academy. During the Franco-Prussian war he fled to Italy where he remained until 1873.

OMAR (ca. 581–644). The second orthodox Muslim caliph, who succeeded Abu-Bakr in 634, and conquered Syria and Palestine.

OPHIR. The famous Biblical city of gold, cf. 1 Kings 9:28 etc. Its location has never been satisfactorily identified.

OPPENHEIM, JOSEF (1839–1900). Austrian Jewish journalist, member of Concordia (q.v.), 1864. City editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

OPPENHEIM, BARON MAX VON (1860–1946). German orientalist. Studied law in Strassburg; received his Dr. jur. in 1883; became a government official in 1891; councillor of the German legation in Cairo in 1900; German ministerial resident in Cairo in 1910. In 1894 the German Foreign Ministry entrusted him with the leadership of an expedition to the Chad See region in Africa; in 1902–04 he was sent to the U.S.A. to study American railroads with a view to utilizing American experience for the building of the Baghdad railroad. In 1905 he was Germany's delegate to the Algiers congress of orientalists and archaeologists. Oppenheim is the author of several books on the Middle East, of which the most important is his three-volume study *Die Beduinen* (The Bedouins, Leipzig, 1932–52).

OPPENHEIMER, FRANZ (1864–1943). German Jewish economist. Studied medicine and worked in Berlin as a doctor, 1886–96. Then turned to economy and became in 1919 Professor in Frankfort a. M. He is regarded as the founder of liberal socialism and the proponent of cooperative agriculture, described in his book *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft* (1896: The Cooperative Settlement) Several other politico-economic books established his reputation as an authority in the field.

OPPENHEIMER, BARON LUDWIG VON (1843–1909). Austrian statesman. Member of the Austrian House of Deputies, 1873–1895; of the Austrian Upper House, since 1895.

ORLEANS, DUKE OF. Louis Philippe Robert, Duke of Orleans (1869–1926). Was educated in France and England. In 1886 he was exiled together with his father, the Comte de Paris, and served in the British army in India. In 1890 he returned to Paris to arouse Orleanist sympathies, but was sentenced to imprisonment and sent out of France. He traveled extensively in Asia (1890–95), led an expedition to Greenland (1905) and to the Kara Sea (1907).

OSMANISCHE POST. Daily paper published in German in Constantinople. Established as an organ of the German Embassy after the first visit of Kaiser Wilhelm in 1888. After the 1908 revolution, a French version, under the name *Lloyd Ottoman*, was also issued. Following the armistice of Moudros (1918) it was closed down, and from 1926 to 1944 replaced by the *Türkische Post.* There was also a newspaper entitled *Freie Osmanische Post* (q.v.).

OSSERVATORE ROMANO. Daily paper published in Rome, Italy.

OSTDEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU. Viennese weekly, founded in 1890 by Karl Hermann Wolf. From 1893 it appeared under the name *Deutsches Tagblatt-Ostdeutsche Rundschau.* In 1903 its title was changed to *Neues Deutsches Tagblatt.* In 1904 it suspended publication, but reappeared from 1908 to 1920 under the title *Ostdeutsche Rundschau.* The paper followed a radical political line similar to that of Schönerer (q.v.) who, however, was not its editor. It consistently attacked the Jews, and repeatedly also the Christian Socialists.

OSTEND. Seaport, town and pleasure resort in Belgium, in the province of West Flanders.

ÖSTERREICHISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT. Full title: Dr. Bloch's Österreichische Wochenschrift. Viennese Jewish weekly, published in German. Edited by Dr. Joseph Samuel Bloch (q.v.), from 1884 to 1920.

OTTO, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA (1865–1906). Son of Archduke Karl Ludwig. Married 1886 Maria Josepha, daughter of the future King of Saxonia. In 1896 he became the commander of the tenth cavalry brigade in Vienna.

OTTOLENGHI, GIUSEPPE (1838–1904). Italian soldier and statesman. The first Jew to be appointed to the Italian General Staff, with

the rank of General. Minister of War and member of the Senate, 1902–03.

OTTOLENGHI, MOISE, of Padua. Contrary to Herzl's statement, no man by this name participated in Napoleon's Parisian Sanhedrin in 1806. However, a certain Israele Emanuele Ottolenghi of Montenotte did participate in it, and was elected as one of the six lay alternate deputies for the Great Sanhedrin which took place in Paris in February and March, 1807.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE. In Herzl's days the Ottoman Empire comprised all the Arab lands, including Palestine.

PACHER, RAPHAEL (1857–1927). Austrian writer and journalist, became a member of the Bohemian Diet in 1899. From 1901 to 1918 he was a member of the Austrian Parliament and belonged to the German Radical Party.

PADISHAH. A title of the Turkish Sultan, of Persian origin, derived from *pati,* lord, protector, and *shah,* king.

PADUA. City in Italy, 22 miles west of Venice.

PALAIS BOURBON. Herzl's volume of essays *Das Palais Bourbon, Bilder aus dem französichen Parlamentsleben* (*The Palais Bourbon: Pictures from the French Parliamentary Life*) published by Duncker and Humblot, Leipzig, 1895. It contains a selection of *feuilletons* Herzl wrote for the *Neue Freie Presse* while he served as the paper's Paris correspondent (1892–95).

PALAIS ROYAL. The Royal Palace in Paris, one of the most splendid buildings in the French capital, with a beautiful garden around it.

PALATINATE. Part of the territory of the Palatinate (in German: *Pfalz*) was apportioned, at the Peace of 1814, to Baden, another to Bavaria.

PALESTINE, JEWISH COLONIES. Of the few new Jewish "colonies" in existence in the 1880's and 90's in Palestine the oldest, Petah Tikvah, was founded in 1878, the youngest, Motsa, in 1894.

PALE OF SETTLEMENT. The Western zone of czarist Russia, extending from the Black Sea to the Baltic in which the Jews were permitted to reside.

PALL MALL GAZETTE. London daily afternoon paper, founded in 1865.

PALMERSTON, HENRY JOHN TEMPLE, 3rd Viscount (1784–1865). English statesman. Was elected to Parliament in 1807 and became secretary of war in 1809. From 1830 to 1841, and again from 1846 to 1851 he was foreign secretary. In 1852 he became home secretary, then prime minister, until 1858, and again from 1859 to his death.

PANAMA. The reference in the *Diaries* is to the corrupt practices of many officials of the French Panama Canal Company which resulted in the resignation and trial of Ferdinand de Lesseps (1888) and the dissolution of the company (1889).

PANDORA'S BOX. According to the Greek myth, Pandora opened the box she received as a present from the gods, thereby allowing all the blessings of life to escape, save Hope.

PAPIERMEISTER, HELENE. Wife of Baruch Papiermeister, architect and successful farmer in Rishon le-Zion. He was interested also in communal affairs in the colony and fought Baron Rothschild's officials. The letters of Helene Papiermeister to Herzl, mentioned in the Diaries, are preserved in the Herzl Archives of the

Zionist Central Archives in Jerusalem. Many years later the Papiermeister family moved to Chicago.

PARAKH. Yiddish expression, meaning "scurvy head," and, in general, bastard.

PARATY, DOM MIGUEL ALEIXO ANTONIO DO CARMO DE NORONHA, 3rd Count of (1850–1932). Portuguese diplomatist, served as attaché of the Legation in Rio de Janeiro; as second secretary in the Vatican; as first secretary in Rio de Janeiro, Rome and Berlin; as chargé d'affaires at Madrid and Rio de Janeiro; and as minister plenipotentiary in Vienna. He was in the last-named post when the Republic was proclaimed in Portugal, in 1910. Paraty resigned then from the service.

PARCHESCHKAT, Yiddish expression originally meaning "scurviness," but usually used in the sense of "cheek," "freshness," "impudence."

PARNELL, CHARLES STEWART (1846–1891). Irish political leader, fought for Irish independence.

PASTEUR, LOUIS (1822–1895). French chemist, the founder of the sciences of bacteriology and stereo-chemistry, pioneer in preventive medicine.

PATY DE CLAM, Colonel Marquis Armand Auguste Charles Ferdinand Marie du (1853–1916). French soldier. Entered the army in 1870. Became a sub-lieutenant in 1871, lieutenant in 1874, captain in 1877, battalion-chief in 1890. In 1897 became a member of the general staff, and in 1898 an infantry colonel. Was a member of the group in the French army counter-intelligence which forged documents in order to incriminate Dreyfus (q.v.). In consequence of the Dreyfus affair was forced to resign. In 1912 received the command of a territorial regiment, but the protest

against this commission forced Minister of War Millerand to resign. In 1914 he entered the service of the 16th light infantry regiment. Died as a result of wounds suffered in the war.

PAULINE. See Herzl, Pauline.

PAUNCEFOTE, THE LADIES. The reference is to the wife and daughter of Julian, 1st Baron Pauncefote (1828–1902), English diplomat, permanent undersecretary of the Foreign Office (1882), minister to the United States (1889), first British Ambassador to the U.S. (1893), who was raised to the peerage in 1899 for his services at The Hague Peace Conference.

PAVLOVSK. Russian town a few miles to the south of St. Petersburg (today Leningrad), with 30,000 inhabitants (in 1950).

PEABODY, GEORGE (1795–1869). American philanthropist. Acquired great wealth and became famous as a generous supporter of American colleges and the founder of housing projects for working people. Up to the emergence of Carnegie, he was regarded as the greatest philanthropist of his time.

PEACE CONFERENCE. The entry of June 13, 1899, refers to the Peace Conference of the European powers initiated by Czar Nicholas II (q.v.) of Russia.

PEACE SOCIETIES. The first peace society—for the purpose of promoting universal peace on a permanent basis among the nations—on the European continent was founded in Geneva in 1830. By the 1890's there were numerous peace societies all over Europe.

PEEL, SIR ROBERT (1822–1895). English politician. Began his career in the diplomatic service, but in 1850, upon his succession to the baronetcy, entered the House of Commons as a liberal-

conservative. In 1855 became a junior lord of the Admiralty, in 1861 chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

PELIKANGASSE, NO. 16, in the 9th district of Vienna, was Herzl's home address.

PELUSIUM, PLAIN OF, or PELUSIAC PLAIN. Marshy plain lying immediately east of the Suez Canal and south of the Mediterranean seashore, named after the ancient city of Pelusium which was located on the seashore some 25 miles to the south-east of Port Said.

PENNY-TUBE. The London subway. It was called Penny Tube on account of the one penny fare charged on it.

PERA. A district in the city of Constantinople.

PEREIRES. The French-Jewish banking family of Pereire was established by Jacques (Jacob) Emile Pereire (1800–1875) and Isaac Pereire (1806–1880). They gained a huge fortune by organizing the Paris and St. Germain railroad and subsequent vast speculations. In 1852 they founded the *Société du Crédit Mobilier,* built up trade between France and America, established steamship lines etc. In 1864 Isaac Pereire bought the so-called Tombs of the Kings in Jerusalem which later (1886) was presented by his family to the French government. Another important member of the family was Eugene Pereire (1831–1908), son of Isaac P.

PEREIRES OF LONDON. A branch of the Pereire family settled in London. An outstanding member was Jonathan Pereire (or Pereira; 1804–1853), physician, professor of chemistry at the Royal College of Surgeons in London, author of important medical works.

PERRAULT, CHARLES (1628–1703). French writer, known best for his fairy tales for children, which include Cinderella, The Sleeping Beauty, Little Red Riding Hood, Puss in Boots, etc.

PERSIAN JEWS IN JERUSALEM. Persian Jews began to settle in Jerusalem in the last quarter of the 19th century. In 1877 their community was registered with the Turkish authorities. In 1929 there were 5,700 of them in the city.

PEST; see Budapest.

PESTER LLOYD. The leading daily paper in Budapest. It was conservative as well as liberal, and, although printed in German, had considerable influence in political and literary circles.

PETER'S PENCE. Catholic charity named after St. Peter.

PETROV (or PETROFF). General in the Bulgarian Army. Became head of the Bulgarian government in January 1901, and again in May 1903, when he tried to establish friendly relations with Turkey. A Turco-Bulgarian convention of little practical value was signed in 1904. Petroff resigned in Novmber 1904.

PHILIPPOPOLIS (Plovdiv). Town in Bulgaria, on the Sofia-Istanbul (Constantinople) railway line.

PHILIPPSON, FRANZ (1851–1929). Belgian Jewish banker. Son of Dr. Ludwig Philippson, one of the first German Reform rabbis. Settled in Brussels and founded a banking house bearing his name. Took an active interest in Jewish affairs and was president from 1921 to 1929 of the Consistoire Centrale Israélite, with which the Jewish communities of Belgium are affiliated. He was also president of the Brussels Jewish community for many years and of the I.C.A.

PHILOSOPHICAL TALES. Title of a volume of short stories (in the original German *Philosophische Erzählungen*) by Herzl, published in 1900 by Gebrüder Paetel in Vienna, and again in 1919 by Benjamin Harz, Berlin-Vienna.

PICCADILLY. Famous street in London, extending for about a mile from Piccadilly Circus to Hyde Park Corner and skirting the northern side of Green Park for some distance.

PICKWICK CLUB. Fictional club made famous by Charles Dickens' "The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club," a humorous novel (originally published in installments in 1836–37) describing the misadventures of some 150 characters.

PICQUART, M. GEORGES (1854–1914). Officer of the French General Staff and head of the News Agency. He recognized and spoke up for the innocence of Dreyfus (q.v.). Because of this, was sent to Tunis, and arrested. Following Dreyfus' exoneration, Picquart became a Brigadier General, an officer of the Legion d'Honneur in 1906, and, from 1906 to 1909, minister of war.

PILLET-WILL, MICHEL-FREDERIC, COMTE (1781–1860). French financier, founded in 1818, together with Benjamin Delessert, the savings bank of which he became one of the directors. In 1828 he became a regent of the Banque de France. See Mallet.

PINELES, SAMUEL. Rumanian Zionist leader. Born in Galatz, joined the ranks of the *Hovevei Zion* in the early 1880's, participated in preparatory work for the foundation of Zikhron Ya'akov and Rosh Pinnah in Palestine. Participated in the First and subsequent Zionist Congresses. Was member of the Actions Committee.

PINSK. Town in White Russia, 220 miles due east of Warsaw.

PINSKER, LEO DR. (1821–1891). Russian Jewish physician who was deeply involved in the cultural problems of the Jews of Russia. For decades he advocated the acceptance of Russian language and culture by the Jews, but the 1881 pogroms convinced him that the Jews must seek a new remedy for their ills. His suggested solution was contained in his German pamphlet *Auto-Emancipa-*

tion, published anonymously in 1882: the re-establishment of a Jewish state, preferably in Palestine. Following the publication of *Auto-Emancipation,* Pinsker became a leader of the *Hibbat Zion* movement.

PINTURICCHIO. Easel name of Bernardino de Betto Bagio (1454–1513). Italian painter. Five of his frescoes adorn the Vatican.

PIRAEUS. City in Greece, five miles south-west of Athens whose harbor it is.

PISTOIA. Italian town, north of Florence, with 34,000 inhabitants (in 1950).

PITESTI. City in Rumania, at the foot of the Transylvanian Alps, 65 miles north-west of Bucharest. It is the capital of the administrative region of the same name.

PIUS X (1835–1914). Pope. Original name Giuseppe Melchiorre Sarto. Following the death of Pope Leo XIII in 1903, he was elected supreme pontiff. He was beatified in 1951 and canonized in 1954.

PLACE DE LA CONCORDE. A place or square in Paris. One of the most beautiful squares in the world, surrounded by magnificent buildings. On the north of it are palaces with Corinthian colonnades, the work of Jacques Gabriel. In its center is the Obelisk of Luxor, and it is ornamented with the statues of the cities of France (by Jacques Ignace Hittorf) and the fine horses of Marly (by Antoine Coysevox and Guillaume Coustou). Its perspectives are incomparable extending to the Palais Bourbon, to the Place de la Madeleine, to the Champs Elysées and to the Jardin des Tuileries.

PLATO (427–347 B.C.). Greek philosopher.

PLEHVE, VYACHESLAV (1846–1904). Russian statesman. Assistant minister of the interior, 1888–1902; minister of the interior, 1902–1904.

PLEVNA. Capital of the Plevna district in Bulgaria. In the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 the town was captured from the Turks by the Russians and Rumanians.

PLUNKETT, SIR FRANCIS RICHARD (1835–1907). English diplomatist. Entered the diplomatic service in 1855 and rose to top positions. Was envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Japan, 1883–87; Stockholm 1888–93; Brussels, 1893–1900; Ambassador at Vienna 1900–05.

POBEDONOSTSEV, CONSTANTINE PETROVICH (1827–1907). Russian lawyer and statesman. Published books on legal history. Was from 1880 Head Procurator of the Russian Holy Synode. One of the most influential people in Russia under Alexander III and Nicholas II. He was a declared anti-Semite who was reputed to have stated: "There is only one solution to the Jewish question: one third of the Jews must be expelled, one third baptized, and the last third executed.

POBORSKY (or POBORSKI), DR. LOUIS. Viennese physician who accompanied Newlinski (q.v.) on his last trip to Constantinople. In June 1928, Dr. N. M. Gelber, the well known historian of Zionism, interviewed Dr. Poborsky in Vienna and learned from him interesting details about Newlinski's activities.

PODGORZE. Town in Poland, near Cracow.

POLACCO, GIORGIO (1854–1902). Italian Jewish lawyer and diplomatist. Was secretary and councillor of the Italian embassies in Constantinople and Paris, and then was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Sophia, Bulgaria.

Seeking a cure for the severe neurasthenia from which he suffered he went to Milano and committed suicide there on December 9, 1902.

POLAND. In Herzl's days Poland did not exist as a political entity. It was divided up (since 1795) between Russia, Prussia (Germany) and Austria. In Poland was found the greatest concentration of Jews in the world.

POLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ. Viennese daily paper, published from 1874 to 1915 by Ludwig Hahn and Benedict Fischer. Its trend was moderate liberal.

POLLAK. Viennese Jewish wine merchant.

POLLAK, CARL. Medical student and a member of the *Unitas,* a Jewish students' society.

POLNA PROTEST MEETING. The reference in the October 13, 1899 entry is to the blood libel of Polna. In that Bohemian town a Christian girl disappeared in 1899, and a Jew, Leopold Hülsner, or Hilsner, was accused of having murdered her for ritual purposes. He was arrested and tried. This event evoked embittered protests among Jews of all lands. The trial of Hilsner took place in the district court of Kuttenberg, and led to violent anti-Jewish excesses in both towns. See Hülsner.

POLYAKOV, SAMUEL SOLOMONOWICZ (1837–1888?). Russian Jewish industrialist. Founded together with Baron Günzburg (q.v.) a fund for the propagation of industry and agriculture among the Jews.

POPPER, BARON BERTHOLD, DE PODHRAGYI (1857–1929). Austrian Jewish large estate owner and main shareholder of the *Galizisch-Bukowinaer Holzindustrie* (Galician-Bukovinan Timber In-

dustry). Inherited his title from his father who was created a baron in 1867. His first wife was Katharina Löwenstein; his second wife Mary Christensen from Copenhagen.

PORT SAID. Egyptian town, founded in 1860, situated at the northern end of the Suez Canal. In the 1890's it had a population of 37,000, including 12,000 Europeans (mostly Greek and French).

PORTER, HORACE (1837–1921). American diplomat. After a career in the army, became President Grant's private secretary in 1867. Following a period in business enterprise, he was appointed U.S. Ambassador to France in 1897 in which capacity he served until 1905.

POSEN. Town in Germany (today in Poland). Capital of the province of the same name, on the Warthe river, 149 miles east of Berlin.

POSHETER YID. Yiddish expression meaning "simple Jew."

POTSDAM. District and city in Germany, in the province of Brandenburg in Prussia. The city lies 17 miles south-west of Berlin. In it is located the palace which was the residence of the German Kaisers.

POTTENSTEIN. Town and summer resort in Lower Austria.

POZNANSKI, ISRAEL K. (1833–1900). Polish Jewish textile manufacturer. Had the reputation of being the richest Jew in Russia. Was born in Lodz a year after his father Kalman P. settled there, and joined his father's textile business in 1851. In 1860 he built his own factory which soon grew to huge dimensions, employing 7,000 workers. He also built a special residential quarter for his workers, and a Jewish hospital in Lodz.

PRAG, JOSEPH (1859–1929). British Jewish communal leader, co-founder of the English *Hovevei Zion* and member of the Anglo-Jewish Association.

PRAGUE. In Herzl's days, the capital of the Austrian province of Bohemia, with a large and old Jewish community.

PRATER. A large park in Vienna.

PRESSBURG (Hungarian: Pozsony). Today: Bratislava, in Czechoslovakia. In Herzl's days a Hungarian town; 35 miles east of Vienna, on the banks of the Danube.

PRINCES ISLANDS (in Turkish *Kizil Adalar*, or briefly, *Adalar*). Nine small islands in the eastern part of the Marmara Sea, near the Asian coast of Istanbul. The distance between Istanbul and Adalar is one hour by steamship. Five of these islands—Büyük Ada (Prinkipo), Heybeli (Halki), Burgaz (Antigoni), Kinali (Proti) and Yassiada (Navy base)— are inhabited. In Byzantine history they served as places of banishment, today they are suburban summer resorts for Istanbul.

PRO ARMENIA. Bi-monthly magazine, founded in Paris in 1900. Its editor-in-chief was Pierre Quillard, its editorial board consisted of Georges Clémenceau, Francis de Préssensé, Jean Jaurès and E. de Roberty. The editorial secretary was Jean Longuet. In 1912 it changed its title and appeared as *Pour les Peuples d'Orient* (For the Peoples of the Orient). In 1913 it resumed its former title and was published under the editorship of Francis de Préssensé and Victor Berard. It ceased publication at the beginning of the First World War.

PROPHETIC MONTHS. Hechler (q.v.) calculated that according to a prophecy made in 637/38, in the days of the Calip Omar (q.v.), Palestine would be given back to the Jews in 42 "prophetic months" of 30 years each. The 42 "prophetic months" thus cor-

respond to 1260 years which, added to 637/38, give the year 1897/98. The number 1260 as an apocalyptic time-span is evidently taken from Revelations 12:6 where a period of 1260 days is foreseen after which the rule of the Beast (Satan) will be overthrown. What Hechler did not take into account was that a prophecy made in Omar's days and, presumably, in his circle would not refer to the solar year of 365 days of the Gregorian calendar, but to the lunar year of the Muslim calendar which consists of only 355 days each. If so, the resulting date would have been 1862/63.

PROUST, ANTONIN (1832–1905). French politician. Became a deputy in 1876; founded the journal *Avenir diplomatique* (Diplomatic Future); was Minister of Fine Arts, 1881–82. In 1893 was involved in the Panama Affair (q.v.), but was acquitted. Most of his published books deal with the fine arts.

PSAMTIK (Greek Psammetichos). The name of three kings of the 26th Egyptian dynasty. Psamtik I ruled 663–609 B.C.; Psamtik II—594–588 B.C.; and Psamtik III—for six months in 525 B.C.

PÜCKLER, KARL COUNT VON (1857–1899). German diplomat, born in Neudorf, Germany. Legation councillor at the German Embassy in Vienna; colonel.

PUNCHINELLO. The Italian name (in French: Polichinelle) of a puppet-play character.

QUARTIER LATIN (Latin Quarter). The section in Paris inhabited by students and artists on the left bank of the Seine.

QUEENSBOROUGH. Seaside town in Kent, England.

QUIRINAL. One of the seven hills on which ancient Rome stood. Since 1870 the royal palace was located on it.

RABBINOWICZ, E. W. (1852–1932). Born in Russia, studied in Germany, settled in England where he became a printer. He was an enthusiastic Lover of Zion, and in 1898 founded the first Hebrew-speaking society, *Hevrat Sfat Zion*, in London. Was for years chairman of the Jewish National Fund in Great Britain.

RABBINOWICZ, SAUL PINHAS (1845–1910). Polish Jewish *Hovevei* Zionist and Hebrew author. Known as "Shefer" (the abbreviation of his name). Translated into Hebrew the *History of the Jews* by Graetz.

RABBINOWITZ, deputy governor of the Jewish Colonial Trust. See Rabinowitch, Julius.

RABINOVITCH, JULIUS. English Jewish financier. Governor's attorney of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Colonial Trust in London.

RADAUTZ (Raduati, Radautsi). Town in Bukovina, Rumania, 90 miles northwest of Jassy.

RADOLIN, DUKE HUGO LESZCZYC (1841–1917). Prussian diplomatist. Prussian envoy in Weimar, 1882; chief court and house marshall of Frederick II (q.v.); German Ambassador in Constantinople, 1892–95, then in St. Petersburg, and from 1900 to 1910 in Paris.

RAFAELS. Banker in London.

RAGHIB BEY. See Ragip Pasha, Sarica.

RAGIP PASHA, SARICA (1857–1920). Turkish court official. Entered the service of the Sultan as a secretary in 1887. He rose to the position of Confidential Chamberlain, and subsequently achieved the rank of a Vizier with title of Pasha. At the restoration of the Constitution (1908) was removed from office, deprived of his titles and ranks, and banished to an Aegean island.

RAHALINE. The name of an estate in County Clare in Ireland on which in 1830–32 a very successful experiment was carried out to give the workers a share in the profits. This is mentioned in Dr. Franz Oppenheimer's article published in the December 27, 1901, issue of *Die Welt* (p. 7).

RAMADAN OR RAMAZAN. The month of fasting in the Moslem calendar in which it is forbidden for the faithful to eat or drink anything, or to smoke, from sunup to sundown. The nights of Ramadan were traditionally spent in feasting and in listening to story-tellers and other performers in the cafés.

RAMLEH. Town in Palestine, on the Jaffa—(today Tel Aviv—) Jerusalem railroad line, some 14 miles south-east of Jaffa-Tel-Aviv. In Herzl's days (1895–1904) it was a purely Arab small town with a couple of thousand inhabitants.

RAMPOLLA, MARIANO, MARQUIS DEL TINDARO (1843–1913), was in Herzl's time Papal Secretary of State (1887–1903). As such, he was friendly to France and opposed to the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy. Upon the death of Pope Leo XIII (1903), he was one of the most prominent candidates to the papal see, but Austrian interests opposed him.

RAND. Abbreviation for Witwatersrand (q.v.).

RAOUL; see Auernheimer, Raoul.

RAPHAEL (Raffaelle Santi; 1483–1520). Italian painter. His frescoes adorn several halls of the Vatican, e.g. the *Camera della Segnatura* (Chamber of the Signature), and the corridors and vaulted galleries fronting the *Cortile di S. Damaso,* known as the *Loggie di Raffaelle.*

RAPOPORT, DR. ARNOLD (1840–1916). Austrian Jewish lawyer. Born in Tarnov, Galicia. Was elevated into the ranks of nobility in 1890 with the title Edler von Porada.

RAPOPORT, SEMEN ISAKOVICH (1858–?). Russian Jewish journalist. From 1891 to 1914 lived in London as correspondent of the *Novosti, Nedyeli, Stovo, Strany, Ryech* and *Wistnyk Finansow.* Was on the editorial staff of the Russian Jewish weekly *Woschod,* 1891. Wrote articles on Jewish subjects. Was contributor to the Russian Jewish encyclopaedia.

RAPPAPORT, DR. RICHARD. Viennese Zionist. Advocated national-Jewish political activity.

RATIHABITIO. Technical term in the Roman Law, meaning ratification, approval, esp. of an act performed on a person's behalf, but without his advance authorization, by another person.

RATTAZZI, MARIE STUDOLMINE (1831–1902). French writer, wife of Urbano Rattazzi (1810–1873), daughter of Iren Thomas Wyse, British diplomat (died 1862). Was exiled from France in 1853. Following the annexation of the Savoy, she returned to Paris and contributed to numerous periodicals under various pseudonyms. Rattazzi died in 1873, and she was married again in 1877 to Louis de Rute, who died in 1889. She was the editor of the *Nouvelle Revue Internationale* (New International Revue) in Paris.

RAVENNA, FELICE (1870–1937). Italian Jewish lawyer. One of the earliest Zionists in Italy; president of the Jewish community of

Ferrara. In 1933 became president of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Italy.

RAYDLIKH. Yiddish term, diminutive of the German *Rad*, wheel, meaning a group of people standing around in a circle.

REBBE. Yiddish for Rabbi. The title of the miracle-working rabbi, called also the Zaddik, the central figure in the religious life of the Hassidic Jews.

RECLAM'S UNIVERSAL LIBRARY (in German: *Reclams Universal Bibliothek*). The German forerunner of the pocketbooks, about 3½ by 5 inches in size, in which a huge amount of the classics of German and world literature was available.

REDEEMER, CHURCH OF THE. A church in the Muristan quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem (today in Jordan) built on a plot of land given by Sultan Abdul Aziz to the German Crown Prince (the future Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm) in 1890. The building was dedicated by Kaiser Wilhelm II (q.v.) in 1898 when he visited Jerusalem.

RED SEA. The sea between Arabia and Egypt, a branch of the Indian Ocean. Its two gulfs at its northernmost end are the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba (q.v.).

REEVES. The reference on p. 1067 is to the volume *The Rothschilds: The Financial Rulers of Nations*, written by John Reeves and published in London in 1887, and also in Chicago, by A. C. McClurg & Co. (XIV, 381 pp.) in the same year.

REHOVOT. Agricultural colony (*moshava*) in Palestine (today in Israel), some 13 miles south of Tel Aviv. Was founded in 1890 by members of the First Aliya. Its settlers engaged mainly in the cultivation of grapes, oranges, almonds, field crops and olives.

It became economically well established within a short time and with little outside help.

REICH, A. H. Viennese Zionist. Member of the editorial staff of *Die Welt* (q.v.); secretary of the Zionist Congress Bureau. Was at Herzl's side in Edlach during his last days.

REICH, DR. EMIL. Hungarian Jewish author, historian and literary historian, lived in Berlin, later in London. His English works include a book on *Hungarian Literature* (London, 1898); one entitled *Foundation of Modern Europe* (London, 1904), etc.

REICHENAU. Village in Lower Austria, a favorite summer resort and spa, composed of the small localities Thalhof, Prein, Edlach, Payerbach and others. It was in one of these, Edlach, that Herzl died.

REICHENBERG. Austrian (today Czechoslovakian) town in Bohemia, 60 miles north-north-east of Prague.

REICHENFELD, MORITZ (1860–1940). A director of the Union Bank of Vienna; cousin of Herzl's wife; designated by Herzl as one of the executors of his will.

REICHENHALL, or Bad Reichenhall. Town and resort in the Upper Bavarian foothills of the Alps.

REICHSRAT. The Austrian parliament, which consisted of two houses, a House of Representatives, and a *Herrenhaus,* House of Lords, or Upper House.

REICHSTAG. The official name of the Austrian parliament was *Reichsrat* (q.v.). Occasionally, however, it was referred to also as *Reichstag.*

REICHSWEHR. Austrian semiofficial paper.

REINACH, SALOMON (1858–1932). French Jewish historian of religion and archeologist of great renown, published more than 70 volumes and thousands of articles on Greek and Gallic archeology, prehistoric, ancient and modern art, philosophy, sociology, religion and history. Under the influence of the Dreyfus case he began to take a special interest in religious problems. His five-volume *Cultes, mythes* et *religions* was published from 1905 to 1923, and his *Short History of Christianity* in 1922.

REINES, ISAAC JACOB (1839–1915). Russian rabbi and Talmudic authority. Was rabbi in Lida, Russian Poland, from 1885. Modernized the instructional methods in the Yeshivoth. Was the founder of the Mizrahi Zionist party in Karlin in 1901, and became its chairman. Played an outstanding role in the 1902 Minsk Zionist Conference and at the early Zionist Congresses. Wrote and published numerous Talmudic studies.

REITLINGER, BENNO. French Jewish financier, residing in Paris.

REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN (or Ryn; 1606–1669). Dutch painter and etcher. Lived in Amsterdam where he painted the likenesses of numerous Jews.

RENAN, JOSEPH ERNEST (1823–1892). French Orientalist and historian who became famous all over Europe following the publication of his *Vie de Jésus* (Life of Jesus; 2 vols., 1863). He devoted several of his books to Jewish subjects, notably his five-volume *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël* (History of the People of Israel, 1877–93).

RENNES. City and commune in France. Capital of the Ille-et-Vilaine department.

RESHAD. Mehmed Reshad Efendi (1844–1918). Younger brother of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (q.v.) and heir to the throne. Abdul Hamid disliked and feared him, avoided any contact with him,

and had him under constant surveillance. Following Abdul Hamid's removal from the throne, Reshad succeeded him in 1909, taking the name of Mohammad V.

RESHID. Nickname for Arminius Vámbéry (q.v.).

RESHID BEY. Son of Reshid Pasha (q.v.).

RESHID PASHA. Son of Fuad Pasha (q.v.).

RESHOIM. Yiddish (originally Hebrew) term denoting evil people and especially Jew-haters.

RESMI (RESMY) BEY, AHMET. Turkish chargé d'affaires and consul-general in Vienna (1899). An upper class official.

RHAGIB BEY. See Ragip Pasha, Sarica.

RHODES, SIR CECIL (1853–1902). British financier and politician, Minister of the Cape Colony. Was head of large South African diamond mining companies. It was largely due to his work that England became the dominant power in South Africa.

RICHELIEU, ARMAND JEAN DU PLESSIS DE, Cardinal, Duc de (1585–1642). French Cardinal (1622) and powerful Minister of Louis XIII (reigned from 1614 to his death in 1643). Fought mercilessly against the Huguenots and raised the power of the French Kings to the highest level.

RICHTER, EUGEN (1838–1906). German politician. Became member of the North-German *Reichstag*, 1867, of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, 1869, and of the German *Reichstag*, 1871. Was leader of the German liberal people's party. Wrote several books on political and economic subjects.

RICHTER, DR. HEINRICH MORITZ (1841–?). Austrian Jewish educator. Professor at the Imperial and Royal Military Academy. Published articles in the *Neue Freie Presse*.

RICHTHOFFEN, BARON OSWALD VON (1847–1906). German official; secretary of the Foreign Office, 1900–1905.

RIGA. Capital of Latvia, which in Herzl's time was under Russian domination, as it has been again since 1939.

RIPON, BISHOP OF; see Boyd-Carpenter.

RISHON LE-ZION. One of the first Jewish agricultural settlements in Palestine, founded in 1882 by *Bilu*-pioneers from Russia. Economic ruin of the village was averted with the help of Baron Edmond de Rothschild (q.v.) who established large wine cellars in it, and helped it in other ways as well.

RIVIERA. Mediterranean coastal region, extending from Cannes, France, to La Spezie, Italy. Famous resort area.

RIZA PASHA, MEHMED (1844–1920). Turkish marshal. Graduated from the Military College and entered the army in 1866. Served in many parts of the Turkish Empire. In the Turco-Russian War (1877–78), as a Lieut.-Colonel, was taken prisoner by the Russians. After the war became commander of a division in Edirne, later headed the body-guard of the Sultan at Yildiz. As such, became a favorite of the Sultan, and, in 1891, was appointed minister of war, with the title of Serasker (Commander-in-Chief), and was promoted to the rank of a marshal. Retained his position for seventeen years, and became one of the richest men of his time. After the 1908 revolution he was dismissed, deprived of his ranks, his fortune was confiscated, and he was banished. After the general amnesty he left Turkey and lived in France and Switzerland until his death.

ROCCASSERA. Correct spelling Rocca Serra, Charles de. Khedivial counsellor, legal adviser to the Egyptian government, residing in Cairo.

ROHLING, AUGUST (1839–1931). German professor of theology and anti-Semite who attempted in his book *Der Talmudjude* (1871: The Talmud-Jew) to prove that the Jews are commanded by their religion to harm persons of other faiths. Following charges that Rohling was an ignoramus and a fraud, made by Joseph Samuel Bloch in the daily press, a trial took place in which Rohling was accused by the most prominent Christian orientalists of the day of ignorance and deceit. Before the last session of the trial Rohling withdrew his charges and was thereupon branded as an ignoramus and a perjurer, and was asked to resign his professorship.

ROMINTEN. Hunting lodge of Kaiser Wilhelm II in East Prussia.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE (1858–1919). President of the United States from 1905 to 1908.

ROSEBERY, 5TH EARL OF (Archibald Philip Primrose; 1847–1929), K. G., K. T., P. C., J. P., LL. D., F. S. R., F. S. A. English statesman and author. Was a commissioner on Scottish endowments 1872; rector of the University of Aberdeen (1878–81); rector of the University of Edinburgh (1882–83); undersecretary of state for the Home Department (1881–83); commissioner of works 1884); secretary of state for Foreign Affairs (1886); member and chairman (1888–90) of the London County Council; Prime Minister (1894–95). Was leader of the Liberal opposition (1895–96); Lord Rector (1899) and Chancellor (1908) of Glasgow University. Author of biographies of William Pitt, Sir Robert Peel, Napoleon, Lord Randolph Churchill, Chatham, etc. Married in 1878 Hannah, only daughter of Baron Meyer de Rothschild.

ROSEBERY, 6TH EARL OF (Albert Edward Harry Meyer Archibald Primrose), K. T., P. C., D. S. O., M. C., LL. D., F. R. C. S. E.; 1882–   ). Son of the former. English statesman. Secretary of State for Scotland 1945; President of the National Liberal Party, 1945–47.

ROSENBAUM, HEINRICH. Rumanian Hovevei Zionist. Born in Tirgu-Neamz. Was delegate from the town of Piatra to the third Rumanian Hovevei Zion conference in 1897 in Galatz, in which he reported about his meeting with Herzl, was elected delegate to the First Zionist Congress, and member of the central committee of the Hovevei Zion in Rumania. Towards the end of his life he converted to Christianity. Died in Jassy during the First World War.

ROSENBAUM, S. (1877–?). English Jewish communal worker, co-founder of the Society for Jewish Statistics; member of the executive of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies; lecturer in physics, University College, London, 1901–03. Became statistician to Joseph Chamberlain's tariff commission, 1904. Worked for the *Jewish Chronicle* on the Census of Aliens.

ROSENBAUM, DR. SIEGFRIED. Austrian Jewish engineer and Zionist. Was instrumental in calling the first public Zionist meeting in Vienna. Was delegate to the First Zionist Congress.

ROSENBERGER, DR. ERWIN (born 1875). Ship's physician, author. While a medical student in Vienna, Rosenberger was asked by Herzl to join the editorial staff of *Die Welt*. He served as an editor of *Die Welt* until 1900. Received his M.D. in 1903. Became a ship's doctor in 1907. Since his retirement he lives in Florence, Italy.

ROSENFELD, DIONYS (1856–?). Jewish journalist, born in Bukowina. Converted first to the Greek Orthodox Church, later to Roman

Catholicism. Was editor and publisher of the *Freie Osmanische Post* (q.v.).

ROSENTHAL, MORITZ (1862–1946). Famous Austrian Jewish pianist, pupil of Liszt.

ROSHE. Singular of *Reshoim* (q.v.). On p. 218 Herzl refers to the German Kaiser as the *Roshe*.

ROSNER, DR. IGNAZ. Austrian Jewish government official. Was under-secretary in the Ministry of Education in the Badeni government from 1897.

ROSSI. Italian actor.

ROSTKOVSKI (OR ROSTKOVSKY) (?–1903). Russian diplomat. Was appointed in 1901 to serve as Russian consul in Monastir (Bitoli, in European Turkey), and was assassinated in Turkey in 1903.

ROTHFELD, SAMUEL (1857–?). Hungarian Jewish writer and journalist. Studied in Vienna and Paris. Was correspondent of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and the *Pester Lloyd* (q.v.). Was editor of the *Neues Politisches Volksblatt*. His play, *Affaire Thorn-Thilot*, was performed in Vienna in 1882. His book, *Tisza, seine Partei und seine Gegner* (Tisza, His Party and His Opponents), was published in 1889 in Munich.

ROTHSCHILD, BARON ALBERT SALOMON VON (1844–1911). Head of the Austrian branch of the banking house of Rothschild. Had a country-estate at Gaming-Waidhofen, near Vienna.

ROTHSCHILD, ALFRED CHARLES DE (1842–1918). English Jewish financier, 2nd son of Baron Lionel de Rothschild. Was for some years a director of the Bank of England. Trustee of the National Gallery and of the Wallace Collection, Hertford House.

ROTHSCHILD, BARON ALPHONSE DE (Mayer Alphonse James) (1827–1905). Older brother of Edmond R., became head of the French House of Rothschild in 1854.

ROTHSCHILD, BARON EDMOND DE (1845–1934). Head of the French banking house of Rothschild, art collector and philanthropist. When the early colonies, founded by the *Biluim* in Palestine, encountered grave financial troubles, their representatives asked and received help from Baron Rothschild. He spent huge sums on the reorganization of Rishon le-Zion, Zikhron Yakov and Rosh Pinna, and sent agricultural experts to guide the settlers. All in all Rothschild donated some thirty million dollars for the support or the creation of about forty settlements. He visited Palestine five times and set up a tight administrative control over the *moshavot* supported by him. In 1900 he handed over the administration of "his" colonies to the Jewish Colonization Association (q.v.) but continued to support them financially. In 1925 he organized the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association which thenceforth became responsible for the colonies, under the direction of his son James. In 1929 he was elected honorary president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. In spite of his unceasing interest in Palestine colonization and his financial sacrifices for it, Rothschild remained opposed to the political Zionism of Herzl whose efforts he regarded as dangerous and a jeopardy for the future of the colonists. Only after the outbreak of World War I were the successors of Herzl in Zionist leadership able to win Rothschild over to Zionism.

ROTHSCHILD, DR. BARON HENRI DE (1872–?). French Jewish physician. Specialized in children's diseases and published numerous researches in pediatrics. Another aspect of his work was the theater: he was a recognized playwright. He founded several pediatric institutes and the *Pigalle* theater in Paris.

ROTHSCHILD, LEOPOLD DE (1845–1917). Son of Lionel Nathan Rothschild, English Jewish philanthropist.

ROTHSCHILD, LORD NATHANIEL MAYER (1840–1915). Head of the English banking house of Rothschild and a Director of the Bank of England. He was the first Jewish peer (was created a baron in 1885), was active in Jewish philanthropy, president of the United Synagogue and one of the leading figures of British Jewry.

ROUANET, GUSTAVE ARMAND (1855–1927). French socialist journalist and politician. Contributed to numerous papers and periodicals, among them the *Petite Republique* (Little Republic), *L'Humanité* (Humanity), *Le Populaire* (The Popular), *Cri du Peuple* (Cry of the People), etc., and edited the *Revue Socialiste* (The Socialist Review). Served as a municipal councillor in Paris from 1890 to 1893. Was secretary to Benoit Malon. Was a deputy from Paris from 1893 to 1914. Was a member of the committee of inquiry into the Panama (q.v.) affair in 1897. In 1902 spoke up in the Chamber against the Armenian (q.v.) massacres.

ROUET, SIMON EDOUARD (1847–1907). French civil servant, born in Constantinople. In 1865 became student-dragoman (secretary) at the French Embassy in Constantinople; in 1868—temporary secretary; in 1896 was charged with the functions of a secretary-archivist; from 1870 to 1873 was assistant third secretary; 1873—third secretary; 1878—secretary-archivist; 1880—second-class dragoman; 1882—first-class dragoman; 1885—second dragoman and second class consul; 1886—member of the Légion d'Honneur; 1893—first-class consul; 1894—first dragoman of the Embassy; 1896—medaillon of honor; 1899—consul general. Upon retirement from service in 1907, became an officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

ROUSSEAU, JEAN-JACQUES (1712–1778). French philosopher, maintained in his chief work, *Le Contrat Social* (Social Contract), published in 1762, that Government exists by virtue of a tacit agreement of every individual to abide by the General Will.

ROUVIER, (PIERRE) MAURICE (1842–1911). French statesman. Founded the anti-imperialist paper *L'Égalité* (1870); became member of the National Assembly (1871); member of the Chamber of Deputies (1876–1902), and of the Senate (1903–05). Was minister of commerce and of the colonies (1881–82 and 1883–85). Was Premier in 1887 and 1905–06.

RUBINSTEIN, ANTON (1829–1894). Russian Jewish pianist and composer. Was celebrated as a concert pianist, but received less recognition for the music written by him.

RUETE, SAID. See Said Ruete.

RUMANIA, KING OF. See Carol I.

RUMELIA. The Turkish name of the Balkan possessions of Turkey, especially Thrace and Macedonia. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) established Bulgaria as an independent nation and Eastern Rumelia (13,824 square miles) as a part of the Ottoman Empire with autonomy. On Sept. 18, 1885, however, the people of Eastern Rumelia proclaimed unity with Bulgaria and the area was immediately annexed by the latter.

RUSSIAN TOWER ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES. On the Mount of Olives (q.v.), to the east of the Old City of Jerusalem (today in Jordan), there is a Russian monastery with a high tower, called in Arabic *el-Muskubiyya,* the Muscovite.

RUSSO. President of the Sephardi Jewish Community in Vienna.

RUSSO-JEWISH COMMITTEE. A committee, founded in 1882 by the Anglo-Jewish Association (q.v.), for the aid of the Jewish immigrants to England who had fled from Russia.

RUY BLAS. Hero of the drama *Ruy Blas* by Victor Hugo written in 1838. Ruy Blas is the valet of Don Salluste de Bazan. His master

introduces him to the court (the play takes place in the Spanish court in 1699) as his kinsman. The queen and Ruy Blas are betrayed into a compromising situation by Don Salluste. Ruy Blas kills Don Salluste and then himself.

RUZICKA. A Viennese Jew.

S. C. See Cohen, Salo.

SABBATAI ZEVI (1626–1676), the false messiah, who first aroused great hopes in the Jews of Turkey and other countries for a return to Palestine, but then was apprehended by the Turkish authorities and, in order to escape the death penalty, embraced Islam in 1666. It seems that neither Friedrich Schiff nor Herzl remembered correctly the century in which Sabbatai lived: it was not the 18th ("the last century") but the 17th.

SABBATAI ZEVI'S MARRANOS. By this term Herzl refers to the Dönme (Turkish: apostates), a Moslem-Jewish sect which numbered about 10,000 in his days in Salonica. They were the descendants of Jews who in 1686 converted to Islam under the influence of Jacob Pilosof Querido, brother-in-law of Sabbatai Zvi and head of the Sabbatian sect.

SACHS, HANS (1494–1576). German "meistersinger" and the author of a large number of poems. He was used by Richard Wagner (1813–1883) as the prototype of the principal character of his humorous opera *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg.*

SACHS, SHLOMO YEHUDA (?–1902). Wealthy Russian Jewish merchant in Dvinsk. One of the earliest Hovevei Zionists, donated considerable amounts to the Jewish settlement work in Palestine. Member of the B'nai Moshe (q.v.), and founder of its

"Hillel" lodge in Dvinsk. Was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress, and in 1899 member of the provisional committee of the Jewish Colonial Trust.

SADAGORA. The town of Sadagora, located in Bukowina, a province of Rumania, was the seat of a Hassidic rabbi of great fame who was reputed to have the power of performing miracles.

SADRAZAM. Official Turkish title of the Grand Vizier.

SAID IBRAHIM BEY. Son of Ibrahim Bey (q.v.) born ca. 1873, died August 31, 1902, in Karlsbad, after an operation.

SAID PASHA MEHMED, surnamed Kücük (Little; 1838–1914). Turkish Statesman. After having served at the Sublime Porte, was appointed in 1876 First Secretary of Sultan Abdul Hamid (q.v.). Was promoted to Vizier and appointed Senator, Minister of the Privy Purse (1877), Minister of the Interior and of Justice, and President of the Senate. In 1879 became Grand Vizier for the first time with the title of Prime Minister. Was re-appointed to the same post five more times (1880–85, 1895, 1901–03). Proved a capable administrator and a powerful writer. Occasionally opposed Abdulhamid's policies. Following the restoration of the Constitution in 1908 he became Grand Vizier for the seventh time for a short period, and was thereafter appointed president of the Senate. It was under his presidency that the National Assembly removed Abdul Hamid from his throne. Thereafter, Said Pasha was twice more Grand Vizier (1911–12) under the constitutional regime. At his death he was again president of the Senate. He published his autobiography in three volumes in 1910.

SAID RUETE (1869–?). Born at Hamburg, Germany, and baptized Rudolph Said Ruete; son of Rudolph Heinrich Ruete, a merchant and native of Hamburg, and Seyyida Salme bint Said bin Sultan, who after a somewhat dramatic elopement from Zanzibar

had married, at Aden, on the 30th March 1867. Seyyida Salme was baptized in the English Chapel, Aden, immediately before the marriage ceremony, with the name of Emily. Rudolph Said Ruete was therefore the grandson of Seyyid Said bin Sultan (1791–1856), Sultan of Oman and Zanzibar, and was a nephew of Seyyid Barghash, Sultan of Zanzibar from 1870 to 1888.

Rudolph Said Ruete married Maria Theresa Mathias of Cologne in 1901 and had one son (b. 1902 in Berlin) and one daughter (b. 1910 in London). In 1906 he combined his second forename with his surname, and became known as Rudolph Said-Ruete. He bequeathed his library to the Oriental Institute of Leyden University in memory of his mother, Princess Salme. In April 1940 Said-Ruete was still living in England.

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S NIGHT. The infamous massacre of the Huguenots in France on August 24, 1572.

SAINT BLASIEN. German town beautifully located in Baden, in the Black Forest.

SAINT JEAN. The place in Palestine referred to by Herzl as St. Jean is Ain Karim near Jerusalem (today Ein Kerem, belonging to the municipality of Jerusalem, Israel), which is traditionally held to be the birthplace of St. John the Baptist.

SAINT MORITZ. Health and mountain resort in Switzerland.

SAINT MARK, SQUARE OF. The famous square in Venice, Italy; one of the most beautiful places in Europe.

SAINT PÖLTEN. Town in Lower Austria.

SAINT SOPHIA, CHURCH OF. See Hagia Sophia.

SAINT STEPHEN'S CATHEDRAL. The main Catholic cathedral church in Vienna.

SALISBURY, 3RD MARQUIS OF, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil (1830–1903). British statesman, was Prime Minister in 1885–86, 1886–1892 and 1895–1902.

SALO; see Cohen, Salo.

SALONICA. Town in the Balkan Peninsula, in Herzl's time in Turkey, today in Greece. Following the immigration of Sephardi Jews from Spain and Portugual at the end of the 15th century, Salonica became the most important center of Sephardi Jewish life. In Herzl's days (end of 19th and beginning of 20th centuries) the Jews represented the majority of the municipal population. In 1934, of a total population of 240,000, no less than 60,000 were Jews.

SALVINI, TOMMASO (1829–1921). Italian actor.

SALZ, DR. ABRAHAM (1866–1942). Galician Jewish lawyer and *Hovevei Zion* leader. Practiced law in Tarnow and published articles in the Lvov Polish Young Zionist weekly *Przysylosc* (Future). Attended the First Zionist Congress, served on the Actions Committee. Advocated piecemeal colonization. In 1899 founded the Galilean settlement Mahanayim which was abandoned ten years later.

SALZBURG. Austrian town, capital of the province of the same name, beautifully situated on the Salzbach, 87 miles south-east of Munich (q.v.).

SALZKAMMERGUT. Alpine district in Austria, partly in Styria and partly in the provinces of Lower Austria and Salzburg. In it are found several resort towns.

SAMAROW, GREGOR (1820–1903). Pseudonym of the German writer Oskar Meding, who, from 1859 to 1866, served the last king of Hanover, Georg V. He wrote *Europäische Minen und Gegen-*

minen (European Expressions and Counter-Expressions, 4 vols., 1873–75); *Die Römerfahrt der Epigonen* (The Rome Trip of the Epigones, 3 vols., 1874); *Um Scepter und Kronen* (For Scepter and Crown, 4 vols., 1876); *Höhen und Tiefen* (Heights and Depths, 1879–80); *Memoiren zur Zeitgeschichte* (Memoirs of Contemporary History, 3 vols., 1881–84); *Das Erbe Kaiser Wilhelm I* (The Heritage of Kaiser Wilhelm I, 3 vols., 1903).

SAN SEBASTIAN. Spanish seaside town on the Bay of Biscay, about ten miles from the French border.

SANDERSON, 1ST BARON, THOMAS HENRY (1841–1923). British civil servant. Rose to be Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1894–1906. Hon. D.C.L. Oxford, 1907; Chairman of the Committee on Indian Emigration to the Crown Colonies, 1909–10; Chairman of the Council of the Royal Society of Arts, 1911–13.

SANDOZ, JULES (1833–1916). Swiss educator and journalist. Was principal of the school of the *Société évangélique* of France and Hebrew teacher at the Mission House in Paris, 1857–60; headmaster of the community schools of Neuenburg and professor of the Auditoires, 1860–68; founder and editor of the *Foyer domestique,* 1887; chief councillor, 1887–93; professor, 1892–96, and thereafter journalist, in Constantinople. Author of *La vérité entre les extrêmes* (1864: The Truth Between the Extremes); *Le Père Suchard* (1884: Father Suchard); and several collections of poems.

SANDRINGHAM. Estate comprising 7,000 acres, in Norfolk, England. In 1862 the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) purchased it and erected a mansion on it.

SANHEDRIN OF NAPOLEON. On May 30, 1806, Napoleon called together an assembly of 112 French Jewish leaders. Their task was to answer a series of questions put to them by the French govern-

ment, relating mainly to the attitude of the Jews to Christians. Since this meeting, however, had no power to make decisions binding on the Jews, Napoleon called a second meeting of 71 members (two-thirds of whom were rabbis), in emulation of the ancient Jewish Sanhedrin which too had 71 members. This synode, usually referred to as the Sanhedrin of Napoleon, met on February 7, 1807, with the participation of only a few non-French representatives. The Sanhedrin duly answered the twelve questions put to it by the French government in a liberal spirit in the form of resolutions pertaining mainly to a reconciliation of the religious and civic duties of the Jews.

SANJAK. A governmental district in the Ottoman Empire. It was administered by a *Mutessarif* (q.v.), and therefore also called *Mutessariflik*.

SAN MICHELE ALL'ADIGE. Italian town on the Adige river, near Mantua.

SASSOON, SIR EDWARD ALBERT (1856–1912). Vice-president of the Anglo-Jewish Association (q.v.). Married (1887) Aline Caroline, daughter of Baron Gustave Rothschild. Inherited the baronetcy from his father, Sir Albert Abdallah David Sassoon in 1896. Became member of parliament in 1900 as a Conservative. Was a friend of King Edward VII and used his influence for the benefit of the persecuted Russian Jews. In 1902 became president of the Sephardic Jewish Community of London. He endowed hospitals and other philanthropic institutions.

SAUL, the son of Kish, went forth to search for his father's lost asses, and found a kingdom, cf. 1 Sam. 9:1 ff.

SAVICA RAGIP PASHA. See Ragip Pasha, Sarica.

SCHAAFFHAUSENSCHER BANKVEREIN. A banking house, founded in 1848 in Cologne, Germany. In 1914 it was absorbed by the Disconto-Gesellschaft.

SCHALIT, DR. ISIDOR (1871–1954). Austrian Zionist. Born in Russia, studied in Vienna. Joined the Kadimah (q.v.) in 1888. Fought several duels in defense of Jewish honor. Led a Zionist medical mission in the Greco-Turkish War in 1897. Participated in the First Zionist Congress and became the first secretary of the Zionist Executive Office in Vienna, 1897–1905. In 1900 wrote together with Baroness von Suttner (q.v.) the statutes of the League of Peace Organizations. Settled in Palestine in 1938. Died in Tel Aviv.

SCHALIT, LEON. Jewish merchant residing in Riga. Participated in a conference of Zionist leaders in Carlsbad. Was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress in Basel, 1897.

SCHAPIRA. Described by Herzl as a "bank note splitter."

SCHARF, ALEXANDER. Founder and owner of the Viennese weekly *Wiener Sonn-und Montagszeitung*.

SCHAUER, DR. RUDOLF, (1870–c.1925). German Jewish lawyer and Zionist in Bingen am Rhein, later in Mainz. Participated in the July 11, 1897 meeting in Bingen which marked the beginning of the organization of German Zionism and at which it was resolved to establish the *Nationaljüdische Vereinigung für Deutschland*. Was delegate to the First Zionist Congress.

SCHAULEN (Lithuanian Siauliai). Town in Lithuania (today U.S.S.R.). In 1927 it had 22,000 inhabitants, half of them Jewish.

SCHEHEREZADE. The heroine of the *Arabian Nights* who tells a story every night to the Shah and promises to finish it the next night. Thus, in spite of the Shah's vow to put to death each morning his wife of the night, she manages to stay alive for 1001 nights after which the Shah becomes convinced of her faithfulness.

SCHEID, ELIE (1841–1922). French Jewish administrator, born in Alsace. Was the supervisor of Baron de Rothschild's Palestinian colonies from 1883–1900. Author of *Histoire de Juives d'Alsace* (1877: History of the Jews of Alsace).

SCHEVENINGEN. Town and seaside resort in the Netherlands. Part of the commune of the Hague.

SCHIDROWITZ, SAMUEL (1840–1917). Dr. Juris of the Vienna University. Went to New York; in 1872 settled in London as correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung, Berliner Tagblatt, Pester Lloyd,* and *Neue Freie Presse.* Member of the editorial staff of the *Jewish Chronicle.*

SCHIESSL, FRANZ BARON VON (1844–1932). Austrian civil servant. Was director of the Emperor's cabinet from 1899 to 1917.

SCHIFF, E. The brother of Friedrich Schiff (q.v.), referred to by Herzl as E. Schiff only.

SCHIFF, FRIEDRICH, Paris correspondent of the Wolff Telegraphic Agency.

SCHIFF, JACOB HENRY (1847–1920). American Jewish banker and philanthropist. Came to the U.S. from his native Germany, joined the banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and became its head in 1885. Was deeply interested in Jewish affairs, endowed many Jewish institutions including the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the Technion in Haifa, etc., in addition to general American cultural, scientific and educational institutions. During Herzl's lifetime and for some time thereafter he was sceptical as to the practicality of the Zionist endeavor, but following the Balfour Declaration (1917) he gave his support to Zionism.

SCHILL, ANTON (1843–?). Austrian soldier and civil servant. Retired from military service with the rank of major in 1867. In 1868

joined the staff of the railways. Worked as a journalist for the *Osterreichische Volkszeitung* and the *Beamtenzeitung*. At his retirement in 1901 he was chief controller of the Austrian North-Western Railway.

SCHILLER, JOHANN CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH (1759–1805). Great German dramatist, poet, historian and philosophic thinker.

SCHLESINGER. Herzl's nickname for Arminius Vámbéry (q.v.).

SCHLESINGER, TH. H., of Frankfort a.M. Acquaintance of Jacob H. Schiff (q.v.).

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, PRINCE ERNST GÜNTHER OF (1863–1921). His sister, Auguste Viktoria Frederike Luise, was the wife of Kaiser Wilhelm II (q.v.).

SCHNEIDEWIN, MAX PAUL ERNST DR. (1843–1931). German educator and author, was teacher (with the title *Professor*) at the high school (*Gymnasium*) in Hamlin (Hameln), wrote books on Greek philosophy and literature, astronomy, etc. The book referred to by Herzl was entitled *Die jüdische Frage im Deutschen Reich* (The Jewish Question in the German Reich), published in 1894.

SCHNIRER, DR. MOSES (Moritz Tobias; 1861–1940). Viennese Jewish physician, co-founder of the *Kadimah* and of the *Zion* Society, was Vice-President of the Zionist Inner Actions Committee. He accompanied Herzl to Palestine in 1898, and witnessed the meeting between him and Kaiser Wilhelm II. Following Herzl's death Schnirer withdrew from Zionist activity.

SCHNITZLER, ARTHUR (1862–1931). Viennese Jewish dramatist and novelist whose fame was well established by the time he first met Herzl with his plays *Anatol* (1893) and *Liebelei* (1895). Many years later Schnitzler began to express himself on the

Jewish question, notably in his novel *Der Weg ins Freie* (1908) and his drama *Professor Bernhardi* (1912).

SCHOELLER, RICHARD VON (1871–1950). Austrian industrialist and banker. Head of the Schöller industrial and banking house. Played an important role in the economic life of Austria.

SCHOEN, BARON WILHELM VON (1851–1933). German diplomatist. Chief court marshall at the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha court, 1896–99; German minister to Copenhagen, 1900; ambassador in St. Petersburg, 1905; secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1907–09; ambassador in Paris, 1910–14. His memoirs were published in 1921.

SCHÖNBORN, COUNT FRANZ VON (1844–1899). Archbishop of Prague (1885), became Cardinal in 1889.

SCHÖNBRUNN. Palace of the Austrian Emperors, situated in the 13th district (Hietzing) of Vienna. Its building was started in 1696, and completed in 1743–49, under Maria Theresa. It contains 1,441 richly decorated rooms and halls, a theater, a chapel, etc., and is surrounded by a huge French garden.

SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON (1842–1921). Became member of the Austrian *Reichsrat* in 1873. In 1879 he founded the German National Movement of Austria and launched its party organ the *Deutsche Worte*. He fought against the Catholic Church and Judaism in equal measure. In 1882 he broke into the office of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and was imprisoned as a result. From 1897–1907 he was again a member of the *Reichsrat*.

SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR (1788–1860). German philosopher and man of letters. The basis of his pessimistic philosophy was the doctrine that the essence of all things is will.

SCHRADER, KARL VON (1848–1896). German court official. Royal Prussian chamberlain and Master of Ceremonies. Married in

1872 Alide de Villers de Pité, daughter of the Royal Dutch chamberlain Louis de Villers de Pité and Baroness Hortense de Pitteurs. Was created a baron in 1889. Concerning the duel between Schrader and Kotze, see Kotze, Lebrecht von.

SCHRÖKL. Viennese travel agency.

SCHUB, MOSHE DAVID (or Shoub; 1854–1938). Rumanian Jewish pioneer. Settled in Palestine in 1882. Participated in the foundation of the agricultural settlement of Rosh Pinah and Mishmar Hayarden. Died in Jerusalem.

SCHULMAN, WOLF. Viennese Jew whom Herzl planned to make into one of his representatives.

SCHÜTZ, FRIEDRICH (1845–1908). Austrian journalist. Staff member of the *Neue Freie Presse*. Author of *Das Heutige Russland* (1897: Russia Today).

SCHUTZJUDEN, literally "protected Jews," was the term designating those Jews who, in the Middle Ages and in later times, enjoyed the special protection of the king or prince or other governmental authority in certain European countries. The protection, including right of residence, was granted to Jewish individuals or groups, usually in return for substantial taxes or single payments.

SCHWARZENBERG. Austrian princely family, several of whose members played important roles in Austrian history. Their palace and its surrounding garden were one of the famous sites of Vienna.

SCHWITZER, DR. LUDWIG (1850–?). Austrian Jewish journalist. Editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* in charge of economic and stock exchange news.

SCUTARI. Town and prefecture in Albania. The town is situated near the south-eastern end of Lake Scutari.

SEBESTYÉN, EDE (1875–?). Hungarian Jewish journalist. Moved to Budapest in 1892 and became a contributor to daily papers. In 1895 visited Russia and reported on it in the *Pesti Hirlap*. Thereafter worked on the editorial staff of several Budapest newspapers, and, after 1900, became interested in problems of the nationalities in Hungary's border territories. In 1903 he went to Bucharest to study the life of the Hungarians in Rumania. Published several books in Hungarian.

SEDER, the Jewish religious ceremony observed on the first two nights (in Israel on the first night only) of Passover in the home, around the dinner table. It consists of the recital of the *Haggaddah,* and certain traditional rites in connection with items of food.

SEFF, from the Hebrew Z'ev, one of the two Hebrew names of Herzl (Binyamin Z'ev), used by him occasionally in signing his letters.

SEFF, RABBI JOSEPH (1873?–1929). Rabbi in Stara Konstantin. Was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897. Later immigrated to the United States, and died in New York.

SEIDENER, JOSEF (1860–1942). Russian Jewish engineer. Was sent to Palestine by the *Hovevei Zion* of Yekaterinoslav in 1891 to buy land. Thereafter settled in Vienna and worked as director of a local engineering firm. In 1920 returned to Palestine to settle. Was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress and a member of the Inner Actions Committee, 1897 to 1905.

SEJERAH. A model farm in the Lower Galilee in Palestine (today in Israel), founded in 1899 by the Jewish Colonization Association. Many of its settlers were Russian converts to Judaism.

SELAMLIK. Public procession of the Sultan to the mosque at noon on Friday, with the participation of all the higher officials. On both sides of the road military ranks saluted the Sultan on his way to the mosque and on the way back. In a private section of the mosque the Sultan and his Grand Vizier and Ministers received foreign guests, officials and generals, both before the prayers and following them.

SELIGMAN, ISAAC (1834–1928). English Jewish Banker. Born in Germany, migrated to London where he founded, together with his brother Leopold, the firm of Seligman Brothers of Austin Friars. He was treasurer of the Anglo-Jewish Association from 1903 to 1927 and participated in communal affairs.

SELIM I (1467–1520). Turkish sultan. In 1517 he captured Cairo, added Egypt to the Ottoman domain, transferred to Constantinople the puppet Abbasid Caliph whom the Mameluks had maintained in Cairo, and thus acquired the caliphal privileges. The title Caliph itself was absorbed by Selim's successors.

SEMLIN. Town in Yugoslavia. In the 1860's and 70's it belonged to Hungary and was known by its Hungarian name, Zimony.

SEMMERING. Alpine pass and a mountain area with fashionable resort towns, some 40 miles to the south-west of Vienna.

SEPHARDIM AND ASHKENAZIM. Two of the three great ethnic divisions of the Jewish people (the third being that of the Oriental Jews of the Arabic and Persian-speaking countries and of Kurdistan). The Sephardim are the descendants of the Spanish Jews (Sepharad=Spain) who, following their expulsion from Spain in 1492 scattered all around the Mediterranean and settled also in Western Europe, retaining everywhere their Ladino (or Spaniolic) mother tongue. The Ashkenazim are the descendants of Central and East European Jews (Ashkenaz=

Germany) who retained Yiddish (Judeo-German) as their mother-tongue up to about a generation ago.

SERBIAN ROYAL COUPLE. King Alexander I Obrenovich and his wife, Queen Draga of Serbia, were assassinated on June 10, 1903.

SERETH-SUCZAWA. Two towns situated at a distance of 25 miles from each other, on the Suczawa River, in Bukowina, Rumania. In Herzl's days both had a considerable percentage of Jews among the inhabitants.

SERGIUS (SERGIY) ALEXANDROVICH, Grand Duke of Russia (1857–1905). Son of Alexander II. Organized archaeological excavations in Jerusalem, excelled in the Russian Turkish war in 1877. Was assassinated in Moscow.

SHABBES. Yiddish for Sabbath.

SHABBES GOY. Yiddish term for a gentile who performs, in the home or in the synagogue, on Saturdays and holidays, those small chores which Jews are forbidden to do by traditional Rabbinical law.

SHAMMES. Yiddish term (from the Hebrew *Shammash*) meaning factotum, synagogue-servant, beadle.

SHEIKH UL-ISLAM (in modern Turkish spelling Şeyh ul-Islâm). The Grand Mufti, arranger and commentator of the laws of Islam and head of the Mohammedan hierarchy under the Caliph (Sultan) in the Ottoman Empire. He was the chief of the religious dignitaries and second ranking governmental authority after the Grand Vizier. He was appointed by the Sultan and functioned as the minister of state for justice, for instruction in religious law and institutions, and for pious foundations. See Cemaleddin Efendi.

SHEKEL. The name of the membership dues in the Zionist Organization, introduced by the First Zionist Congress in 1897. The term was taken from the name of the ancient Hebrew coin.

SHEPHEARD'S HOTEL IN CAIRO. In Herzl's days, and for decades thereafter, the most elegant, cosmopolitan hotel in the Egyptian capital.

SHERIAN EFFENDI. Turkish official, on the staff of the Turkish Embassy in London in 1902.

SHIPYAGIN, D. S. Russian statesman. Minister of the Interior 1899–1902. Assassinated in 1902.

SHLEMAZELN. Yiddish term (from the German *schlimm*—bad, and the Hebrew *mazzal*—luck), meaning bad luck, misfortunes.

SHNORR. Yiddish expression meaning beggary.

SHNORRER. Yiddish expression meaning beggar.

SHÜKRI PASHA, (born ca. 1875), son of the Turkish Minister of War, military attaché in Vienna in 1903, with the title of general.

SIEMENS, JOHANN GEORG VON (1839–1901). German businessman. Became director of the *Deutsche Bank* (German Bank) in Berlin, 1870. Was repeatedly member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies and of the German *Reichstag*, from 1874, where he belonged to the national-liberal, later the liberal, faction.

SIEYÈS, EMMANUEL-JOSEPH (1784–1836). French publicist and theoretical politician during the French Revolution. Was one of the three consuls, later senator of the Empire.

SIMON, JOSEF (?–1926). President of the Viennese Jewish Community.

SIMONYI, IVAN DE SIMONYI AND VARSÁNYI (1838–1904). Hungarian lawyer, editor, author and member of parliament, lived in Pressburg. In 1872 he founded an anti-German paper, *Westungarischer Grenzbote* (published in German), together with the famous Hungarian novelist, Moritz Jokai, and the Hungarian Jewish politician, Eduard Horn. Later the paper became anti-Semitic in its tendency. In 1878, 1881 and 1886, Simonyi was elected member of the Hungarian parliament with an anti-Semitic program. He published several books in Hungarian and German on the Jewish question and on anti-Semitism.

SINAI PENINSULA. Peninsula of desert and rocky mountains in north-eastern Egypt, bounded in the north by the Mediterranean Sea, in the east by Palestine (today Israel) and the Gulf of Aqaba (q.v.), in the south-west by the Gulf of Suez, and in the west by the Suez Canal (q.v.). In Herzl's days it was practically uninhabited (the estimated population was 16,000), and to the present time it has remained largely so. (In 1960 the entire administrative division of Sinai had a population of about 50,000.)

SINGER, DR. Resident of Coblenz. Published an attack on Herzl in the July 17, 1897, issue of the *Allgemeine Israelitische Wochenschrift*.

SINGER, ISIDOR (1857–1927). Austrian-Jewish economist, was appointed 1891 professor at the University of Vienna. Specialized in social statistics and problems of emigration. He founded, together with Kanner, the periodical *Die Zeit* which, in 1902, became a daily, and was strongly opposed to the Hapsburg government.

SINGER, MICHAEL. American Jewish newspaperman. Born in Hungary, immigrated to the United States in 1892. Editor of *Toleranz* (q.v.), author of the book *Jüdisches Blut: Erzählungen* (Jewish Blood: Short Stories: Budapest, 1891; Prague 1897).

SINGER, PAUL (1844–1911). German Jew, who became in 1878 a member, and soon thereafter, a leader of the German Social Democratic Party. In 1884 he was elected member of the Reichstag and in 1890 chairman of the Social Democratic Party.

SINGER, SIMEON (1848–1906). Rabbi. From 1879 to 1906 rabbi of the New West End Synagogue in London. He translated into English the Hebrew prayer book (*Authorized Daily Prayer Book,* 1891), and helped Sir Samuel Montague in 1892 to draw up the *Hovevei Zion* petition for colonization in Transjordan, submitted to the Turkish Sultan.

SINGER, WILHELM (1847–1917). Austrian Jewish journalist. Started out as an actor, but became a journalist in Vienna since 1868. With the *Debatte,* then with the *Neues Fremdenblatt,* then with the *Presse* for a number of years. In 1880 he became the *Neue Freie Presse*'s chief correspondent and representative in Paris where he made a stir in political and social circles and was awarded the Legion of Honor. Returned to Austria in 1891 and became editor-in-chief of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt.* He was known for his interesting letters from Paris, for his courtroom reportages, and his incisive drama criticism.

SIRBON (variants: Sirben, Serbon, Sirbonia). Ancient name of *Sabkhet el-Bardawil,* a lake or lagoon between Pelusium (q.v.) and El Arish (q.v.), separated from the Mediterranean by bars of sand, in the northern part of the Sinai Peninsula (q.v.).

SMOLENSKI (OR SMOLENSKIN) PEREZ (1842–1885). Hebrew poet and author. One of the earliest protagonists of the Jewish national idea and co-founder of the theory of Jewish nationalism. Founded the Hebrew periodical *Ha-Shahar* (The Dawn) in Vienna in 1868. In it he fought both orthodoxy and assimilation. He regarded the Hebrew language as the main instrument for safeguarding the future of the Jewish people. In 1882 he participated in the founding of *Kadimah* (q.v.).

SMYRNA (today Izmir). Turkish town and seaport, capital of the vilayet of Izmir, ca. 210 miles south–south-west of Istanbul (see Constantinople), on the west coast of Anatolia (q.v.).

SOCIETY OF JEWS. The name used by Herzl in his *Judenstaat* (q.v.) to designate the organization which he envisaged as the future representative of the Jewish people. Within a year he realized it by creating the Zionist Organization.

SOEUR ANNE. Heroine of the Perrault story about Bluebeard. Anne, the sister of Bluebeard's seventh wife, was stationed by her at the window in order to watch for the arrival of their brother whom they called in order to save Anne's sister from the murderous intents of Bluebeard.

SOF. Yiddish expression (from the Hebrew) meaning end, upshot, outcome.

SOFIA. Capital of Bulgaria.

SOFIA, CHIEF RABBI. At the time of Herzl's visit the Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria was Dr. Dankowitz (appointed 1886).

SOFIENSAAL. A concert and dance hall at 17 Marxergasse, Vienna 3. Was built in the middle of the 19th century and is in use to this day.

SOLOMON, SOLOMON JOSEPH (1860–1927). British Jewish painter, took active interest in Jewish cultural affairs. At the time of Herzl's first London visit (1895) he was president of the Maccabeans. In 1918 he became president of the Royal Society of British Artists. Among his best-known works are portraits of Herzl, Israel Zangwill, Solomon Schechter, Heinrich Graetz, etc.

SOLON IN LYDIA. One of the *Philosophical Tales* (q.v.) of Herzl which he also reworked as a play. The play was performed a single time at the *Königliches Schauspielhaus* (Royal Theater) in Berlin.

SONNENSCHEIN, ROSA (1847–?). American Jewish journalist, short story writer and editor. Born in Moravia, came to the U.S. in 1869. Became editor of the *American Jewess*, published first as a monthly then as a quarterly in Chicago and New York. Became an enthusiastic supporter of Zionism and was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress.

SONNENSCHEIN, SIEGMUND (1861–1959). Austrian Jewish civil servant. Was secretary in the Ministry of Railroads; since 1888 editor of the *Zeitschrift für Eisenbahnen und Dampfschiffahrt* (Journal of Railroads and Steamship Traffic). Was created a knight by Emperor Franz Josef with the surname von Solvis.

SOSKIN, SELIG EUGEN (1873–1959), Palestine agricultural expert. Participated in 1903 in the El Arish expedition. At the 7th Zionist Congress was appointed to the Palestine Committee of the Zionist Organization. Edited, together with Franz Oppenheimer (q.v.) and Otto Warburg (q.v.), the periodical *Altneuland*. Advocated the establishment in Palestine of small private farms with intensive cultivation.

SOURSOUK or SURSUK. Name of a Greek family in Beirut, Lebanon, the largest land owner in Palestine in Ottoman times. In the Plain of Jezreel alone it had 230,000 dunams, cultivated by some 4,000 *fellahin*. The Sursuks acquired this area from the Turkish authorities in 1872 for the ridiculously small price of 8 piasters per dunam. From 1921 on they sold it to the Jews for £4 per dunam, or 12½ times the purchase price.

SOUTH AFRICANS IN LONDON. The reference is to the Zionists from South Africa who were settled in London, e.g., L. Kessler (q.v.), J. L. Goldreich (q.v.), and others.

SOUTHAMPTON. County borough in England, Hampshire.

SPANIOLIC. See Ladino.

SPEIDEL, LUDWIG (1830–1906). Austrian Jewish journalist and literary, musical and theatrical critic. Settled in Vienna as correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1855. Became the theater critic of the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1872, and also served as the paper's literary editor until the latter position was given to Herzl.

SPENCER, HERBERT (1820–1903). English philosopher, exponent of the modern philosophy of evolution. Author of *Synthetic Philosophy* (ten volumes) and numerous other works on ethics, sociology, etc.

SPIELHAGEN, FRIEDRICH (1829–1911). German author. Wrote a great number of optimistic and sometimes extravagant novels, with a marked preference for the treatment of social problems. Made some translations from French and English, including American poets. His best known work was *Problematische Naturen* (Problematic Natures, 1860) which supported the liberal politics of his time.

SPINOZA, BARUCH (Benedictus; 1632–1677). Dutch Jewish philosopher.

SPITZER, ALBERT. An acquaintance of Herzl's mother.

SPULLER, EUGENE (1835–1896). French politician and publicist who advocated a reconciliation between the Moderate Republican Party and the Catholic Church. This was referred to as the *esprit nouveau* (new spirit).

SSINOVYEV (SINOVIEV, ZINOVIEV), J. A. Russian statesman, was Russian ambassador in Constantinople from 1898 to 1909.

STAAL, BARON GEORGES FREDERIC DE (1822–1907). Russian diplomat. Ambassador to Germany. Author of *Correspondance diplomatique*; 1884–1900, (1929).

STAATSBÜRGERZEITUNG. Berlin daily paper with an anti-Semitic tendency.

STAFFE, BARONESS DE (née Soyer). French writer on etiquette. Author of *Usages du monde: Règles du savoir-vivre dans la Société moderne* (Usages of the World: Rules of Conduct in Modern Society.) First edition 1889; second revised, corrected and augmented edition, Paris: Flammarion, 1899.

STAMBOUL. Daily paper published in French in Constantinople. Established in 1868 under the name of *Levant Times and Shipping Gazette* was bought in 1876 by the Hanley brothers who changed its name to *Stamboul*. It was subsidized by the French embassy in Constantinople. It was closed twice by the government because it criticized the Turkish administration (1877) and published irreverent statements about the German Kaiser (1888). Regis Delbeuf (1895–1911) and Pierre le Goff (1913–1945) were its editors-in-chief. It did not appear during World War I, but following the armistice of Moudros (1918) it was published again, and it continues to the present time under the name of *Istanbul*.

STAND, DR. ADOLPH (1870–1919). Galician Zionist. Headed the movement in Lvov since 1896. From 1895 to 1897 served as editor of *Przyszlosc* (Future). He founded the important *Rocznik Zydowski* (Jewish Yearbook). In 1907 was elected to the Austrian parliament where he served until 1911. For several years was member of the Greater Actions Committee.

STANISLAV (Polish Stanislawow). Town in Galicia, Austria. In the 1890's it had 22,000 inhabitants of whom 12,000 were Jews.

STANLEY, HENRY MORTON (1841–1904). American journalist, was sent in 1869 by the *New York Herald* to Africa to find the famous explorer, Dr. David Livingstone, who had disappeared. Stanley's book, *How I Found Livingstone,* was published in 1872, and created a stir not only in America but also on the European continent.

STEAD, WILLIAM THOMAS (1849–1912). English journalist, devoted advocate of the peace movement. Edited numerous periodicals and other publications. Assistant editor (1880) and editor (1883) of the *Pall Mall Gazette, Review of Reviews* (1890); *Borderland* (1893–97). Author of books on spiritism, Russia, religion, the United States, etc. He was drowned en route to New York when the *Titanic* sank.

STEIN, LUDWIG (1859–1930). Rabbi and philosopher. Born in Hungary, became lecturer, 1886, and professor, 1889, of philosophy at the Zurich Polytechnical Institute; professor at the University of Bern, 1890; lecturer at the Humboldt-Academy in Berlin, 1911–24. Published a considerable number of books on philosophical issues, among them one on *The Jews in Contemporary Philosophy* (1925). Was a member of the German Pro Palaestina Committee.

STEINAMANGER (Hungarian Szombathely.) Town in Hungary, capital of the Vas province.

STEINBACH, DR. GUSTAV (1848–1906?). Austrian journalist. Law school graduate. After working on the *Deutsche Zeitung* and the *Neues Pester Journal* he became an editor of the *Neue Freie Presse,* specializing in parliamentary and domestic affairs. He also wrote a pamphlet on the Hungarian Constitution.

STEINER, HEINRICH. See York-Steiner, Heinrich

STEPHENS, GEORGE HENRY (date of birth unknown, died 1927). English engineer, engaged on construction of railway, harbor

and irrigation works in India, 1879–86; in England, America, West Africa and the West Indies, 1887–97. Was Superintendent Engineer of the Assiout Barrage, Egypt, 1898–1903.

STERN, ALFRED DR. (1830–1918). Viennese Jewish lawyer, member of the Vienna municipal council (where he opposed the Christian Socialists headed by Lueger), and member, and later president, of the Viennese Jewish Community Council. He was an opponent of Jewish nationalism.

STERN, BERNARD (1867–?) Austrian Jewish journalist and orientalist. Was correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* in Constantinople, and published several books on contemporary Turkey, among them *Abdul Hamid II: Seine Familie und sein Hofsstaat* (Abdul Hamid II: His Family and Court; Budapest 1901); *Jungturken und Verschwörer: Die innere Lage der Türkei unter Abdul Hamid II* (Young Turks and Conspirators: The Internal Situation of Turkey under Abdul Hamid II; Leipzig, 1901); *Der Sultan und Seine Politik; Erinnerungen und Beobachtungen eines Journalisten* (The Sultan and His Policy: Reminiscences and Observations of a Journalist; Leipzig, 1906), etc.

STEVENSON, FRANCIS SEYMOUR (1862–1938). English politician, Member of Parliament, 1885–1906. Vice-president and later president of the Anglo-Armenian Committee.

STEYRER TAGBLATT. Subtitled *Der Alpenbote.* Jewish controlled paper published from 1889 to 1915. It had a small circulation and limited influence.

STEYRERMÜHL. Large steel mill in Steiermark, Austria.

STIASSNY, WILHELM (1842–1910). Austrian Jewish architect, founder of the *Wiener Bauhütte* (1862), member of various municipal and governmental bodies as well as of the presidium

of the Viennese Jewish community. He built several synagogues and Jewish communal buildings.

STIEHLER. Music director in Görlitz, Austria.

STÖCKER, ADOLF (1835–1909). German evangelical court preacher and politician, particularly concerned with the social problems within the church. In 1878 he founded the *Christlich-soziale Partei* in opposition to the Social Democrats. He was also known as an anti-Semite.

STOCKHOLM. Capital of Sweden.

STORCH, LUDWIG (1803–1881). German Christian author, whose novel *Der Jakobsstern* (*Messiade*) was published from 1836 to 1838 in four volumes.

STOURDZA (OR STURDZA), PRINCE DEMETER (Dimitrie) (1833–1914). Rumanian statesman. Prime minister of Rumania in 1895–96, 1897–99, and 1901. One of the leaders of political liberalism in Rumania.

STRASSBURG (Strasbourg). City on the Rhine river, belonged to Germany in Herzl's days. In 1919 it was recovered by France.

STRAUS, OSCAR SOLOMON (1850–1926). American Jewish diplomat and civic leader. Was U. S. Minister to Turkey 1887–98 and 1898–1900. In 1902 was a member of the Permanent Court of International Arbitration at The Hague. In 1906 became Secretary of Commerce and Labor in the Roosevelt Cabinet. Was president of the American Jewish Historical Society.

STROUSBERG, BETHEL HENRY (original name Baruch Hirsch Strausberg; 1823–1884). German Jewish financier and railroad builder. Converted to Christianity in his youth. Built railroads in Germany, Russia, Rumania and Hungary. Was member of the

North German Reichstag for three years. Difficulties with the Rumanian government led to his ultimate downfall. While in Moscow he was arrested, charged with fraudulent bankruptcy and found guilty. He died in poverty and degradation.

STURDZA. See Stourdza.

STUTTGART. German city. Became in 1945 capital of Württemberg-Baden.

STYRIA. Austrian Province. Its capital is Graz.

SUAREZ. An Egyptian Jew.

SUBLIME PORTE. The common term for the old Ottoman Government. It is derived from the Turkish designation for the central office of the empire, "High Gate," which, in turn, was derived from the palace gate at which justice was administered.

SUCZAWA. See Sereth—Suczawa.

SUDAN. Herzl's reference is to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, to the south of Egypt. It become an Anglo-Egyptian condominium in 1899; independent in 1956.

SUEZ CANAL. The canal cutting through the isthmus which joins Asia and Africa and connecting the Mediterranean and the Red Seas, thereby providing a direct water-route between Europe, North Africa and Western Asia on the one hand, and East Africa, South Asia, East Asia and Australia on the other. It was built in 1859–69 under the supervision of Lesseps (q.v.). It is a lockless waterway, 105 miles in length.

SUFFIELD, 5TH BARON, CHARLES HARBORD (1830–1914). English soldier and court official. Following a military career became Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria, 1868–72; Lord of the Bed-

chamber to the Prince of Wales, 1872–1901; Lord of Waiting in Ordinary to H.M., 1901.

SULZBERGER, MAYER (1843–1923). American Jewish jurist and Hebrew scholar. Was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1865, appointed judge of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas in 1895, presiding judge from 1902 to 1915. Published studies on ancient Hebrew law, and was prominently identified with Jewish charities.

SUNDAY TIMES. London weekly paper, conservative, founded in 1822.

SUSSEX. County in England, on the English Channel, south of London.

SUTTNER, BARONESS BERTHA VON (1843–1914) was born countess Kinsky in Prague, married Baron Arthur Gundaccar von Suttner. She was a co-founder, with her husband and others, of the Viennese Society to Combat Anti-Semitism, and wrote many books and articles championing pacifism. Her novel, *Ground Arms!* was translated into English. She was President of the World Peace Association, and received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905. She was of great help to Herzl, assisting him at The Hague and making contacts for him in the political and social world. Her impressions of Herzl are recorded in her *Memoirs* (1910).

SUZZARA, ALEXANDER RITTER VON (1846–1905). Austrian civil servant. Was section head at the Austrian Foreign Ministry in Vienna.

SWEET WATERS. The popular name of two streams which run into the sea near Constantinople. The one on the European side is properly called *Kâğithane deresi* (Barbyses) and runs into the Golden Horn (q.v.); the other, on the Asian side, is the *Göksu*

(Aretas), and runs into the middle part of the Bosporus (q.v.). The banks of both are used for picnicking and outings, while the rivers themselves are favored for pleasure boating.

SWIFT'S A TALE OF A TUB. Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), English clergyman, poet, political writer and satirist, best known today for his *Gulliver's Travels,* wrote *A Tale of a Tub* in 1696 or 1697 but it was not published until 1704. It deals with corruption in religion and learning. Its main heroes are three brothers (that is, the three churches, the Roman Catholic, the Anglican (or Lutheran) and the Calvinistic) whose father left each of them a coat and a will with instructions how to take care of the coats so that these should last a lifetime.

SYRIA. An Arab country. In Herzl's days part of the Ottoman Empire. Today part of the United Arab Republic. Its capital is Damascus.

SYRKIN, NACHMAN (1867–1924). Russian Jewish writer and Zionist leader. Studied in Berlin and Zurich. In Berlin he became the guiding spirit of a group of Russian Jewish emigrés. He was a socialist, but rejected assimilation and preferred Hebrew over Yiddish. After a period of Territorialist sympathy (1905–09) he became the representative of the newly formed Poale Zion (Socialist Labor Zionist) party within the Zionist movement. He wrote a considerable number of studies and articles (in German, Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew) on the problems and issues of socialist Zionism.

SZÉCHEN, COUNT. It does not become clear from the context (see p. 972) whether Prime Minister Koerber referred to Count Ödön Széchenyi (q.v.), pronouncing his name in an abbreviated form, or to Count Szécsen von Temerin, who was secretary in the Austro-Hungarian embassy in Bucharest in the 1890's, section head in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until 1901, and later (1901–1911) Ambassador to the Papal See.

SZÉCHENYI, COUNT ÖDÖN (1839–1922). Son of the great Hungarian statesman, Count Stephan Széchenyi. Earned a sea-captain's certificate, then devoted himself to the reorganization of the Hungarian firemen. In 1874 moved to Constantinople, organized a fire-brigade and became its commander and an aide to the Sultan.

SZÉLL, KÁLMÁN (1845–1915). Hungarian statesman. Minister of finance, 1875; prime minister 1899–1904. His main achievements were the organization of social insurance for agricultural laborers and household workers, and the establishment of state children's asylums.

SZEPS, DR. MORITZ (1834–1902). Austrian Jewish newspaperman. Published and edited the *Wiener Tagblatt.*

TAAFFE, COUNT EDUARD (1833–1895). Austrian statesman. In his early youth was a playmate of the future Emperor Francis Joseph I (q.v.). In the state's service since 1852. Minister of the Interior and of Education, March 1867; Minister of Defense, Dec. 1867; Prime Minister, 1870–71; again Minister of the Interior, then Governor of Tirol; a third time Minister of the Interior, 1879; and from August 1879 to 1893 again Prime Minister. His program of "reconciliation of the nationalities" failed because of the exorbitant demands of the German-clericals, Poles and Czechs.

TABAK (=TOBACCO) STREET SYNAGOGUE IN PEST, was one of the largest in Europe. The house in which Herzl was born adjoined the synagogue.

TABAK TRAFFIK. Austrian state-licensed tobacco shop.

TABARIN. Sixteenth century French comedian who fought his comic battles on the stage armed with a wooden sword.

TABARIN. A comedy by Herzl in one act, written in 1884. It is based on a sketch by Catulle Mendès. Was performed with success in New York, with the famous actor Mitterwurzer in the title role.

TACHARD, ALBERT. French politician. Was minister plenipotentiary (probably during the French-German peace negotiations), and minister of government for defense in Brussels. Was member of the Chamber of Deputies from Haut Rhin in the first assembly after 1870–71.

TACHLES. Yiddish expression (from the Hebrew *takhlit*), meaning purpose, gist, practical end.

TAHSIN BEY (PASHA) (c.1860–c.1935). Turkish statesman. Entered the civil service as a clerk to the Sublime Porte; later became Director of Correspondence at the Ministry of the Interior, then at the Ministry of the Navy. He married the granddaughter of Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha (q.v.). Lutfi Aga (q.v.) helped him to become first secretary of Sultan Abdul Hamid (q.v.) in 1895. In 1902 he attained the rank of a vizier with the title of Pasha. He was a loyal confidant of the Sultan and concentrated much authority in his hands. With the rise of his rival, Izzet Pasha (q.v.), he lost his influence. After the 1908 revolution he was removed from office, deprived of all his rank and rights, and banished. Following the general amnesty he returned to Istanbul where he passed his last years in poverty.

TAIK BEY. Misspelling by Herzl of the name Faik Bey (q.v.).

TAKSIM GARDENS. Taksim is the name of a ward in Pera (Turkish: Beyoğlu) a section of Constantinople, situated on a hill. On its main street there is a municipally maintained public garden for

recreation and pastime, commanding a fine view of the Bosporus. This is the *Taksim bahçesi* (Taksim Gardens).

TALE OF THE THREE RINGS. The reference is to the Tale of the Three Rings contained in the poetic drama *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the Wise, 1779) by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781): a father who loves equally his three sons, has two copies made of the precious ring in his possession, and gives on his deathbed one ring to each son. Each of the sons believes that he got the original ring. Similarly with the three faiths of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

TALIANI, EMILIO (1834–1907). Italian cleric. Was created titular archbishop of Sebaste and apostolic nuntius to Vienna in 1896, and cardinal in 1903.

TALLES. See *Kittel* and *talles.*

TALLEYRAND-PERIGORD, CHARLES MAURICE DE (1754–1838). French diplomatist. Studied for the priesthood, was consecrated bishop of Autun in 1789. He joined the Republicans, and in 1790 was elected president of the national assembly. From 1797 to 1799 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Recognizing Napoleon (q.v.) as the coming man in France, he supported him, and was reappointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. Up to 1807 he remained very close to Napoleon, but thereafter a coolness developed between them, and in 1808 Talleyrand secretly joined a Royalist committee. In 1814 he placed himself at the head of a provisional government and as such procured Napoleon's abdication, and helped Louis XVIII regain the throne of his ancestors. Under Louis Philippe he became Ambassador to London (1830–35).

TANAGRA. Excavations in the ancient Greek town of Tanagra in Boeotia (now called Gremada) have brought to light many

beautiful painted terra cotta draped female figures from six to nine inches in height. These are known as Tanagra figurines.

TANCRED. The title of one of the historical novels of Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield (q.v.). The novel's hero is the Crusader Tancred (1068?–1112).

TANNHÄUSER. The well-known music drama by Richard Wagner.

TAPTSCHI CRESPI. *Tapchi*, or, more precisely, *topchi*, means artilleryman or gunner in Turkish. "Gunner Crespi" is Herzl's way of expressing, in a single ironic phrase, his opinion of Eduard Crespi (q.v.).

TARBOOSH. Arabic term for the *fez*, the brimless cylindrical red cap worn in Herzl's days all over the lands of the Ottoman Empire, and today still popular in Egypt.

TARNASSI, FRANCESCO (1850–1902). Italian cleric. Named Apostolic Internuncio in Holland and Luxemburg on October 24, 1896. Recalled from that post in 1899; kept his title and lived in Rome until his death.

TARNOPOL (TERNOPOL). Town in the Ukraine, 80 miles east-southeast of Lvov.

TARNOW. Town in Galicia, 40 miles east of Cracow. In Herzl's days belonged to Austria, today to Poland.

TARTUFFE. Hero of Molière's comedy *Tartuffe*, about the self-seeking adventurer who hides his greed behind a mask of piety.

TAUBIN, GEORGE. See Vogel trial.

TAUSSIG, THEODOR, RITTER VON (1848–1909). Austrian Jewish financier. Was director, 1874, and governor, 1908, of the Vienna

Bodenkreditanstalt. Was head of the Austrian *Länderbank* and banker to Emperor Franz Josef I (q.v.). He carried out the nationalization of the Austrian railways, developed mining and Danubian shipping. The negotiations about a loan to the Russian government conducted by him precisely at the time of the 1904–05 Russian pogroms, evoked a bitter storm of protest in the Jewish public. He was for many years member of the council of the Viennese Jewish community.

TAXIM GARDENS. See Taksim Gardens.

TAYLOR, LADY JANE HAY (1830–1920). English society woman. Daughter of the 8th Marquis of Tweeddale, married Sir Richard Chambre Taylor, G. C. B. (1819–1904) in 1863.

TEGERNSEE. Village on the shores of the lake of the same name in Upper Bavaria, Germany.

TELL'S SECOND ARROW. The reference is to the episode in Friedrich Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell* in which Tell holds a second arrow in readiness to use on the tyrant if the latter's command to shoot the apple from his son's head should result in the child's death.

TEMPS. Paris daily newspaper.

TERRITET. Swiss resort town near the Lake of Geneva.

TEVFIK PASHA, AHMED (1845–1936). Turkish statesman. The last Grand Vizier. Was secretary of the Turkish Embassy in Florence, Italy, 1872, then was sent to Vienna and to Berlin, and as first secretary to Athens. Became chargé d'affaires in St. Petersburg (1876–77) and diplomatic adviser during the Turco-Russian war (1877–78) at the Turkish general headquarters. Was Turkish minister at Athens (1883–85), ambassador in Berlin (1885–95), and minister of foreign affairs (1895–1909). During the military

revolt against the constitution was appointed Grand Vizier, and thereafter was sent as ambassador to London (1909–14). Follow- in the armistice he became twice Grand Vizier (from 1918 until the abolition of the Ottoman Sultanate, 1922).

TEWELES, HEINRICH (1856–1927). Jewish theater director, writer, critic and editor, lived in Prague where he was director of the *Deutsches Landestheater* (German theater) and editor of a German newspaper. His friendship with Herzl began when the latter's play *Seine Hoheit* (His Highness) was performed in Prague (in 1888).

TEZKERE OR TEZKEREH. A short note or letter, a billet; a passport (for inland travel); any document issued by the government to clear people from some responsibility such as a soldier's discharge, a tax receipt, a license or permit of any kind.

THAMES. River in England, emptying into the North Sea. On its banks is situated London.

THERAPIA (TARABYA). Suburb north of Constantinople on the European side of the Bosporus.

THIRTY-ONE DEGREES in the shade, 41° in the sun (p. 756). These centigrade degrees correspond to 87° F and 105° F respectively.

THON, OSIAS (1870–1936). Polish rabbi and Zionist. Organized the first Zionist circle of orthodox youths in Lvov and edited the first Zionist leaflet, *Der Vecker* (1888). Studied at the university of Berlin and at the Berlin *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*. In 1897 he became chief rabbi of Cracow and retained this position until his death. Upon Herzl's appearance he got in touch with him and the two men became close friends. In Poland he built up the Zionist Organization; was a delegate to the Zionist Congresses. In 1919 was elected to the Polish Sejm.

THORN. City in West Prussia (today in Poland).

THUN, DUKE FRANZ ANTON, Count of Thun and Hohenstein (1847–1916). Austrian statesman. Member of Parliament 1879–81; upon his father's death succeeded him in the Austrian Upper House (1881). Governor of Bohemia, 1889–96 and 1911–15; Prime Minister of Austria 1898–99.

TIBERIAS. Town in Israel, on the western shore of Lake Tiberias (Sea of Galilee).

TIFLIS (TBILISI). City in Georgia in the Caucasus. Today capital of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

TIGRIS RIVER. One of the two great rivers of Mesopotamia (the other being the Euphrates), today Iraq. On its banks is located Baghdad.

TIMES, THE, of London. The largest daily paper in England. Founded 1788 (as *Daily Universal Register* in 1785).

TISCHENDORF, PAUL A. VON. (1847–1914). German diplomat. Entered the diplomatic service as *Dragomatseleve* (interpreter-apprentice) at the German consulate in Constantinople, in 1872; became interpreter there in 1872 and second embassy dragoman in 1876. In 1886 he became German consul in Jerusalem, consul-general in 1898, and consul in Algiers in 1899.

TISCHMANN, "PATER PAULUS." Polish Jew who converted to Catholicism, and became a priest.

TISZA, COUNT ISTVÁN (1861–1918). Hungarian statesman. Elected to parliament in 1886; prime minister and minister of the interior, 1903–05; again prime minister, 1913. Was assassinated in Budapest by revolutionary soldiers who considered him the chief instigator of the First World War.

TITTONI, TOMMASO (1855–1931). Italian politician and diplomatist. Was elected deputy in 1886 and remained a member of the Chamber for eleven years. In 1902 became senator, in 1903 minister of foreign affairs. In 1906 was appointed ambassador to London, but within a few months was recalled to serve again as foreign minister. Was ambassador to Paris, 1910–1916, and in 1919 again foreign minister, then president of the Senate. From 1929 to 1930 was president of the Italian Academy.

TOEPPEN, KURT. German adventurer, originally from East Prussia. Lived in German East Africa where he married an Arab girl and became a Mohammedan.

TOHU-BOHU or TOHUWABOHU. Approximate transliteration of the Hebrew words *tohu wavohu,* found in the Book of Genesis 1:2 and meaning "unformed and void." Used in German to designate chaos, or chaotic conditions.

TOLERANZ. German Jewish weekly, published in New York, of which only a few issues appeared in 1897 before its title was changed to *Der Zionist*. Its editor was Michael Singer (q.v.).

TOLSTOY, COUNT LEO (1828–1910). Russian novelist, moral philosopher and social reformer.

TOM SAWYER. While Herzl remembered correctly the gist of the episode about the fence in Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer,* he erred on details. The incident took place on Saturday, and the fence Tom Sawyer had to whitewash belonged to his Aunt Polly.

TOMBS OF THE KINGS IN JERUSALEM. These tombs are, in all probability, those of Queen Helene of Adiabene who converted to Judaism and died in Jerusalem in the 1st century C.E., and of her family. They are located in the northern part of the new city of Jerusalem in Israel.

TOPHANE (TOP HANE). The gun factories adjoining Galata in Constantinople. They were founded by Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror, after the capture of the city. In the past the premises also served as the headquarters of the Grand Master of the Artillery. Also the adjacent district of Constantinople was called Top Hane.

TORAH. The Hebrew name of the Five Books of Moses (the Pentateuch).

TOULON. French town and seaport on the Mediterranean.

TOWER OF DAVID, OR CITADEL, located next to the Jaffa Gate of the Old City of Jerusalem. Tradition ascribes its original building to King David (cf. Song of Songs 4:4). In fact, the foundations of the Citadel were built by Herod in 20 B.C.E. In 70 C.E. the Citadel was occupied by Roman legions. In Turkish times it was rebuilt and enlarged to its present dimensions. Today in Jordan.

TRANSVAAL QUESTION. Transvaal is the northern province of the Union of South Africa. The Transvaal question about the turn of the century resulted from the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of Transvaal, controlled by Boers, in 1881. In subsequent years, the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand attracted many foreigners (Uitlanders) who became increasingly dissatisfied because of taxation without representation. The Jameson (q.v.) raid precipitated matters, and after unsuccessful negotiations between the British Cape Colony and the independent Transvaal (called the South African Republic) the South African War started (1899). The Transvaal was annexed by Great Britain in 1900 and peace was concluded in 1902.

TRANSYLVANIA. In Herzl's day the eastern part of Hungary. Since 1920 part of Rumania.

TRAUTENAU. Town in Bohemia, Austria.

TREVES. Town in the Rhine province of Prussia, Germany, on the Moselle river.

TRIESTE. Seaport and city in Austria (today in Italy). Situated on the Istrian Peninsula at the head of the Gulf of Trieste, on the Adriatic Sea, about 70 miles north-east of Venice.

TRIETSCH, DAVIS (1870–1935). German Jewish writer and Zionist. Lived in New York from 1893 to 1899. Joined the Zionist movement and took part in the first Congress. He opposed Herzl's political Zionism and advocated instead immediate colonization in a "greater Palestine" which would include Cyprus (q.v.) and El Arish (q.v.). He edited a periodical, *Volk und Land* (People and Land), was a co-founder of the *Jüdischer Verlag* and the periodicals *Ost und West* and *Palästina.* He wrote several books and many studies dealing mainly with Palestine.

TRIPLE ALLIANCE. The alliance concluded between Austria-Hungary and Germany in 1879, to which Italy became a party in 1882. It was a defensive alliance directed in the first place against Russia.

TRIPOLI, planned Italian annexation of. The Italian plans to annex Tripolitania were not realized until after the Tripolitan War of 1911–12. Today Tripolitania is one of the provinces of the Kingdom of Libya.

TSCHLENOW, DR. YEHIEL (1864–1918). Russian Jewish Zionist leader. Became an active *Hovevei* Zionist in 1891 and following the appearance of Herzl one of the leaders of Russian Zionism. At the 6th Congress he was sharply opposed to the consideration of the British offer of territory in East Africa (Uganda) and wrote a book on the subject entitled *Zion and Africa.* From 1913 to his death was a member of the Inner Actions Committee.

TUBINI. See Lorando-Tubini Affair.

TUILERIES, the French royal palace (up to 1871) in the center of Paris. The site has been converted into a public garden.

TURHAN (TURKHAN) PASHA, HÜSNÜ (1846–?). Turkish diplomat. Scion of an Albanian family. Graduated from the Law Faculty of Athens. Entered the Turkish foreign service in 1866. Became secretary of the Turkish Embassy in St. Petersburg in 1867; in 1874 was sent to Berlin as first secretary. In 1877 was appointed Turkish Minister to Rome. For some years served as governor in Anatolia. In 1886 was sent as Turkish Minister to Madrid. In 1894 became minister of foreign affairs with the rank of a vizier, and in 1895 Governor-General of Crete. After the 1908 revolution he became President of the Council of State and Senator, then Ambassador in St. Petersburg (1909–1913). After the independence of Albania he went there and was appointed Prime Minister of the new state in which capacity he served until World War I.

TURKISH DEBT OR DETTE OTTOMANE. After the Crimean War the Ottoman Empire borrowed heavily from European states or banks. Part of the proceeds was spent on the rehabilitation of the country, but most of it was squandered by the Sultans. The Turkish government suffered a financial collapse, and, in 1875, half of the interest on the debt was repudiated. Sultan Abdul Hamid (q.v.) refused to raise a new loan, and, following the Berlin peace conference, an agreement was reached for the payment of the debts and the interests to representatives of the foreign creditors (1881). Thereupon the "The Public Debt Administration" was set up in Constantinople for the administration of certain taxes (revenue-stamp, hard liquor, fishing, salt, tobacco, silk). This office was privileged and the Turkish government had no control over it. It was directed by a board of directors composed of one Turkish commissar and the representatives of the bondholders of foreign countries. The Public

Debt Administration was liquidated by the treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

TURKISH-FRENCH CONFLICT. In the summer of 1901 Turkey became embroiled in a conflict with France over its failure to recognize an obligation to French subjects. Thereupon France occupied the Island of Mytilene, but recalled its navy in November 1901 following Turkey's acceptance of the obligation.

TURKISH JEWS IN VIENNA. Herzl's reference is to the Sephardic Jews in Vienna many of whom or whose ancestors came from Turkey.

TUROW, ISAAC (1850–1929). German Jewish journalist. Born in Poland, settled in Germany in 1874, became an early leader of the *Hovevei Zion* movement. His Zionist brochure, *Wo Hinaus? Mahnwort an die westeuropäischen Juden* (What Way Out? A Warning to West-European Jews) was published in 1891 under the pseudonym Paul Dimidow. Attended the First Zionist Congress.

TYROL (OR TIROL). Province in the western part of Austria.

UDINE. Italian town, capital of a province of the same name, 83 miles north-east of Venice. Was regained by Italy from Austria in 1866.

UGANDA, a territory in east-central Africa, British protectorate since 1894. It has an area of 93,981 square miles, including 13,680 sq. miles of water. As late as 1944 Uganda had less than 4 million inhabitants, including only 2,553 Europeans.

UGANDA PROJECT. In 1903 the British Government through its Secretary for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain (q.v.), offered

the Zionist Organization the establishment of an autonomous Jewish colony in Uganda in British East Africa. The offer, when presented to the Sixth Zionist Congress (August 23–28, 1903), provoked a grave crisis, and split the Congress into two opposing factions: most of the delegates from Central and Western Europe approved the plan; most of those from Eastern Europe opposed it bitterly as a betrayal of the Zionist cause. Herzl, already ill, fought for the project while declaring it as merely a station on the road to Zion. Finally the Congress resolved to send an expedition to Uganda with the understanding that it would not be financed by the Zionist Organization.

UGRON, GÁBOR (1847–1911). Hungarian politician and orator. Became member of parliament in 1872. Reorganized the Independence Party.

UJEST, DUKE OF. The Duchy of Ujest was established in 1861 through an order of the royal cabinet, out of the domains of the house of Hohenlohe-Ohringen in Upper Silesia. The head of the house in Herzl's days was Christian Krafft, 5th Prince zu Hohenlohe-Ohringen, Duke of Ujest (1848–1926).

UMBERTO I (1844–1900). King of Italy. Succeeded his father, Victor Emmanuel II (q.v.), to the throne of Italy in 1878; was shot and killed by an anarchist in 1900.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN. The famous anti-slavery novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe, published in 1852, which dramatized for millions of Americans the central moral issue of slavery.

UNITAS. Viennese Jewish students' association.

UNITED SERVICES MAGAZINE. Founded in London in 1829 under the title *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine.* In 1842–43 its title was *The United Service and Naval and*

Military Journal. From 1843 to 1890 it was continued as *Colborn's United Service Magazine,* and from 1890 to 1920 as *The United Service Magazine: A Monthly Review of All National Questions.* After 1920 it was incorporated into the *Army Quarterly.* The article referred to by Herzl in the January 4, 1901, entry in the *Diaries* was published in the January 1901 issue, no. 866, pp. 356–64, entitled "Cyprus for German East Africa. A Fair Exchange," signed by Oakleaf. At the time Arthur Williamson Alsager Pollock was the editor of the *Magazine.*

UNIVERSITY IN JERUSALEM. Herzl's letter to the Sultan, dated May 3, 1902, contains the first mention of the idea of a Jewish university in Jerusalem. Subsequently the plan was discussed at several Zionist Congresses. The Eleventh Congress (Vienna, 1913) resolved to begin preparatory work for the establishment of the university. The cornerstone of the Hebrew University was laid in Jerusalem on July 20, 1918.

UNSER KÄTCHEN. A comedy in four acts by Herzl. Written in 1898; published in 1899.

UNTERACH AM ATTERSEE. Austrian resort town on Lake Atter, 25 miles east of Salzburg.

UNTER DEN LINDEN. One of the main fashionable thoroughfares of Berlin.

UNTERWALDEN. One of the cantons of Switzerland.

USSISHKIN, MENAHEM MENDEL (1863–1941). Russian Jewish engineer and Zionist leader. Was a leader of the Russian *Hovevei Zion,* and under Herzl's influence, joined political Zionism. Was delegate to several Zionist Congresses; opposed the East Africa project. Was Chairman of the Zionist Commission to Palestine in 1919, member of the Zionist Executive, 1920–23.

From 1922 to his death was President of the Jewish National Fund. By "Lex Ussishkin" (cf. p. 797) Herzl refers to the motion made by Ussishkin at the Second Congress that the words "Palestine and Syria" be substituted for "Orient" in the statutes of the Jewish Colonial Trust as the definition of the territory of the Trust's activity.

VÁMBÉRY, ARMINIUS (1832–1913). Hungarian Jewish Orientalist and traveler. Born of Orthodox Jewish parents, studied in his youth several Oriental and European languages. In 1857 went to Constantinople, where he became a secretary of Fuad Pasha (q.v.) and accepted Islam. In 1861 the Hungarian Academy of Sciences sponsored his field trip to Central Asia, the ancient homeland of the Hungarians. Disguised as a dervish, and calling himself Reshid Effendi, he visited, amidst great hardships and personal dangers, Persia, Khiva, Bokhara and Turkestan, returning to Budapest in 1864. Soon he went to London where his knowledge of Central Asia made him a celebrated figure in the scholarly, social and diplomatic worlds. Back again in Budapest, he adopted Protestantism and was appointed professor of Oriental Languages at the university, a post he held until his retirement in 1905. In his frequent travels to Turkey and England he carried out many diplomatic missions, and became a personal friend of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (q.v.) and King Edward VII (q.v.). As such he was able to render important services to Herzl which the latter duly recorded in the *Diaries*.

VÁMBÉRY, RUSTEM (1872–1948). Son of Arminius Vámbéry (q.v.). Hungarian criminal lawyer and statesman. Became member of the law faculty of the University of Budapest, 1902; full professor and dean, 1919. Was a member of the 1918 Hungarian National Council which was in control of the state for a short

time. Was Hungarian minister to Washington 1947. In 1948 asked and received political refuge in the United States. Died in New York. Wrote several studies on Hungarian criminal law.

VAN. Town in Turkey, on the south-east shore of Lake Van, 150 miles south-east of Erzerum, capital of the vilayet of the same name. In 1895 and 1896 much of its Armenian population was massacred by the Turks.

VASFI BEY. Secretary to General Shükri Pasha (q.v.) with the title of captain.

VASVÁR. Town in Hungary, some 20 miles from the Austrian border.

VENEZUELAN ENTANGLEMENT. In Nov. 1902 England and Germany presented an ultimatum to Venezuela as a result of the failure of the Venezuelan government to fulfill certain demands of British and German subjects. The ultimatum was not honored and several Englishmen and Germans were arrested in Caracas. Thereupon England and Germany attacked the Venezuelan fleet and blockaded the Venezuelan coast. The conflict was subsequently settled by the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

VENICE. The reference on p. 39 is to the democratic constitution of the Venetian Republic, which Herzl planned to use as a prototype for the Jewish State envisioned by him.

VERCIOROVA. Small Rumanian town on the left bank of the Danube, on the (old) Hungarian border.

VERDY DU VERNOIS, JULIUS VON (1832–1910). Prussian soldier and statesman. After a military career, became governor of Strassburg, 1887; Minister of War, 1889–90. Wrote a considerable number of military studies.

VERKI. A small town in Poland, six miles due north of Vilna.

VERNE, JULES (1828–1905). Popular French novelist who anticipated, in fictionalized form, many of the subsequent technological developments.

VERSAILLES. Town in France. Capital of the Seine-et-Oise department 11 miles south-west of Paris. Famous for the Royal Palace and gardens located in it.

VESPUCCI, AMERIGO (1452–1512). Italian navigator. Reached the American mainland in 1497, that is a year before Columbus.

VIA DOLOROSA, the street along which, according to Christian tradition, Jesus carried the cross to Calvary. The present-day street level is several feet higher than that of the street nineteen centuries ago.

VICTOR EMMANUEL II (1820–1878). King of Sardinia, 1849–61; of Italy 1861–78.

VICTOR EMMANUEL III (1869–1947). King of Italy. Succeeded his father, Umberto I (q.v.) who was assassinated in 1900, abdicated in favor of his son, Umberto, in 1946.

VIGER, ALBERT (1843–1926). French statesman. Was Minister of Agriculture from 1893 to 1899.

VILNA. In Herzl's days Vilna was the capital of the Vilna governorate which formed part of Russia. Upon the independence of Lithuania, Vilna became its capital.

VINCENTI, KARL FERDINAND RITTER VON (1835–?). Pseudonym: C. von Verden. Austrian journalist. Was editor-in-chief of *Heimat* (Fatherland), and editor for British affairs of the *Neue Freie*

Presse. Wrote several novels. Was created *Reichsritter* (imperial knight) in recognition of his services. Author of many feuilletons and essays on art, also a prolific lecturer. Also published a number of novels and novellas, many with an exotic background.

VIOLA (originally Veigelstock), MIKSA. Hungarian Jewish journalist. Lived in Budapest, and published also a number of books (some in Hungarian, most of them in German), mostly novels, short-stories, travel books and memoirs.

VISONTAI, SOMA (1854–1925). Hungarian Jewish lawyer, politician and journalist. From 1892 to 1905 was member of the Hungarian parliament. He edited the professional journal *Vasút* (Railroad), wrote a book entitled *Az Uzsoráról* (On Usury, 1883).

VITEBSK. Town in White Russia, 150 miles north-east of Minsk.

VLADIMIR, GRAND DUKE OF RUSSIA (1847–1909). General and governor-general.

VOGEL TRIAL. George Taubin, a Russian Zionist, died in Vienna shortly prior to 1900 and made Herzl the sole heir of his entire estate. His heirs, represented by one of them, the banker Vogel (or Vogl), initiated a law suit to contest the will. As soon as Herzl was informed of the provisions of the will, he declined to accept the legacy.

VOLKSSTIMME. See Jüdische Volksstimme.

VOLTAIRE, JEAN FRANCOIS MARIE AROUET (1694–1778). French author and free-thinker.

VOSGES. Mountain range in eastern France, running in a north-south direction parallel to the Rhine river.

VÖSLAU. Austrian resort town, about 15 miles south of Vienna.

VOSSISCHE ZEITUNG. Berlin daily paper.

WAD-EL-CHANIN or Wadi Hanin. See Nes Ziona.

WADI EL-ARISH, the Biblical Brook of Egypt in the Sinai Peninsula, running in a south-northerly direction and ending in the Mediterranean. It is about 150 miles long. When there is rain in the Sinai Peninsula (a phenomenon that occurs on the average only about three times a year, between October and April) it contains a yellow fluid, otherwise it is a dry riverbed. See also El-Arish.

WAGNER, RICHARD (1813–1883). German composer, creator of the modern music drama.

WÄHRING. Up to 1890 a suburb of Vienna, thereafter district 18 of the city.

WAHRMAN, MORITZ (1832–1892). Hungarian Jewish politician, was member of the Hungarian parliament from 1869 to 1871, and became, in 1883, President of the liberal ("*neolog*") Jewish congregation of Pest.

WAILING WALL. A wall built of huge blocks of hewn stone, in the Old City of Jerusalem, held by Jewish tradition to have been the "Western Wall" of the ancient Temple of Jerusalem, and as such was until the partition of Palestine (1947–48) the chief Jewish holy place for prayer, supplication and mourning.

WAIZENKORN, S. Jewish fashion goods dealer, residing in Semlin (q.v.).

WALES, PRINCE OF. The title customarily conferred upon the eldest son of the sovereign of Great Britain. At the time of Herzl's early visits to England the title was borne by the future King Edward VII, upon whose accession to the throne it was transferred, in 1901, to the future King George V.

WALTER FAMILY, owners of the London *Times.* John Walter (1738/39–1812) founded in 1785 *The Daily Universal Register* which, in 1788, was renamed *The Times.* His son was John Walter (1776–1847), whose oldest son was John Walter (1818–1894). The latter's second son was Arthur Fraser Walter (1846–1910), chief proprietor of *The Times* until 1908 when it was converted into a company, and he became chairman of its Board of Directors. Following his death, his son John Walter succeeded him in this position.

WANGENHEIM, BARON HANS VON (1859–1915). German diplomatist. In the German Embassy in St. Petersburg, 1887; in various other German embassies from 1888; German minister in Mexico, 1904; in Tangiers, 1908; in Athens, 1909. German Ambassador in Constantinople, 1912.

WARBURG, OTTO (1859–1938). German Jewish botanist and Zionist leader. In 1891 became instructor in botany at the University of Berlin, and in 1897 became professor at the university's Oriental Seminary. In 1900 Warburg became active in settling Rumanian Jews in Asia Minor, and interested in the Zionist movement. He was a delegate to the Sixth Zionist Congress, was a co-editor of *Altneuland* (1904–06), and president of the World Zionist Organization (1911–1920).

WARSAW. The chief city of Russian Poland; had the largest Jewish community in the world. Today Warsaw is the capital of Poland.

WEGGIS OR WÄGGIS. Swiss resort town in the Canton of Lucerne, on the shores of the Vierwaldstätter See.

WEIL, JOEL (1857–1919). By full name Joel Weil-Olff. Swiss Jewish merchant and Zionist. Born in Alsace, settled in Basel where, jointly with his brothers, was active in the liquor business from 1883 to his death. Attended the First Zionist Congress in 1897 and was elected member of the Greater Actions Committee. During the Congress, Herzl was several times a guest in his house. In 1899 Weil became a member of the council of the Basel Jewish Community.

WELLISCH, DR. (1866–1926). Hungarian Jewish physician. Directed for years the Health Department of the Turkish Ministry of the Interior. Died in Vienna.

WELT, DIE. See Die Welt.

WERNER, DR. SIEGMUND (1867–1928). Viennese Jewish physician and newspaperman. While still a student founded Gamala (q.v.). Was editor-in-chief of *Die Welt,* 1897–99 and 1903–05. Attended Herzl during his last illness and was the only person at his bedside when he died.

WERNHER, SIR JULIUS CHARLES (1850–1912). German born British South African financier, a leading figure in the Kimberley diamond-mining industry. In 1889 he joined Cecil Rhodes (q.v.) and Alfred Beit (q.v.) to found the firm of Wernher, Beit & Co. He endowed educational institutions, including the South African University. He became a naturalized British subject in 1898, and was given the baronetcy in 1905.

WESTUNGARISCHE GRENZBOTE. German-language journal published at irregular intervals in Pressburg, Hungary.

WETZLER AND ABELES. Large produce firm in Vienna.

WHISTLERLIKE DUSK. The reference is to the dusk or fog characterizing many of the land and seascapes of James Abbot McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), American painter and etcher.

WHITE, ARNOLD HENRY (1848–1925). English political writer with anti-Semitic views. In 1895 was Baron de Hirsch's (q.v.) representative in trying to persuade the Russian government to facilitate Jewish emigration to Argentina. Served on the British Royal Commission for Alien Immigration, 1902, as an advocate of restrictions on Jewish immigration into England. His book, *The Modern Jew* (1899) is charged with emotional bias.

WHITMAN, SIDNEY (1848–1925). English journalist and traveller, London correspondent of the *New York Herald*. Travelled through Anatolia in 1897–98 and established friendly relations with Sultan Abdul Hamid (q.v.). Author of *Turkish Memoirs* (1914) and numerous studies on Central European politics and history.

WILHEIM, SIEGMUND (1849–?). Austrian journalist. Worked on the staff of the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, later became co-editor with Julius Löwy of the *Wiener Specialitäten*, and subsequently local news editor of the *Fremdenblatt*.

WILHELM I (1797–1888). King of Prussia, who, in 1871, became the first Emperor (*Kaiser*) of the united German *Reich*.

WILHELM II, KAISER (1859–1941). Emperor of Germany. Succeeded his father, Frederick III, in 1888. As a result of an injury suffered at birth his left arm remained stunted, but he nevertheless received a thorough military education and, following his ascension to the throne, was styled the supreme warlord. He abdicated in 1918 and spent the last two decades of his life on an estate at Doorn, in Holland.

WILKINSON, BISHOP. There were two English bishops named Wilkinson whom Herzl could have met:

1. Wilkinson, George Howard (1833–1907). English clergy-

man. Bishop of Truro, 1883–91; Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, from 1893; Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church from 1904.

2. Wilkinson, Thomas Edward (year of birth unknown, died 1914). English clergyman. Bishop of Zululand, 1870; Bishop-Coadjutor of London for North and Central Europe, and Rector of St. Catherine Coleman, City of London, 1886; Bishop for Europe (North and Central), 1886–1911. Wrote several books on Zululand, education, emigration, the Sudan, etc.

WILLCOCKS, SIR WILLIAM, K.C.M.G. (1852–1932). English irrigation expert. Author of *Report on Perennial Irrigation and Flood Protection for Egypt* with a note by W. E. Garstin (Cairo, 1894).

WIRTH, BETTINA (1849–1926). Austrian writer and journalist. Née Grenier. In 1870 married Max Wirth, economist, (contributor to *The Economist*, London, and the *Neue Freie Presse*.) Educated in England and Italy, settled in Vienna in 1874. Wrote a number of novels, some of which were published serially in periodicals and later dramatized. Wrote short stories. She also published translations, and in 1878 became correspondent for the London *Daily News* and for a number of papers in Germany.

WITTE, COUNT SERGEI YULIEVICH (1849–1915). Russian statesman. Became minister of finance, 1893, from which post he was dismissed in 1903 because of his opposition to Russian expansion in the Far East. From 1905 to 1906 was prime minister and president of the first Duma (Russian Constitutional Assembly). After the 1905 uprisings, he pleaded for liberal concessions to the Jews.

WITTMANN, HUGO (1839–1923). Austrian writer and journalist. Joined the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1872 as *feuilleton* editor. Wrote short-stories (published in book form), sketches, and lyrics for musical plays.

WITU. A territory in Kenya, East Africa. Became a German protectorate in 1885, a British territory in 1890.

WITWATERSRAND, a series of parallel ranges of hills in the Transvaal Province of the Union of South Africa, near Johannesburg, the greatest gold producing area in the world.

WOCHENSCHRIFT. See Österreichische Wochenschrift.

WOHL, JAKOB (1833–1897?). Austrian police official and government councillor. Became actuary, 1868, commissar, and head, 1896, of the third police section of Vienna.

WOLF, LUCIEN (1857–1930). English Jewish historian and journalist, was active in Jewish communal life. From 1890 to 1909 he was foreign editor of the then influential *Daily Graphic,* and from 1906 to 1908 also editor of *The Jewish World.* From 1912 to 1914 he edited the periodical *Darkest Russia,* dedicated to arousing world opinion against the persecution of the Jews in Russia. In 1917 he became Secretary of the Joint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and of the Anglo-Jewish Association, and worked in various other capacities for the rights of the Jews. He was, however, profoundly opposed to Zionism.

WOLFF, THEODOR (1868–1944). German Jewish journalist. Paris correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt,* 1894; from 1906 to 1933, its editor-in-chief.

WOLFFSOHN, DAVID (1856–1914). German Jewish merchant and communal worker. Born in Lithuania, lived in Cologne where he founded in 1893 a *Hovevei Zion* society. Became one of the earliest followers of Herzl in Germany and his close friend whom Herzl addressed in his letters as "My dear Daade." Was a member of the Inner Actions Committee from 1897 to 1904, and

following Herzl's death succeeded him as president of the World Zionist Organization, 1905–1911.

WOLLEMBORG, LEONE (1859–1932). Italian Jewish economist and statesman. Founded and edited the journal *La Cooperazione Rurale* (Rural Cooperation, Padua-Rom, 1885–1904). Was deputy from 1892 to 1913, and thereafter senator. Became minister of finance in 1901, and during World War I was vice-president of the Roman Committee for Civilian Aid. He participated actively in the economic and financial work of the parliament.

WONDERLAND. Reference to the title *Alice in Wonderland* by L. Carroll.

WONZ-MELAMMED. Viennese Yiddish slang expression for *Schwanz-melammed,* meaning "imbecile of a teacher."

WOODS, SIR HENRY FELIX (1843–1929). British naval officer, admiral. In 1867 was British delegate to the International Commission of Navigation in the Black Sea and the Bosporus. In 1870 received permission to enter the naval service of Turkey, organized her torpedo and coastal defense services and served as their commander for several years. In 1883 was awarded the title of Pasha. In 1899 became aide-de-camp of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (q.v.).

WREDE, PRINCE FRIEDRICH VON (1870–?). Austrian writer, ardent pro-Zionist. His play, *The Goldschilds,* was published in *Die Welt* in 1898.

WÜRTTEMBERG or WURTEMBERG, a kingdom, and, after 1918, a component state, of Germany, adjoining Switzerland, with a territory of 7,534 square miles. Its capital is Stuttgart. The reigning Duke of Wurtemberg gained a great accession of territory, as well as the title of king, by the favor of Napoleon in 1806.

WÜRTTEMBERG, KING AND QUEEN OF. In Herzl's days the King of Württemberg was Wilhelm II who was born in 1848, ascended to the throne in 1891, abdicated in 1918, and died in 1921.

YAKOVLEV. Influential dragoman (secretary) of the Russian Embassy in Constantinople; formerly Russian consul in Jerusalem.

YASINOVSKI. See Jasinowski.

YAVASH. Turkish expression meaning "slowly."

YENIKÖI. Village in Turkey, on the European shores of the Bosporus, some seven miles north of Constantinaple.

YERUSHOLAYIM. The traditional Ashkenazi (German-Jewish) pronunciation of the Hebrew name of Jerusalem.

YILDIZ KIOSK. The Sultan's palace in Constantinople overlooking the Bosporus (q.v.).

YOM KIPPUR (Day of Atonement). The most solemn holy day in the Jewish calendar, on which complete abstinence from any food or drink is commanded. Its date is the tenth of Tishri (which falls into September or October).

YORK-STEINER, HEINRICH (1859–1935). Austrian Jewish journalist and author, editor of *Wiener Mode,* devoted several of his books to a positive interpretation of Jewish culture and problems, notably the volume *Die Kunst als Jude zu Leben* (The Art of Living as a Jew, 1928). Following his meeting with Herzl, York-Steiner became a devoted Zionist and co-founder of the Zionist Organization.

YOUNG ISRAEL. See *Jung Israel.*

YOUNG TURKS' MOVEMENT. A political movement in Turkey which aimed at obtaining a constitution from the Sultan. The revolution of the Young Turkish Committee of Union and Progress succeeded in 1908 to restore the constitution originally wrested from Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1876.

ZAIKOWSKI. Active in behalf of the Armenians in London.

ZANDER, DR. KURT. German Administrator, privy councillor. Was director-general of the Anatolian Railways until July 1, 1905, when he resigned for reasons of ill health, and became Second Director of the *Deutsche Bank*.

ZANGWILL, ISRAEL (1864–1926). English Jewish novelist, playwright and publicist, joined the English *Hovevei Zion* Association. By 1895, when Herzl approached him, Zangwill was well known as the author of *Children of the Ghetto* (1892), a picture of Jewish life in the East End of London, drawn with humor and sympathy. His subsequent *Ghetto Tragedies, Ghetto Comedies, Dreamers of the Ghetto* (1899), etc., were written in the same vein. Under Herzl's influence he became an enthusiastic Zionist, attended the First Zionist Congress in 1897, and participated in the same year in a pilgrimage to Palestine organized by Herbert Bentwich. In 1905, he founded the Jewish Territorial Organization, but after the Balfour Declaration (1917) he returned to Zionism.

ZANGWILL, LOUIS (1869–1938). Younger brother of Israel Zangwill. English novelist who authored several novels distinguished by a realistic vividness and a somewhat cynical humor.

ZANZIBAR. A land off the east coast of Africa. In 1890 a British protectorate was declared over it and the Sultan of Zanzibar's domains on the mainland were divided between Italy, Great Britain and Germany.

ZARIBROD OR CARIBROD. Railroad station, today on the Yugoslavian-Bulgarian border.

ZELL AM SEE. Town and resort in the Salzburg district of Austria, on the shores of the Zeller See.

ZIAD PASHA. See Ziya Pasha.

ZIERER. Viennese Jewish stock market speculator.

ZION (p. 35). Apparently used here as the symbolic name of the country which was to grant the concession for the Jewish state.

ZION. A Zionist monthly published in Berlin from 1895 to 1899, and edited by Heinrich Loewe.

"ZION" SOCIETY (full name: "Vienna Branch of the 'Zion' Union of Austrian Societies for the Colonization of Palestine and Syria"), with headquarters at 11 Rembrandtstrasse, was largely a debating society prior to Herzl's appearance.

ZIYA PASHA, YUSUF (1849–1929). Turkish statesman. Entered the foreign service in 1864. Was sent to the Turkish Embassy in Berlin as second secretary in 1869, then to Vienna. In 1872 became first secretary of the Turkish Legation in Athens. In 1874 was sent to St. Petersburg. Was appointed director of the Consular Service in 1876. Became Turkish Minister to Belgrad in 1885, then to Rome (1889) and to Vienna (1891). Was promoted to the rank of vizier in 1891 with the title of Pasha. Was Turkish Ambassador to Paris in 1894. Became member of the Council of State in 1897. Was appointed minister of the Imperial Record of the Crownlands in 1901. After the revolution of 1908 became minister of commerce, then ambassador to Rome, and a second time minister of the Imperial Record of the Crownlands, then minister of education (1909). In 1910 was sent as Turkish Ambassador to Washington. Became Senator, and again minister of education (1919). He was a famous composer of Turkish music.

ZOLA, ÉMILE (Edouard Charles Antoine; 1840–1902). French novelist. Author of a large number of novels describing the life of modern society, and especially human failings and weaknesses, moral filth and disease, with great realism and naturalism, and in the spirit of an almost scientific observation of social pathology. In January 1898, convinced of the innocence of Captain Alfred Dreyfus (q.v.), Zola published his "J'accuse" in the Paris *L'Aurora.* He was thereupon tried and sentenced, but, upon his appeal, the Court of Cassation quashed the verdict. In 1901 Zola gave an account of his connection with the Dreyfus case in his *L'affaire Dreyfus: La vérité en marche* (The Dreyfus Affair: Truth on the March).

ZORN, PHILIPP KARL LUDWIG (1850–1928). Professor of political science at the University of Bonn (Germany). One of the German delegates to the first Peace Conference at The Hague.

ZSILINSKY (OR JILINSKY). Colonel in the Russian army who in 1899 was a technical delegate to the First Peace Conference held at The Hague. By 1903, he was a Lieut.-General and Quartermaster General in the Russian army.

ZUCKER, COMMERCIAL COUNCILLOR. There were two Commercial Councillors named Zucker in Vienna in the 1890's. They were the sons of Matthias Zucker, founder of the firm Matthias Zucker and Co., in Strakovice, Bohemia, which manufactured fezes. The older was Ignaz Zucker (1842?–1903); the younger, Joseph Zucker (1848–1925). The two were directors and controlling shareholders of the firm, which in the 1890's merged with other similar establishments and assumed the name *Aktien Gesellschaft der Fezfabrike* (Fez Manufacturing Stock Co.). Its offices were in Vienna.

ZUKUNFT, DIE; see Harden, Maximilian.

Code Names and Words

Code Names and Words Used by Herzl in His Diaries and Correspondence

Compiled by
Oskar K. Rabinowicz

The following list is incomplete. It was extracted from the *Diaries* and from Herzl's correspondence with Leopold Greenberg.

(A) NAMES*

Agent	Ambassador (see also Schreiber)
Albahary	Izzet Pasha (see also Bergmann, Cassier Horowitz)
Albert	Faik Bey
Alex	Alexander Marmorek (see also Fritz, Marlow)
Alter Herr	Friedrich, Grand Duke of Baden (see also Onkel)
Altmann	Lord Rothschild (see also Courtier, Ellermann, Pancock)
Amar	Grand Vizier (see also Gruenfeld, Mandl, Nagy, Palmers, Prokurist)
Anfang	Turkish loan
Ape	Jerusalem
Augenweh	Austrian Lloyd
Avignon	Alexandria
Bacher	Kaiser Wilhelm II (see also Hirshfeld, Neffe)
Baldov	The Sultan's representative

* It will be noted that repeatedly two or more code words are used by Herzl for the same name. For the sake of secrecy, changes were made from time to time, occasionally even for one single journey to Turkey.

Bauer	Lord Cromer
Bazaar	Yildiz Kiosk (see also Factory, Redaktion)
Beer	Sultan of Turkey (see also Cohn, Levy)
Beilage	*Die Welt* (see also Supplement)
Ben	Theodor Herzl (see also Benjamin, Dori, Jacobson, Loebl, Moriz, Seff)
Benjamin	Theodor Herzl (see also Ben, Dori, Jacobson Loebl, Moriz, Seff)
Bennoreit	Benno Reitlinger
Bergmann	Izzet Pasha (see also Albahary, Cassier, Horowitz)
Berliner	Deutsche Bank (see also Debe or Debee, Meier)
Bernstein	Israel Zangwill (see also Klesmer, Weissmann, Zang)
Bettler	Commission
Bildwort	Vienna (see also Bradford, Pinsk)
Black	Sir George Elliot
Bloater	Sir William Garstin
Blotter	Sir Clement Hill (see also Envelope)
Blouse	Samuel Montague (see also Frank)
Boehmen	Mesopotamia (see also North England)
Bradford	Vienna (see also Bildwort, Pinsk)
Braun	David Wolffsohn (see also Daade, David, Franz, Warens)
Brown	Joseph Chamberlain (see also Dog 7, Kipper, Laurie)
Bruenn	Paris (see also Iuk, Manchester, Reichenberg)
Bruenner	Jewish Colonization Association (see also Philipp Haas, Revue, Shop)
Bruessel	London (see also Haven, Salzburg)
Buchhalter	Tahsin Bey (see also Krugler, Loewy, Pollak, Russo, Wahle)
Budapest	St. Petersburg (see also Triest)
Business	Charter (see also Feuilleton, Geschaeft, Jam, Sache, Teppiche, Tuch)

Cairo	Marseilles
Cart	Joseph Cowen's brother (see also Harry)
Cassier	Izzet Pasha (see also Albahary, Bergmann, Horowitz)
Charles	Nuri Bey
Check	Jewish Eastern Company
Chisel	Egyptian Government
Clock	Chaldea
Cohn	Sultan (see also Beer, Levy)
Cohnheim	Constantinople
Cohnsman	Turkish Commissioner
Copy	Harry Boyle
Cork	El Arish (see also Scotland)
Costume	King (see also Lear)
Courtier	Lord Rothschild (see also Altmann, Ellermann, Pancock)
Daade	David Wolffsohn (see also Braun, David, Franz, Warens)
Dan	Leopold Greenberg (see also Green, Issachar, Sachar)
David	David Wolffsohn (see also Daade, Braun, Franz, Warens)
Debe or Debee	Deutsche Bank (see also Berliner, Meier)
Dinah	Lord Suffield (see also Robe)
Dog 7	Joseph Chamberlain (see also Brown, Kipper, Laurie)
Dori	Theodor Herzl (see also Ben, Benjamin, Jacobson, Loebl, Moriz, Seff)
Druckerei	Palestine (see also Fly, Isaland, Kohlmarkt, Persien, Printing Office, Sixteen)
Eduard	Adil Bey
Einiges	Turkish Unification Loan
Ellermann	Lord Rothschild (see also Altmann, Courtier, Pancock)

Elm	Russia (see also Mandelstam Country)
Enterprise	Mines (see also Kammgarn)
Envelope	Sir Clement Hill, (see also Blotter)
Fabrik	Jewish Colonial Trust (see also House, Journal, Magazin, Manufactory, Wiener)
Factory	Yildiz Kiosk (see also Bazaar, Redaktion)
Feuilleton	Charter (see also Business, Geschaeft, Jam, Sache, Teppiche, Tuch)
Filiale	Ambassador (see also Korrespondent, Verträter)
Fir	Germany
Fireman	George H. Stevens
Fly	Palestine (see also Druckerei, Persien, Printing Office, Sixteen)
Foster	Arthur James Balfour
Frank	Samuel Montague (see also Blouse)
Frankl	French Ambassador
Franz	David Wolffsohn (see also Braun, Daade, David, Warens)
Fred	Foreign Office (see also Lion)
Friedmann	German Ambassador
Fritz	Alexander Marmorek (see also Alex, Marlow)
Gasters country	Rumania
Geschaeft	Charter (see also Business, Feuilleton, Jam, Sache, Teppiche, Tuch)
Ginzkey	Grand Duke of Baden (see also Benedict, Onkel)
Glueckstein	Salo Cohn
God	England
Gordon	Rev. William H. Hechler (see also Henry, William)
Graz	Rome
Green	Leopold Greenberg (see also Dan, Issachar, Sachar)

Gruenfeld	Grand Vizier (see also Amar, Mandl, Nagy, Palmers, Prokurist)
Hagen	Jacobus H. Kann
Hamburg	Berlin (see also Prag, Liverpool)
Harry	Joseph Cowen's brother (see also Cart)
Haus	Max Nordau (see also Martin, Max, Nichols)
Haven	London (see also Bruessel, Salzburg)
Henry	Rev. William H. Hechler (see also Gordon, William)
Hirschfeld	Kaiser Wilhelm II (see also Bacher, Neffe)
Horowitz	Izzet Pasha (see also Albahary, Bergmann, Cassier)
House	Jewish Colonial Trust (see also Fabrik, Journal, Magazin, Manufactory, Wiener)
Hump	Leopold Kessler
Icebe	Jewish Colonial Bank
Isaacs	Alfred Rothschild (see also Oar)
Isaland	Erez Israel (see also Druckerei, Fly, Kohlmarkt, Persien, Printing Office, Sixteen)
Issachar	Leopold Greenberg (see also Dan, Green, Sachar)
Iuk	Paris (see also Bruenn, Manchester, Reichenberg)
Jacobson	Theodor Herzl (see also Ben, Benjamin, Dori, Loebl, Moriz, Seff)
Jam	Charter (see also Business, Feuilleton, Geschaeft, Sache, Teppiche, Tuch)
Jayteecee	Jewish Colonial Trust
Jo	Joseph Cowen (see also Joe, Joel, Mals, Werner)
Joe	Joseph Cowen (see also Jo, Joel, Mals, Werner)

Joel	Joseph Cowen (see also Jo, Joe, Mals, Werner)
Joezang	Joseph Cowen and Israel Zangwill
Journal	Jewish Colonial Trust (see also Fabrik, House, Magazin, Manufactory, Wiener)
Joskin	Selig Eugen Soskin
Juk	Paris
Kammgarn	Mines (see also Enterprise)
Karl	Karl Schauer
Kipper	Joseph Chamberlain (see also Brown, Dog 7, Laurie)
Klein	Jennings-Bramly
Klesmer	Israel Zangwill (see also Bernstein, Weissmann, Zang)
Kober	Ibrahim Pasha (see also Schlesinger)
Kohlmarkt	Erez (see also Druckerei, Fly, Isaland, Persien, Printing Office, Sixteen)
Kohn	Sultan of Turkey
Korrespondent	Ambassador (see also Filiale, Verträter)
Krugler	Tahsin Bey (see also Buchhalter, Loewy, Pollak, Russo, Wahle)
Laurie	Joseph Chamberlain (see also Brown, Dog 7, Kipper)
Lear	King (see also Costume)
Leier	Turkish Government
Leith	Sinai Peninsula (see also Scotland)
Leopold	*Jewish Chronicle,* London (see also Rat, Vesta)
Lep	Leopold Kahn
Levy	Sultan of Turkey (see also Beer, Cohn)
Lewes	Isaac Seligman (see also Louis)
Lion	Foreign Office (see also Fred)
Liverpool	Berlin (see also Hamburg, Prag)
Loebl	Theodor Herzl (see also Ben, Benjamin, Dori, Jacobson, Moriz, Seff)

Loewy	Tahsin Bey (see also Buchhalter, Krugler, Pollak, Russo, Wahle)
Louis	Isaac Seligman (see also Lewes)
Lucy	Lucien Wolf
Lyon	Port Said
Magazin	Jewish Colonial Trust (see also Fabrik, House, Journal, Manufactory, Wiener)
Manager	David Levontin
Manchester	Paris (see also Bruenn, Iuk, Reichenberg)
Mals	Joseph Cowen (see also Jo, Joe, Joel, Werner)
Mandel	British Foreign Office
Mandelstam Country	Russia (see also Elm)
Mandl	Grand Vizier (see also Amar, Gruenfeld, Nagy, Palmers, Prokurist)
Manufactory	Jewish Colonial Trust (see also Fabrik, House, Journal, Magazin, Wiener)
Marcus	Minister of Finance
Mark	Lord Lansdowne (see also Schneider)
Marlow	Alexander Marmorek (see also Alex, Fritz)
Martin	Max Nordau (see also Haus, Max, Nichols)
Max	Max Nordau (see also Haus, Martin, Nichols)
Meier	Deutsche Bank (see also Berliner, Debe or Debee)
Mekler	Boutros Ghali Pasha
Memo	The Jewish World, London
Moi	Nuri Bey
Mueller	Russian Ambassador
Nagy	Grand Vizier (see also Amar, Gruenfeld, Mandl, Palmers, Prokurist)
Nardus	Lord Lansdowne
Neffe	Kaiser Wilhelm II (see also Bacher, Hirschfeld)
Neusatz	Haifa

Nichols	Max Nordau (see also Haus, Martin, Max)
North England	Mesopotamia (see also Boehmen)
Number 73	Grand Vizier
Number 919	Ahmed Tewfik
Oak	France
Oar	Alfred Rothschild (see also Isaacs)
Odessa	Cairo
Onkel	Grand Duke of Baden (see also Benedict, Ginzkey, Alter Herr)
Osborne	Baron Edmund Rothschild (see also Printemps)
Oxar	Oskar Marmorek
Palmers	Grand Vizier (see also Amar, Gruenfeld, Mandl, Nagy, Prokurist)
Pancock	Lord Rothschild (see also Altmann, Courtier, Ellermann)
Parchment	Malcolm McIlwraith
Pariser	Ottoman Bank (see also Surand)
Pastelle	Monk Bretton
Pater	Col. Albert E. W. Goldsmid
Persien	Palestine (see also Druckerei, Isaland, Kohlmarkt, Printing Office, Sixteen)
Philipp Haas	Jewish Colonization Association (see also Bruenner, Revue, Shop)
Pinsk	Vienna (see also Bildwort, Bradford)
Polack	Count Agenor von Goluchowski
Polgar	Hadji Ali Bey
Pollak	Tahsin Bey (see also Buchhalter, Krugler, Loewy, Russo, Wahle)
Popper	Izzet Pasha (see also Albahary, Bergmann, Cassier, Horowitz)
Prag	Berlin (see also Hamburg, Liverpool)
Pressburg	Acco
Printemps	Baron Edmund Rothschild (see also Osborne)

Printing Office	Palestine (see also Druckerei, Fly, Isaland, Kohlmarkt, Persien, Sixteen)
Prokurist	Grand Vizier (see also Amar, Gruenfeld, Mandl, Nagy, Palmers)
Rabbis	Members of the Commission
Ragel	Eduard Crespi
Rat	*Jewish Chronicle*, London (see also Leopold, Vesta)
Redaktion	Yildiz Kiosk (see also Bazaar, Factory)
Reichenberg	Paris (see also Bruenn, Iuk, Manchester)
Remington	Sir Francis Montefiore
Revue	Jewish Colonization Association (see also Bruenner, Philipp Haas, Shop)
Rio Tinto	Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway
Robe	Lord Suffield (see also Dinah)
Rose	Egypt
Rothfeld	Austrian Ambassador
Rudolf	Rudolf Schauer
Rumvat	Pelusiac Plain
Rundblick	Egyptian Ministers
Russo	Tahsin Bey (see also Buchhalter, Krugler, Loewy, Pollak, Wahle)
Sachar	Leopold Greenberg (see also Dan, Green, Issachar)
Sache	Charter (see also Business, Feuilleton, Geschaeft, Jam, Teppiche, Tuch)
Salzburg	London (see also Bruessel, Haven)
Samson	East Africa
Schegez	Turkish Ambassador in Berlin
Schlesinger	Ibrahim Pasha (see also Kober)
Schmidt	English Ambassador
Schneider	Lord Lansdowne (see also Mark)
School	Sir Eldon Gorst
Schreiber	Ambassador (see also Agent)

Schulz	Minister of Foreign Affairs
Scotland	Sinai Peninsula and El Arish (see also Cork, Leith)
Seff	Theodor Herzl (see also Ben, Benjamin, Dori, Jacobson, Loebl, Moriz)
Sixteen	Palestine (see also Druckerei, Fly, Isaland, Kohlmarkt, Persien, Printing Office)
Shop	Jewish Colonization Association (see also Bruenner, Philipp Haas, Revue)
Smith	Sir Eric Barrington
Stoessel	Viennese Ambassador
Supplement	*Die Welt* (see also Beilage)
Surand	Ottoman Bank (see also Pariser)
Szarvar	Arminius Vámbéry (see also Zweig)
Tabby	France
Temesvar	Jaffa
Teppiche	Charter (see also Business, Feuilleton, Geschaeft, Jam, Sache, Tuch)
Tray	Lord Eustace Percy
Triest	St. Petersburg (see also Budapest)
Turin	Brindisi
Tuch	Charter (see also Business, Feuilleton, Geschaeft, Jam, Sache, Teppiche)
Twelve	Cyprus
Ungarische	Anglo-Palestine Company
Vater	Czar of Russia
Verträter	Ambassador (see also Filiale, Korrespondent)
Verwaltung	Commission de la Dette publique
Vesta	*Jewish Chronicle*, London (see also Leopold, Rat)
Wahle	Tahsin Bey (see also Buchhalter, Krugler, Loewy, Pollak, Russo)

Warens	David Wolffsohn (see also Braun, Daade, David, Franz)
Weber	Dr. Wellisch
Weissmann	Israel Zangwill (see also Bernstein, Klesmer, Zang)
Werner	Joseph Cowen (see also Jo, Joe, Joel, Mals)
Wiener	Jewish Colonial Trust (see also Fabrik, House, Journal, Magazin, Manufactory)
Wilhelm	Rev. William H. Hechler (see also Gordon, Henry)
Wilna	Ismailia
Window	British Government
Wolf	Sir Thomas Sanderson
Zang	Israel Zangwill (see also Bernstein, Klesmer, Weissmann)
Zack	Dr. Zadoc Kahn
Zweig	Arminius Vámbéry (see also Szarvar)

PHRASES

abbasso	recommends abandonment
abbattere	have protested against abandonment
abgekniet	in the absence of
abmachung	loan (see also halevi or halewi, price)
abocetado	not accepted in consequence of
abritant	according to circumstances
accongesto	advice from—he states
acccultos	present state of affairs
adizzo	arrangements are in fair progress
admunitum	will most likely arrive
aftertopas	will be away for a short time
asked	we want thousand pounds (see also pigy)
asks	Sultan wants thousand pounds (see also pig)

bang	publish immediately
both	two
buy	stop publication
carting	but Sultan prefers giving it to us (see also going)
chalazien	I will not come
chaldaic	shall I come?
chaldron	if you cannot come
chaletos	I will come if possible
chalicore	come as quickly as possible
chaulmage	have you communicated with?
chiffrais	have you arrived at any conclusion?
choeriti	consider
cow	we want hundred (see also forward)
dazzling	it will not be decided
desigual	what are you doing with?
dracenois	33⅓%
ecarteler	embark
ehering	estimate (he estimates)
elkaite	do not understand what you mean
fangled	finish as quickly as possible
fine	money to be paid immediately (see also nib)
fine (followed by explanation)	money to be paid in term of years (see also nib)
fivefold	4.045 cubic meters
flower	have got a promise (see also paid)
fork	conditional upon (see also precious)
forward	we want hundred (see also cow)
Francs	Turkish pounds
fulle	conversion of 5% Administration loan of 1888

galleine	go ahead all you can
gives	Sultan grants charter (see also knife)
going	but Sultan prefers giving it to us (see also carting)
guy	thousand
hactenus	please hasten
hafertanz	I have (we have)
halevi or halewi	loan
halieto	do not come here before . . . (date)
Heinrich	Heinrich can conclude. Hechler shall remind Bishop of Ripon to introduce Herzl as soon as he returns to the King
Henrik	signature
hush	publish Herzl received very favorably by Sultan
imbriglia	has informed
impugnais	wire instructions direct to . . .
impunium	instructions will be sent very shortly . . .
kalkleber	negotiations still pending
knife	Sultan grants charter (see also gives)
knodland	he is favorably inclined to assist us
laimodon	do not leave before . . .
lamswell	do not leave before all is arranged
laonde	await my letter
laquucule	I cannot leave
magallon	about middle of March
maggiore	23rd day of March
maggotish	25th day of March
magiares	26th day of March
mamede	considering the matter
manalgie	6th day of May

manamina	8th day of May
mancinus	please give full explanation
market	publicize in London daily papers
million	one thousand
months	pounds
mouse	all press (see also nat)
najade	if absolutely necessary
najeranas	it is absolutely necessary I must know
narguames	I will negotiate the business through you
narigona	negotiations have fallen through
nasardant	most important news
naseberry	send all the news you possibly can
nasmullen	the news has given great satisfaction
nat	all press (see also mouse)
nib	money to be paid immediately (see also fine)
nib (followed by explanation)	money to be paid in term of years (see also fine)
oberati	I have obtained
offixi	opposition
paid	have got promise (see also flower)
palmearon	further particulars by first mail
paysage	it is possible
pen	Sultan wants million pounds (see also wants)
peny	we want million pounds (see also wanted)
perdrigon	what progress have you made?
peregrino	making as much progress as can fairly be expected
perexile	you may promise
pig	Sultan wants thousand pounds (see also asks)
pigy	we want thousand pounds (see also asks)
precious	conditional upon (see also fork)
preistarif	publish
bestaetigt	

preistarif nicht bestaetigt	do not publish
price	loan (see also abmachung, halevi or halewi)
ragwool	will not be ready
ramipare	have received the following
rapsaret	I can make some reductions
ratapoil	with regard to
reading	inform Chamberlain
readmities	you can rely upon
recopiait	reply expected
recouverts	reply expected any moment
recroitre	when will the report be out?
recru	report as soon as possible
recuada	nothing sufficiently definite to report
refrayer	has not returned
repont	if you can return
respatoir	refuses
rukwind	take the best you can whatever it be
rumoren	charter signed by . . .
rundbild	our application for concession
rundblume	I have had an interview with . . .
running	bidding for concession (see also sailing)
ruodlieb	he is opposed to us
sailing	bidding for concession (see also running)
sbaglio	next Saturday
sdegnero	can you send?
sell	Sultan gives definite promise of charter in return for . . .
sinuato	I shall stay at . . .
smerelli	subject to confirmation by wire
snobbish	success very doubtful
speaking	tell immediately Lord Rothschild
steaming	concessions are going to (see also walking)
stay	come to Constantinople immediately

tagarnina	telegram to hand and it has every attention
tahapanes	telegram to hand
tahmasp	your telegram to hand this morning
talagarsa	wire immediately
talgbrot	wire me fully
talgfett	wire what you have done
talgseife	wire what you do
taloneros	wire what I am to do with . . .
talookah	wire date of departure and possible date of arrival
thesicle	I will try what can be done
ufanidad	I do not understand
velvet	conversion of 5% loan of 1886
waldbrand	I am writing for . . .
waldport	I am anxiously waiting
walking	concessions are going to (see also steaming)
wanted	We want million pounds (see also peny)
wants	Sultan wants million pounds (see also pen)
waterboon	water
watermos	supplying water
welche	about beginning of next week
welfisches	next week
welkend	all next week
zolent	customs revenues

Index

Pages 1–431 are contained in Volume I. Pages 433–827 are contained in Volume II. Pages 829–1270 are contained in Volume III. Pages 1271–1631 are contained in Volume IV.

Errata and Addenda

page 37, middle. For "a letter from Teweles" read "Teweles' letter"
page 45, top. For *vieux* read *veux*
page 79, line 10. Read: the second man, too, . . .
page 116, line 6. *Affronts* is in French in the original.
page 125, line 6. *Déjeuner* means "luncheon".
page 140, bottom. For with *us* read: with us
page 240, line 13. Read: I met with Güdemann a number of times.
page 257, line 5. For "to" read "toward"
page 257, lines 19, 21. Put periods after "newspaper" and "times"
page 304, l. 12 fr. bot. Read: Wilheim
page 306, bottom. Read: Kozmian
page 313, line 7. Read: . . . all steamed up"?
page 387, bottom. Read: Bebek
page 399, top. Put period after "dissolute"
page 449, line 4. For "shows" read "show"
page 506, bottom. Read "Christmastime"
page 593, bottom. For "tacking" read "tackling"
page 601, bottom. For "Feiberg" read "Freiberg"
page 632, bottom. For *liverons* read *livrerons*
page 648, bottom. For "Zionists" read "Zionist"
page 704, lines 9, 12. Read "Bismarck"
page 706, bottom. Read "Mandelstamm"
page 712, last line. Read "His Majesty"
page 731, bottom. For "arts" read "art"
page 752, middle. For "In Vienna" read "Vienna"
page 806, middle. For "brain" read "brains"
page 817, 7 lines from bottom. Omit "as"